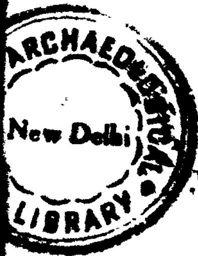
THE

NDIAN ANTIQUARY,

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

ÆOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES
LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, &c. &c.,



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THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

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VOLUME XV.—1886.

OLD SEALS FOUND AT HARAPPA.

BY M. LONGWORTH DAMES, B.C.S., &c.

In Vol. V. page 108, of the *Archæological Survey of India*, General Cunningham describes a seal found at Harappâ, in the Montgomery District, one of the enormous mounds which mark the sites of deserted towns in the plains of the Pañjâb.

The seal is described by General Cunningham as follows:—"The seal belonging to Major Clark is a smooth black stone without polish. On it is engraved very deeply a bull without hump, looking to the right, with two stars under the neck. Above the bull is an inscription in six characters which are unknown to me. They are certainly not Indian letters, and as the bull, which accompanies them, is without a hump, I conclude that the seal is foreign to India."

In the *Academy* for May 2nd, 1885, M. Terrien de la Couperie, in an article on the meaning of the word *Tin-Yüt*, refers to "the stone seal of Setchuen or Shuh writing which was found a few years ago in the ruins of Harappâ, near Lâhor." "This," he adds, "is attributed by General Cunningham on archæological evidence to the fourth century B C,[1] and is the oldest fragment of writing found in India."

Another seal, apparently in the same writing, was obtained at Harappâ on November 21st, 1884, by Mr. J. Harvey, Inspector of Schools, Multân. This seal is of a drab-coloured smooth stone, perfectly flat on the engraved side and rounded at the back. The inscription is composed of five characters. It is here given side by side with Major Clark's seal as drawn by General Cunningham[2] (Fig. 1, attached hereto). Mr. Harvey's seal (Fig. 2) is a full-size reproduction of the original in the possession of that gentleman.

Fig. 1

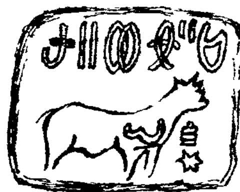


Fig 2



M. Terrien de la Couperie is of opinion that these seals were brought to India in the course of trade through Baktria. Possibly they may have belonged to Buddhist pilgrims, who certainly must have visited Harappâ. Seals in an unknown language are scarcely likely to have been articles of trade. It would be interesting to know the meaning of the inscriptions; and perhaps M. Terrien de la Couperie or some other scholar will publish a translation of them.

[1] He does not, however, say so at the place above cited nor in his *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 210, where he again describes Harappâ.—Ed.]

[2] Plate XXXIII. Fig. 1, in *Arch. Surv. Ind.* Vol. V.

FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

II.—The Two Thags and the Ravariya.[1]

There were two *thags*[2] who had spent a great part of their lives in robbing and cheating their simple neighbours, but at last there came a time when they found that there was no more scope for the exercise of their talents in their native village, so they resolved upon going out to seek fresh fields and pastures new. They set out at once, and after a long journey came to a city, on the outskirts of which they saw a poor Râvarîyâ, sitting near a wretched hut weaving his *paṭṭî*.[3]

"Tell us, brother," said they, approaching him with a look of pity, "how it is that you do not live in the city, and prefer a wretched hovel in this solitary place to the fine houses there?"

"I am too poor," replied the man, "to afford to rent a house in the city, and there is no one there that is generous enough to accommodate me for nothing; so I sit here all day doing my work, and when night comes I go and sleep under the roof I have made myself." "And," he added, "I make my living out of an *ânâ* or two that I manage to earn by selling the two or three yards of *paṭṭî* I weave every day."

"We really pity your lot, my man," said the *thags*, "and henceforward shall be your best friends. Come now, get up and follow us to the river-side, where we shall give you a suit of clothes to put on in place of the wretched garments you now wear."

The Râvarîyâ got up and followed them, rejoicing greatly at so much notice being taken of a poor man like himself by persons so much above him in life, as he thought the *thags* to be, for they were decently dressed and looked quite respectable. When they arrived at the river-side the *thags* bade the weaver get his head and his overgrown beard shaved and wash himself in the stream. After he had done all this they gave him a suit of clothes to wear, which he joyfully put on, while the two men said to him:—"Go now and attend to your work, but be always ready to render us whatever service we may require of you."

"Very well, *Mâ bâp*,"[4]—answered the poor man and returned towards his hut, while the two *thags* went on towards the city. Entering it they wandered about for some time, watching for an opportunity of practising their vile art upon some poor victim, when they heard that the king of the country, who had a beautiful daughter, was looking out for some great prince as a husband for her. This put an idea into the heads of the *thags*, and they instantly retraced their steps to the hut of the Râvarîyâ, whom they found hard at work at his *paṭṭî*. They bade him get up and follow them immediately, and the poor weaver, true to his promise, obeyed them.

When they came to a secluded place the two men dressed the Râvariyâ in gold embroidered garments and jewels, and getting a litter from the city made him lie in it in the position of a sick man, bidding him neither to stir out of it, nor to utter a single syllable without their permission. They then ordered the bearers to carry the litter towards the city, and they themselves walked one on each side of it waving *chamaris*.[5] They also hired every man and animal they could pick up on the road, till they had a respectable following of attendants, horses, and ponies.

They went on thus with a great show of pomp and parade till they reached one of the palaces of the king, when in a peremptory tone they ordered the gate-keeper to open the gate and give them ingress. The gate-keeper, however, refused to obey them, whereupon one of the *thags*, making a great show of authority, cried out:—"What! Is our Râjâ Sâhib to wait till this wretched gate-keeper makes up his mind to open the gate? Not for worlds! So, fall on my men, and break open the gates that we may get in." The men made towards the gate with what sticks and staves they had for arms, and the poor gate-keeper, thinking them to be in earnest, opened the gates wide in great fright. The *thags* and their followers entered the palace with a great deal of noise and bustle, while the poor gate-keeper ran full speed to apprise

[1] A weaver of the broad tape used for bedsteads.

[2] See *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 205.

[3] The tape woven by Râvarîyâs.

[4] *lit.*, father and mother, but really an expression of respect: patron or protector.

[5] Whisks made of yaks' tails: a universal sign of royalty in India.

the king, his master, of the advent of some great prince, with a formidable retinue, in the city, and to tell him how his men had taken forcible possession of the palace. The king forthwith sent his minister to inquire of the new comers who they were, and what had pleased the great prince to visit his territories.

The minister went accordingly, and begged admittance at the palace gates, but they refused to let him in. After making him wait outside for some time, one of the *thags* came out to meet him, whom the minister requested to usher him into the presence of the prince; but the *thag*, assuming an air of dignity, replied:—"No, no, we are not going to trouble our great Râjâ by taking you into his presence, for he is ill and requires quiet and rest. Go you, therefore on your way."

The minister thereupon inquired of the *thag* whose son the prince was, and what was the object of his visit to the country.

"Oh! he is the son of that great monarch," he replied, "who levies tribute on your master, and is come here for a change of air, in order to recruit his health, and does not, therefore, care to be disturbed either by you or by your master."

The minister had therefore no alternative but to leave the palace, and he straightway returned to his master and acquainted him with the very cold reception he had met with at the hands of the strange prince's attendants. The king attributed this to his having omitted to send the prince presents worthy of him, and so he got ready five trays full of *asharfis*[6] and bade the minister go once more to the prince and present them to him with his compliments, after instituting inquiries after his health. The king also instructed his minister to learn from the prince whether he was unmarried, and if he would do him the honour to accept the hand of his daughter in marriage.

The minister obeyed his royal master, and repaired to the residence of the strange Râjâ, accompanied by five men bearing the presents. This time, however, he obtained admittance into the palace without much trouble, so, going up to the *thags* he asked them to present him to their prince that he might lay at His Highness's feet the presents his master had sent for him. The eyes of the *thags* glistened when the treasures were displayed to them, but thinking that if they held out a little longer they would get more out of the credulous king, they said to the minister, "Return home with your treasures, brother, the Râjâ Sahib is too ill to see you, besides, he wants none of your presents, and would never accept them. For what lacks he in his father's treasury?"

The minister, however, begged so hard to be presented to the prince,—promising that if it did not please His Highness to accept the presents he would withdraw with them,—that the *thags* yielded to his entreaties and told him to wait a while till they went and obtained their royal master's permission. Going to the Râvarîyâ they instructed him how to act when they brought the minister into the room. "Mind you do not answer a single question of his," said they, "but after he has put a great many to you, utter only a long *hâň*[7] in response. And when he begs of you to accept the gifts he has brought do not make any reply to him. If, however, he still goes on imploring you to accept them, and will not withdraw from your presence, you can cry out as if tired of his importunities, 'Away with them!' and immediately make a pretence of going to sleep."

They then ushered the minister into the mock king's presence, who commenced inquiring after his health, but the sham Râjâ Sâhib did not condescend to utter a single syllable in reply. He then begged the prince's acceptance of the presents his tributary had sent him, but even then the great man made no reply. At last, however, as if his patience had been completely exhausted, he cried out, "Away with them!" and in a moment the two *thags* turned the minister and the bearers of presents out of the room. The minister returned homewards, greatly disappointed at not having had an opportunity of mentioning to the foreign prince the proposal of marriage.

When the king found that his presents had not been accepted he began to fear that the great prince would slip through his fingers, and baulk him of his expectations of having him as his son-in-law, so he despatched the minister to him once more with still costlier presents. The

[6] A gold coin, value about 30 shillings

[7] *i. e.* 'yes.'

eyes of the two *thags* sparkled with delight at sight of the treasure, but being consummate hypocrites they still made a pretence of not caring for them. At the minister's request, they went to the Râvarîyâ under pretext of asking his permission for the minister to enter his presence, and said to him, "When the minister speaks to you behave yourself as you did the other day, and when he has begged very hard of you to accept the presents simply say, 'Now keep them and have done with it.'"

Having thus tutored the mock king, they took the minister and his presents into the room where he lay in bed, and right well did he act his part, and when, at the conclusion of it, he said, "Now keep them and have done with it," the *thags* ordered the bearers to put down their costly loads at His Highness's feet and withdraw. Taking leave of the prince with a low bow the minister went out of the room with one of the *thags*, while the other stood waving a *chamri* over the Râvarîyâ's person.

"Is His Highness unmarried?" inquired the minister of his companion when out of hearing of the Râvarîyâ.

"Yes," replied he.

"Can you then persuade him to honour my master by marrying his daughter? He will give her a large dowry and"—

"No, no," interrupted the *thag*, "do not entertain such an idea for a moment; he is too great a man to marry your master's daughter, and, besides, he is ill and not likely to think of matrimony at present."

"But there is no harm in asking his will," argued the minister, and he pressed the *thag* so hard that at last he got that worthy to promise to broach the subject to the prince at the first opportunity and to let him know His Highness's will as early as possible.

In a few days the king received intimation through the minister that the great prince had been pleased to accept the offer of the hand of his daughter, and would be glad if the nuptials were solemnized at an early date. At this there were great rejoicings in the city and preparations for the approaching wedding went on for some days. The king placed a large palace at the disposal of his son-in-law, and soon after celebrated the wedding of the Râvarîyâ and the princess with great pomp.

After the weaver was fairly installed in the palace with his royal wife, the two *thags*, fearing the chances of exposure, thought it high time that they should take their departure from the city. So they dismissed all their attendants, and under pretence of returning to the court of the bridegroom's father, they took their leave of the princess and her Râvarîyâ husband, and left the city, taking care, however, to carry away with them all the costly presents, &c. they had received for the mock king, from the bride's father. When parting they did not forget to impress upon the Râvarîyâ the necessity of his keeping himself well on his guard, so that there might be no exposure of the terrible swindle they had practised upon the king.

Some time after they had departed, it so happened that one evening, when the princess was sitting on an open balcony with her lord, she expressed her desire to play a game of *chaupur*[3] with him by the light of the moon that was shining brightly at the time, but the Râvarîyâ who had never played the game in his life, exclaimed, "What! play a game of *chaupur*, you foolish woman? I would rather weave a few yards of *paṭṭi*, sitting here under such a bright moon."

The poor woman was struck dumb at these words which revealed to her what her husband was, and could not utter a word in reply. She instantly withdrew into the palace, and from that moment ceased to have any intercourse with him. She remained thus estranged from him so long that life in the palace became insupportable to him, and one night he quietly slipped away, and, betaking himself to his hut in the jungle, resumed his old profession of weaving *paṭṭîs*.

After the lapse of a few years, the two *thags* began to be curious to know how the Râvarîyâ was enjoying his high estate, and whether he was living or dead. So they journeyed once more to the city in which they had left him. When they came to the place where they had first found him they were greatly surprised to see him sitting there working away at his *paṭṭîs* as of old. On their inquiring of him the reason of his leaving the palace, he related in

[3] A game played by moving men on a kind of chess board according to the throws of a kind of dice. In all folklore this is a 'royal' game. The whole process is detailed in *Legends of the Pañjâb*, Vol. I. p. 243ff.

detail the conversation he had with his wife on that bright moonlight night; how it had led to his real position in life being known; how she had discarded him ever afterwards; and how, fearing for his head in case the king came to hear of it, he had run away from his wife, and had once more taken to his old profession of *paṭṭî* weaving.

"Never mind what has happened, but come with us once more to where we take you," said the *ṭhags*, "and we shall make it all right for you."

So saying they took him to the river-side and gave him a string of beads, bidding him to continue sitting there telling his beads till he was sent for by his wife. They then left him, and, purchasing some *ghî* and *guḷ*[9] from the *bâzâr*, mixed them together. One of the *ṭhags* covered his body with this composition, and the other got a litter and placed his besmeared companion in it. He then dressed himself in woman's clothes, and, adorning his person with rich jewels, transformed himself into a very good-looking young woman. Ordering the litter to be carried towards the city, he walked alongside of it, *chamrî* in hand, warding off the flies that sought to reach the *ghî* and *guḷ* with which his companion was covered. On the way he hired three or four men as attendants, and thus they all walked on until they came in sight of the palace the Râvarîyâ had deserted. Ordering the litter to be set down on a spot well overlooked by one of the windows of the palace, he set some of the hirelings to cook their food and do such other work for them.

By-and-by, the princess, on coming to know that a woman, with an invalid in a litter, had put up near her palace, went up to the window to have a look at them. Seeing a beautiful woman well dressed, and decked with ornaments, attending to the wants of the occupant of the litter, she naturally inquired of the mock woman who she was, and what ailed the person she was nursing. The disguised *ṭhag* replied, as though he were a woman, that she was a traveller who had broken her journey there, and the person she nursed was suffering from leprosy. The lady further inquired what relation the leper was to her, to which she replied that he was her husband.

"That loathsome leper your husband?" sneered the princess, with her nose in the air, "and you are nursing him?"

"Oh! despise not my poor husband," cried the transformed *ṭhag*, pretending to be hurt by the words of the princess, "where does a woman seek for happiness but in her husband, her lord, her master? He has been suffering ever so long from this foul disease and I have been travelling about with him from country to country, vainly hoping that he would profit by change of climate; and at last, finding this place cool and pleasant, I have halted here and by your kind permission, shall stay here for a week or so. Is a woman to desert her husband because he is a leper? Oh no, not for worlds! I have always thought it my duty to serve and nurse my sick husband, however wearisome the task might be."

When the princess heard all this it brought thoughts of her own husband into her mind, and she began to reflect upon her conduct in deserting him merely because he happened to be a Râvarîyâ by trade, whilst that rich and beautiful woman, as she took the *ṭhag* to be, nursed and ministered to the wants of her husband although he was a filthy leper. The more the princess pondered over this incident the more she felt how heartless had been her conduct towards her husband, till at last she despatched her horsemen to find him out and to exhort him to return to her immediately. In the meantime she intimated to the *ṭhags* that she had no objection to their staying where they were as long as they pleased. The horsemen found the Râvarîyâ sitting by the riverside telling his beads, just as the *ṭhags* had left him, and succeeded in persuading him to return to his wife.

A day or two later the *ṭhag* who played the part of a woman requested the princess to lend him some ten thousand rupees, promising to return them when remittances arrived from his country. In her great joy at the restoration of her husband to her, and knowing that she was in some measure indebted to the leper's wife for the happy event, the princess hesitated not to give the loan asked for. That

[9] *Ghî* is boiled butter: *guḷ* is a coarse unrefined sugar.

very night the *thags* quietly decamped from the city, and washed off their assumed forms at the first river that came in their way.

The Rîvarîyâ and his wife henceforward lived in peace and happiness, and the *thags* also turned over a new leaf and were reformed characters ever afterwards!

TWO COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF JAYACHCHANDRA OF KANAUJ.

BY PROF. F. KIELHORN; GOTTINGEN.

At the request of the Editors I have prepared the following transcripts and translations of two copper-plate grants of Jayachchandradêva of Kanauj from photolithographs supplied to me. A short and very inaccurate abstract of the contents of one of these grants (marked by me A) will be found in Colebrooke's *Misc. Essays*, Vol. II. p. 286; and the other grant (marked B) has been edited and translated in a most careless manner in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. X. Part I. p. 98 ff. After finishing my own transcripts, I have compared the following grants of Jayachchandra and his predecessors:—[1]

A grant of Madanapâla, of Saṁvat 1154, edited and translated by Dr. F. E. Hall in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXVII. p. 220:—

A grant of Gôvindachandra, of Saṁvat 1161, edited and translated by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLII. Part I. p. 321: and re-edited by Mr. Fleet,[2] *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 103:—

A grant of the same, of Saṁvat 1174, edited and translated by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLII. Part I. p. 324:—

A grant of the same, of Saṁvat 1177, partly edited by Dr. F. E. Hall, *id.* Vol. XXXI. p. 123:—

A grant of the same, of Saṁvat 1182, edited and translated by Dr. F. E. Hall, *id.* Vol. XXVII. p. 242:—

And a grant of Jayachchandra (wrongly called Jaya Chandra) of Saṁvat 1234, translated by Captain E. Fell in *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV. p. 447.[3]

Both inscriptions are composed in Sanskrit and written in Dêvanâgarî characters. The historical information afforded by them is the same in both grants, with this difference, that when A. was issued Jayachchandra was *Yuvarâja*, his father Vijayachandra being then alive, whereas in B. he is described as ruling sovereign. Of the six ancestors of Jayachchandra who are enumerated here as elsewhere (Yaśôvigraha, Mahîchandra, Chandradêva, Madanapâla, Gôvindachandra, and Vijayachandra), nothing specific is mentioned beyond this, that Chandradêva acquired the sovereignity over Kanyakubja and that his kingdom included Benares, Ayôdhyâ and another *Tîrtha*, which probably was ancient Delhi; and that Vijayachandra conquered one Hammîra, "the abode of wanton destruction to the earth." Attention may also be drawn to the fact that the sovereignty over Kanyakubja is described as having been newly acquired, even when Gôvindachandra, the grandson of Chandradêva, was reigning.

The grant recorded in A. was made on the full-moon day of the month Mâgha in the (Vikrama) year 1225 by the *Yuvarâja* Jayachchandra, who was then somewhere on the banks of the Yamunâ, and who by this grant made over the village of Nâgalî[4] in the Dêvahalì *Pattalá* to the two brothers, the *Râuta* Aṇatêśarman and the *Râuta* Dâdêśarman, Brâhmaṇs of the Kâśyapa *gôtra*. The grant was written by Jayapâla.

The grant B. is dated Sunday, the 7th lunar day of the bright half of Âshâḍha of the (Vikrama) year 1243, answering it appears to Sunday the 14th June A.D. 1187. The king Jayachchandra, when making the grant, was at Benares; the donee was the *Doda-Râuta* Aṇaṅga of the Bhâradvâja *gôtra*; and the object granted was the village of Kamôlî[5] in the Asurêsa *Pattalá*.

I am not able to identify the places mentioned in either grant.

[1] See also F. E. Hall in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI p. 8. Compare also *Centenary Review*, *Beng. As Soc.* Part II p. 120 f.

[2] This grant deserves particular attention, because the wording of it entirely differs from that of all the other grants enumerated above.

[3] Other grants are mentioned by Captain Fell in the article mentioned above.

[4] See note 15 below.

[5] See note 80 below.

A.—ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY PLATE OF VIJAYACHANDRA AND THE YUVARAJA JAYACHCHANDRA.
—SAMVAT 1225.

This inscription[6] is from a copper-plate which is now in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society in London. No information is forthcoming as to where it was originally found.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about 1′ 6¼″ by 1′ 1″. It is quite smooth, the edges being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. The inscription has suffered a good deal from corrosion; but the following inscription B. renders it easy to supply most of the damaged letters. There is a ring-hole in the top of the plate; but the ring and seal are not forthcoming. The weight of the plate is 9 lbs. 8¼ oz.

TEXT.

[¹] ओं स्वस्ति [॥] अकुंठोत्कंठवैकुंठकंठपीठलुठत्करः । सरंभः सुरतारंभे स श्रि[य]: श्रेयसेस्तु वः ॥ [१] आ-
सीदशीतद्युतिवंशजातक्ष्मापालमालासु दिवं ग-

[²] तासु [।] साक्षाद्विवस्वानिव भूरिधाम्ना ना(म्ना) यशोविग्रह इत्युदारः ॥ [२] तत्सुतोभून्महीचंद्रश्चंद्रधाम-
निभं निजं । येनापारमकूपारपारे व्यापारितं यशः [॥] [३]

[³] तस्याभूत्तनयो नयैकरशिकः[7] क्रान्तद्विषन्मंडलो विध्वस्तोद्धत(in marg. वीर)योधतिमिरः श्रीचंद्रदेवो नृपः ।
येनोदारतरप्रतापशमि(ता)शेषप्रजोपद्रवं श्रीम[द्गा]-

[⁴] धिपुराधिरा(ज्य)मसमं दोर्व्विक्रमेणार्ज्जितं ॥ [४] तीर्थानि काशिकुशिकोत्तरकोशलेन्द्रस्थानीयकानि परि-
पालयताधिगम्य [।] हेमात्मतुल्यमनिशं ददता

[⁵] द्विजेभ्यो ये(नां)किता वसुमती (श)तशस्तुलाभिः ॥[५] तस्यात्मजो मदनपाल इति क्षितीन्द्रचूडामणिर्विजयते
निजगोत्रचंद्रः । यस्याभि(षे)कक-

[⁶] लसोल्लसितैः पयोभिः प्रक्षालितं कलिरजःपटलं धरित्र्याः ॥ [६] तस्मादजायत निजायतवाहुवल्लिवंधा[8]वरुद्धनव-
राज्यगजो नरेंद्रः [।] सांद्रामृतद्रवमुचां

[⁷] प्रभवो गवां यो गोविंदचंद्र इति चंद्र इवांवुरासेः[9] ॥ [७] न कथमप्यलभ(न्त) रणक्षमांस्तिसृषु दिक्षु गजानथ
वज्रिणः । ककुभि (व)भ्रमु[10]र(भ्र)मुवल्लभप्रतिभटा

[⁸] इव यस्य घटागजाः ॥ [८] अजनि विजयचंद्रो नाम तस्मान्नरेंद्रः ।[11] सुरपतिरिव भूभृत्पक्षविच्छेददक्षः । भुव-
नदलनहेलाहर्म्यहम्मीरनारीनय-

[⁹] नजलदधाराधौतभूलोकतापः ॥ [९] यस्मिंश्चलत्युदधिनेमिमहीजयाय माद्यत्करीन्द्रगुरुभारनिपीडितेव । याति
प्रजापतिपदं शरणार्थिनी

[¹⁰] भूस्त्वंगत्तुरंगनिवहोत्थरजश्छलेन ॥ [१०] सोयं समस्तराजच(क्र)संसेवितचरण. स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधि-
राजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वर-

[¹¹] निजभुजोपार्जितकन्यकुब्जा[12]धिपत्यश्रीचंद्रदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीम-
दनपालदेव-

[¹²] पादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराधिराज[13]परमेश्वर(प)रममाहेश्वराश्वपतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपतिविविधविद्या-
विचारवाचस्प-

[¹³] तिश्रीगोविन्दचंद्रदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वराश्वपतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्रया-
धिपतिविविध

[¹⁴] विद्यविचार[14](वा)चस्पतिश्रीमद्विजयचन्द्रदेवो विजयी ।[15] देव(ह)लीपत्तलायां ना(ग)लीग्राम[16]निवासिनो निषि-
ल[17]जनपदानुपगतानपि च राजराज्ञीयुव

[¹⁵] राजमंत्रिपुरोहितप्रतीहारसेनापतिभाण्डागारिकाधि(का)क्ष[18]पटलिकभिषक्नैमित्ति[19]कान्तःपुरिकदूतकरितुरगप-
त्तनाकरस्थानगोकुलाधि-

[¹⁶] कारिपुरुषानाज्ञापयति वोधय[20]त्यादिशति च यथा । विदितमस्तु भवतां यथोपरिलिखितग्रामः सजल(स्थ)लः ।[21]
सलोहलवणाकर[ः] सगर्त्तोषरः

[6] *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 12.
[7] Read नयैकरसिकः. [8] Read °बाहुवल्लिबंधा°.
[9] Read इवांबुराशेः. [10] Read बभ्रमु°.
[11] This sign is superfluous. [12] Read °कन्यकुब्जा°.
[13] Read °महाराजाधिराज°. [14] Read °विद्याविचार°.
[15] This sign is superfluous. [16] Or नामलीग्राम° (?)
[17] Read निखिल°. [18] Read °भाण्डागारिकाक्ष°.
[19] Read °भिषग्नैमित्ति°. [20] Read बोधय°.
[21] This sign is superfluous.

[17] सा(म्र)मधूकः व(नः)[22] समत्स्याकर(स्तृण)यूतिगेचर[23]सहितः (स्व)सीमासहितश्चतुराघाटविशुद्धः ।[24] पंचविंश-त्यधिकद्वादशत[25]संवत्सरेकेपि सं १२२५ माघीपौर्ण्ण-

[18] मास्यां [वशिष्ठ][26] घट्टे यमुनायां स्नात्वा विधिवन्मंत्रदेवमुनिमनुजभूतपितृगणांस्तर्पयित्वा तिमिरपटलपाटनपटुमहस-मुष्णरोचिषमुपस्थायौषधिपति-

[19] शकलशेषरं[27] समभ्य(र्च्य) त्रिभुवनत्रातुर्भगवतो वासुदेवस्य पूजां विधाय मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोविवि(वृ)-द्धये[28] ऽस्मत्सम्मत्या समस्त-

[20] राज(स्व[29])क्रियोपेतयौवराज्याभिषिक्तमहाराजपुत्रश्रीजयचंद्रदेवेन गोकर्ण[30]कुशलतापूतकरतलोदकपूर्वमाचंद्रा-(र्क) यावत् कास्य-

[21] पगोत्रभ्यां[31] कास्यपावत्सारनै(ध्रु)वत्रिःप्रवराभ्याम्(?)[32] ठन्कुर[33]तिह्(ल)पौत्राभ्यां ठन्कुरआ(ल्हे)पौत्राभ्यां राउत-गोठपुत्राभ्यां राउतश्रीअणते ।[34] राउत-

[22] श्री(हरे)सर्म्मभ्यां[35] ब्राह्मणाभ्यां (शु द्ध)यसा(दं) प्रदत्तो म(त्वा) य(था)दीयमानभागभो(ग)क(रप्र)वणिकरगोक-र(जात)करतुरुष्कदंडक्षमार(ग)दिआण[ण][36]-

[23] प्रभृतिसमस्तनियता(निय)तादायानाज्ञावि(धेयीभूय) दास्यथ ॥ भवन्ति चात्र धर्मा(नु)साशनः[37] पौराणिकश्लोकाः। भूमिं यः प्रतिगृ(ह्णा)ति यश्च भू-

[24] मिं प्रयछति[38] [।] (उभौ) तौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतं स्वर्ग्गगामिनौ ॥ संखं[39] भ(द्रा)सनं छत्रं[40] वराश्वा वरवारणा[ः।] भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फल(मे)तत्पुरंदर ॥

[25] षष्टिं वर्षसह(स्रा)णि स्वर्ग्गे वसति भूमिदः [।] आछेत्ता[41] चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेद्व[42]सुंधरां। स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृ-

[26] भिः सह मज्जति ॥ गानेकां स्वर्ग्गमे(कं) च भूमेरप्येकमगुलं । हरन्नरकमा(प्नोति) यावदाहूतसं(प्ल)वं[43] ॥ वाता-भ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यमापातमात्र-

[27] मधुरा विषयोपभोगाः [।] प्राणास्तृणाग्रजलबिंदुसमा नराणां धर्म्मः सखा परमहो परलोकयाने ॥ सर्वानेतान्भा-विनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते राम-

[28] भद्रः [।] सामान्योयं धर्म(से)तुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ लिखितं ताम्रकमिदं श्रीजयपालेन ।

TRANSLATION.

Ôm! May it be well!—(V. 1) May the agitation of Lakshmî during the amorous dalliance, when her hands wander over the neck of Vaikuṇṭha filled with eager longing, bring you happiness!

(V. 2.)—After the lines of the protectors of the earth born in the solar race had gone to heaven, there came a noble (*personage*) Yaśôvigraha by name, (*who*) by his plentiful splendour (*was*) as it were the Sun incarnate.[44]

(V. 3.)—His son was Mahîchandra who spread his boundless fame, resembling the moon's splendour, (*even*) to the boundary of the ocean.

(V. 4.)—His son was the king, the illustrious Chandradêva, whose one delight was in statesmanship, who attacked the hostile hosts (*and*) scattered the haughty brave warriors as (*the moon does the*) darkness. By the valour of his arm he acquired the matchless sovereignty over the glorious Gâdhipura, when an end was put to all distress of the people by his most noble prowess.[45]

(V. 5.)—Protecting the holy bathing-places of Kâśi, Kuśika, Uttarakôśalâ, and the city of Indra, after he had obtained them, (*and*) incessantly bestowing on the twice-born gold equal (*in weight*) to his body, he hundreds of times marked the earth with the scales (*on which he had himself weighed*).[46]

(V. 6.)—Victorious is his son **Madanapâla**, the crest-jewel of the rulers of the earth, the moon of his family. By the sparkling waters from his coronation-jars the coating of impurity

[22] Read साम्रमधूकवनः.

[23] Read °गोचर°. [24] This sign is superfluous.

[25] Read °द्वादशशत°. [26] This reading is doubtful.

[27] Read °शेखरं. [28] Read °यशोविवृद्धये.

[29] This *akshara* may be स्य. [30] Or गोकर्ण° (?)

[31] Read काश्यपगोत्राभ्यां काश्य°. [32] Read °त्रिप्रवराभ्यां.

[33] The spelling of this word appears to be ठन्कुर (not ठक्कुर) here and below.

[34] This sign is superfluous. [35] Read °शर्मभ्यां ब्रा°.

[36] I am doubtful about the last *akshara* of this line; it may be ण or णु or कै or कु.

[37] Read धर्मानुशासिनः. [38] Read प्रयच्छति.

[39] Read शंखं. [40] Read छत्रं.

[41] Read आच्छेत्ता [42] Read हरेत व°.

[43] See B & R. Dictionary, *s. v.* संप्लव.

[44] Metre: Indravajrâ.

[45] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita. Gâdhipura, 'Gâdhi's town,' is Kanyakubja: see below.

[46] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.—The reading अधिगम्य (*not* अभिगम्य is certain in both inscriptions. On the Tîrthas named see Hall, *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXVII. p. 224; Kâśi and Uttarakośalâ are Benares and Ayôdhyâ; the town of Indra is very probably Indraprastha (ancient Dehli), the Kuśika-tîrtha I take to be Gâdhipura, *i.e.* Kanyakubja itself.

of the Kaliyuga was washed off from the earth.[47]

(V. 7.)—As the moon, whose rays diffuse in abundance liquid nectar, from the ocean, so was born from him the ruler of men G ô v i n d a c h a n d r a, who bestowed cows giving abundant milk. As one restrains an (*untrained*) elephant, so he secured by his creeper-like long arms the new (*i.e.* newly acquired) kingdom.[48]

(V. 8.)—When his war-elephants had in three quarters in no wise found elephants their equals for combat, they roamed about in the region of the wielder of the thunderbolt, like rivals of the mate of Abhramu.[49]

(V. 9.)—From him was born the ruler of men, V i j a y a c h a n d r a by name, expert in destroying the hosts of (*hostile*) princes, as the lord of the gods (*was*) in clipping the wings of the mountains. He swept away the affliction of the globe by the streams (*of water flowing as*) from clouds from the eyes of the wives of Hammîra, the abode of wanton destruction to the earth.[50]

(V. 10.)—When he goes out to conquer the earth girt by the ocean, the earth, distressed as it were by the heavy weight of his rutty royal elephants, goes seeking protection up to the throne of Prajâpati, in the guise of the dust rising from the multitude of his prancing horses.[51]

(L. 10.)—He it is who has homage rendered to his feet by the circle of all *Râjas*. And he, the most worshipful, the supreme king of *Mahârâjas*, the supreme lord, the devout worshipper of Mahêśvara, the lord over the three *Râjas*, (*viz.*) the lord of horses (*Aśvapati*), the lord of elephants (*Gajapati*) and the lord of men (*Narapati*),[52] (*like*) Brihaspati in investigating the various sciences, the illustrious V i j a y a c h a n d r a d ê v a,—who meditates on the feet of the most worshipful, the supreme king of *Mahârâjas*, the supreme lord, the devout worshipper of Mahêśvara, the lord over the three *Râjas*, (*viz.*) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, (*like*) Brihaspati in investigating the various sciences, the illustrious G ô v i n d a c h a n d r a d ê v a,—who meditated on the feet of the most worshipful, the supreme king of *Mahârâjas*, the supreme lord, the devout worshipper of Mahêśvara, the illustrious M a d a n a p â l a d ê v a,—who meditated on the feet of the most worshipful, the supreme king of *Mahârâjas*, the supreme lord, the devout worshipper of Mahêśvara, the illustrious C h a n d r a d ê v a, who by his arm had acquired the sovereignty over Kanyakubja :—

(L. 14.)—He, the victorious, commands, informs, and decrees to all the people assembled, resident at the village of N â g a l î[53] (?) in the D ê v a h a l î *Pattalâ*, and also to the *Râjas*, *Râjñîs*, *Yuvarâjas*, counsellors, chaplains, warders of the gate, commanders of troops, treasurers, keepers of records, physicians, astrologers, superintendents of gynæceums, messengers, and to the officers having authority as regards elephants, horses, towns, mines (?), *Sthânas* and *Gôkulas*,[54]—as follows :—

(L 16.)—Be it known to you that the son of the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious J a y a c h c h a n d r a d ê v a, installed as *Yuvarâja*, and as such by our consent empowered to act in all matters like the king himself,—after having bathed in the Yamunâ at the Vaśishṭha (?)-

[47] Metre : Vasantatilakâ.

[48] Metre : Vasantatilakâ.—The compound निजायत... गज: has been translated by Captain Fell "by the grasp of his mighty arm he was able to restrain an elephant of the kingdom of Navarashtra"; by F. E. Hall, "by whom, with his far-reaching creepers of arms, elephant-like upstart governments were seized and coerced"; similarly by Dr. Rajendralal, "his long arms, extending like creepers, tied and checked all elephant-like upstart kingdoms"; better in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. X. P. I. p. 102, "who by his arms, long and like the creeping plant, kept the newly acquired kingdom—stubborn as the elephant in confinement." The third *pâda* has been translated by F. E. Hall "*and* who *was* a fountain of eloquence copiously distilling the essence of *rhetorical* nectar"; and by Rajendralal either "and he was the source of thick fluid-nectar-sprinkling eloquence" or "the source (whence men obtained) kine which gave thick, sweet milk"; the double meaning suggested in the words of the original has not been noticed.

[49] Metre : Drutavilambita.—Abhramu is the female elephant of the East (the region of Indra), the mate of Airâvata.

[50] Metre : Mâlinî.

[51] Metre : Vasantatilakâ.

[52] The *Gajapati* is enumerated with other regal officers, such as the *Mantrin* and the *Sênâpati*, *e.g. Ind. Studien*, Vol. XV. p 398, note; compare also *ante*, Vol. III p. 152. Hence it would appear that the *Aśvapati* and *Narapati* also were high officers of state. The three terms have also been titles of dynasties and even proper names; see *e.g. ante*, Vol. V. p 75; Vol. VIII. p. 19, 95; Vol. XII. p. 51, 52; Beal's *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. I. p. 13. Compare also Hall in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXVII. p. 247; Vol. XXXI. p. 119, and Rajendralal, Vol. XLII. Part I. p. 327; also *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 167, l. 29. *hastyaśvarâshṭranavalakshmîprîtika*.

[53] See note 15 above.

[54] The exact meaning of the three last terms is not quite clear to me. On *Manu* VII. 62, *âkara* is explained by *suvarṇâdyutpattisthâna*. *Gôkula* usually is 'a herd of kine' or 'a cattle-station.'

ghat, after having duly satisfied the sacred texts, divinities,[55] saints, men, beings and the group of ancestors, after having worshipped the sun whose splendour is potent in rending the veil of darkness, after having praised him whose crest is a portion of the moon, after having performed adoration of the holy Vâsudêva, the protector of the three worlds,—has, in order to increase the (*spiritual*) merit and the fame of his parents and himself, on the day of full-moon of Mâgha in the twelve hundred and twenty-fifth year, in figures too[56] 1225, out of pure grace given the above-written village with its water and dry land, with its mines of iron and salt, with its ravines and saline wastes, with its groves of mango and *madhûka* trees, with its fisheries, with its grass and pasture land, up to its boundaries (*and*) defined as to its four abuttals, to the two Brâhmaṇs the *Râuta* the illustrious Aṇṭê(-śarman) and the *Râuta* the illustrious Dâdêśarman, sons of the *Râuta* Gotha, grandsons of the *Ṭhakkura* Tihula (?) (*and*) grandsons of the *Ṭhakkura* Âlhê (?), of the Kâśyapa *gôtra*, (*and*) whose three *Pravaras* are Kâśyapa, Âvatsâra and Naidhruva,—(*confirming his gift*) with (*the pouring out*) from the palm of his hand (*of*) water purified with *kuśa* grass . . . . . .[57] (*and to be theirs*) as long as moon and sun (*endure*). Aware (*of this*), you, being ready to obey (*his*) commands, will make over (*to them*) every kind of income, fixed and not fixed, the due share of the produce, ... and so forth.[58]

(L. 23.)—And there are ancient verses which teach the law on this (*subject, as follows*):—[Here follow seven of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, which it is unnecessary to translate.]

(L. 28.)—This copper-plate grant has been written by the illustrious **Jayapâla**.

B.—FAIZABAD PLATE OF JAYACHCHANDRA.—SAMVAT 1243.

This inscription[59] is from a copper-plate which was found near **Faizâbâd** in Oude, and is now in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society in London.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about 1′ 8½″ by 1′ 4″. It is quite smooth, the edges being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims; but the inscription is in perfect order throughout. The seal is circular, about 2¾″ in diameter; it has, in relief on a countersunk surface,—across the centre, the legend *Śr*[*î**]*maj-Jayachcha*[*ṁ**]*drad*[*ê**]*vaḥ* ‖;—in the upper part, Garuḍa, half man and half bird, kneeling and facing to the proper right;—and in the lower part, a *śaṅkha*-shell. The seal slides by its socket-ring, which is about ½″ thick and 1¼″ in diameter, on a plain ring about ½″ thick and 4″ in diameter, which passes through the ring-hole in the top of the plate: this latter ring had been cut before the grant came under Mr. Fleet's notice for preparing the lithograph. The weight of the plate is 6 lbs. 5 oz.; and of the seal with its own ring and the other, 2 lbs. 6¼ oz.; total weight, 8 lbs. 11¼ oz.

TEXT.

[¹] [ओं] स्वस्ति ॥ अकुण्ठोत्कण्ठवैकुण्ठकण्ठपीठलुठत्करः । संरम्भः सुरतारम्भे स श्रियः श्रेयसेस्तु वः ॥ [१] आसीदशीतद्युतिवंशजातक्ष्मापाल-

[²] मालासु दिवं गतासु । साक्षाद्विवस्वानिव भूरिधाम्ना नाम्ना यशोविग्रह इत्युदारः ॥ [२] तत्सुतोभून्महीचंद्र-श्चंद्रधामनिभं निजं । येनापारमकूपार-

[55] *Mantradêva* has by others been translated by 'divinities of the *Vêdas*,' but I believe that *mantra-dêva-manuja-bhûta-pitrigaṇa* has reference to the five *Mahâyajña*, to which the worship of the *Munis* has here been added as is elsewhere that of the *Ṛishis*; see *e.g. ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 103, l. 9.

[56] For the locative *aṅkê* in place of the more usual *aṅkataḥ* compare *e.g. ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 103, l. 8.

[57] I am not certain about the exact meaning of *gôkarṇa*, 'cow's ear,' before *kuśalatâpûta*. F. E. Hall in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXVII. p. 232 translated "having taken water in his palm, purified by *incurving it into the form of* a cow's ear, and by *kuśa* grass," but passages in other inscriptions would seem to show that *kuśalatâpûta* ought to be taken as an adjective qualifying the word *udaka* of *karatalôdaka*; compare *e.g. ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 103, l. 16 *kuśapûtêna hastôdakêna*.—That at the recitation of Vêdic texts the right hand should be so held as to look like a cow's ear, I have shown, *ante*, Vol. V. p. 193, by a quotation from a *Sikshâ*; but there that shape is given to it only for the denotation of the accents.

[58] I am unable to explain *pravaṇikara* and the remaining terms up to the end of the line. *Pravaṇikara* takes both here and elsewhere the place of the usual *hiraṇya* (compare *e.g. Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXVII. p. 222) and would therefore appear to mean 'money-rent'; F. E. Hall has translated it by 'quadrivial tolls,' and Rajendralal by 'toll on quadrivials.' But the place where four roads meet is *pravaṇa*, not *pravaṇi*. *Gôkara* would seem to be 'cattle-tax,' and *jalakara* 'tax on things grown.' *Turushkadaṇḍa*, which together with other unintelligible terms occurs also *e.g. ante* Vol. XIV. p. 103, l. 12, has by F. E. Hall been taken to mean 'Muhammadan amercements' and by Rajendralal 'royalty on aromatic reeds' (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXVII. p. 244, and XLII. Part I. p. 321). *Kshamâ*[?]*agadiânana* (if this be the right reading) I have not met with anywhere else.

[59] *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 13.

[3] पारे व्यापारितं यशः ॥ [३] तस्याभूत्तनयो नयैक(र)सिकः क्रान्तद्विषन्मण्डलो विध्वस्तोद्धतवीरयोधतिमिर[60]
श्रीचंद्रदेवो नृपः । येनोदारतरप्रतापशमिताशेष-

[4] प्रजोपद्रवं श्रीमद्गाधिपुराधिराज्यमसमं दोर्व्विक्रमेणार्ज्जितं ॥ [४] तीर्थानि काशिकुशिकोत्तरकोशलेन्द्रस्था-
नीयकानि परिपालयताधिगम्य । हेमात्मतु-

[5] ल्यमनिसं[61] ददता द्विजेभ्यो येनाङ्किता वसुमती शतसस्तु[62]लाभिः ॥ [५] तस्यात्मजो मदनपाल इति क्षितीन्द्रचू-
डामणिर्व्विजयते निजगो(त्र)चंद्रः । यस्याभिषेक-

[6] कलशोल्लशि(तैः)[63] पयोभिः प्रक्षालितं कलिरजःपठलं[64] धरित्र्याः ॥ [६] यस्यासीद्विजयप्रयाणसमये तुङ्गाचलो-
च्चैश्चलन्माद्यत्कुम्भिपदक्रमासमभर(भ्र)श्य-

[7] न्महीमण्डले । चूडारत्नविभिन्नता(लु)गलितस्त्यानासृगु(द्भा)शितः[65] (शे)षः शैषवसादिव[66] क्षणमसौ क्रोडे
नि(ली)नाननः ॥ [७] तस्मादजायत निजायतवाहु-

[8] वल्लिवन्धा[67]वरुद्धनवराज्यगजो नरेन्द्रः । सांद्रामृत(द्र)वमुचां प्रभवो गवां यो गोविन्दचन्द्र इति चंद्र
इवाम्वुरासेः[68] ॥ [८] न कथमप्यलभन्त रणक्षमांस्ति-

[9] सृषु दिक्षु गजानथ वज्रिणः । ककुभि व(भ्र)मु[69](रभ्र)मुवल्लभप्रतिभटा इव यस्य घठागजाः[70] ॥ [९] अजनि
विजयचंद्रो नाम तस्मान्नरेन्द्रः सुरपतिरि-

[10] व भूभृत्पक्षविच्छेददक्ष[ः] । भुवनदलनहेलाहर्म्म्यह(म्मी)रनारीनयनजलदधाराधौतभूलोकतापः ॥ [१०] (लो)-
कत्रयाक्रमणकेलिविशृंखलानि प्र-

[11] ख्यातकीर्त्तिकविवर्ण्णितवैभवानि । यस्य (त्रि)विक्रमपदक्रमभांजि भांति प्रो(द्यो)तय(न्ति) वलि[71]राजभयं यशां-
सि ॥ [११] यस्मिंश्चलत्युदधिनेमिमहीज-

[12] यार्थं माद्यत्करीन्द्र(गु)रुभारनिर्पीडितेव । याति प्रजापतिपदं सरणार्थिनी[72] भूस्त्वङ्गत्तुरङ्गनिवहोत्थरजश्छ-
लेन ॥ [१२] तस्मादद्भुतविक्रमादथ जयचं-

[13] द्राभिधानः पतिर्भूपानामवतीर्ण्ण एष भुवनोद्धाराय नारायणः । (द्वैधी)भावमपास्य विग्रहरु(चिं) धिकृत्य सान्ता-
शयाः[73] सेवन्ते यमुदग्रवन्धन-

[14] भय(ध्व)ल्सा(र्थि)नः[74] पार्थिवाः ॥ [१३] गच्छेन्मूर्च्छामतुच्छां न यदि कवलयेत्कूर्म्मपृष्ठाभिघात[75] प्रत्यावृत्तश्र-
मार्त्तो नमदखिलफणस्वासवात्यासहस्रं[76] । उद्योगे

[15] यस्य धावद्धरणिधरधुनीनिर्झरस्फारधारभ्रश्यद्दानद्विपालीदहल[77]भरगल(द्वै)र्यमुद्रः फणींद्रः ॥ [१४] सोयं समस्तरा-
जचक्रसंसेवितचरणः

[16] स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरनिजभुजोपार्ज्जितश्रीकन्यकुब्जा[78]धिपत्यश्रीचंद्रदेवपादानु-
ध्यातपरमभट्टारक-

[17] महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीमदनपालदेवपादानु(ध्या)तपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्व-
राश्वपतिगजप-

[18] तिनरपतिराज(त्र)याधिपतिविविधविद्याविचारवाचस्पतिश्रीगोविन्दचंद्रदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिरा-
जपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वराश्व-

[19] पतिगजपतिनरपतिराज(त्र)याधिपतिविविधविद्याविचारवाचस्पतिश्रीविजयचंद्रदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहारा-
जाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममा(हे)-

[20] श्वराश्वपतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपतिविविधविद्याविचारवाचस्पतिश्रीमज्जयचंद्रदेवो विजयी ॥ ॥[79] असुरेस-
पत्तलायां कमोली[80]ग्रामनि-

[21] वासिनो निखिलजनपदानुपगतानपि च राजराज्ञीयुवराजमंत्रिपुरोहितप्रतीहारसेनापतिभांडागारिकाक्षपटलिक-
भिषग्नैमित्तिकान्त पुरिक-

[22] दूतकरितु(र)गपत्तनाकरस्थानगोकुलाधिकारिपुरुषानाज्ञापयति वोधय[81]त्यादिशति च विदितमस्तु भवतां यथो-
परिलिखितग्रामः सजलस्थलः

[23] सलोहलवणाकरः सम(त्स्या)करः सगर्त्तोषरः सगिरिगहननिधानः सम(धू)का(म्र)वन[82]वाटिकाविटपतृणयूति-
गोचरपर्यन्तः सोर्द्ध्वाधश्चतुराघाटवि-

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[60] Read °तिमिरः. [61] Read °निशं. [62] Read शतशस्तु°.
[63] Read °सितैः. [64] Read °पटलं. [65] Read °सित..
[66] Read शैषवशादिव. [67] Read °बाहुवल्लिबन्धा°.
[68] Read इवाम्बुराशेः. [69] Read बभ्रमु°.
[70] Read घटागजाः. [71] Read बलि°.
[72] Read शरणार्थिनी. [73] Read शान्ताशयाः.
[74] Read °बन्धनभयध्वंसार्थिन . [75] Or °भिघाते प्रत्या°(?).
[76] Read °श्वासवात्यासहस्रं. [77] Read °बहुल° (?).
[78] Read °कन्यकुब्जा°.
[79] These signs are superfluous.
[80] Or केमोली (?). In the original there is a vertical stroke before क, but *ê* is in this inscription always denoted by the stroke *above* the consonant. [81] Read बोधय°.
[82] Or समधूकाम्लवन° (?).

[24] सुद्धः स्वसीमापर्यन्तः । त्रिचत्वारिंसदधिक[83]द्वादशशतसंवत्सरे आषाढे मासि सुक्क[84]पक्षे सप्तम्यां तिथौ रविदिने
अङ्कतोपि सम्वत्[85] १२४३ आषाढसुदि ७ र-
[25] वौ अद्येह श्रीमद्वाराणस्यां गंगायां स्नात्वा विधिवन्मंत्रदेवमुनिमनुजभूतपितृगणांस्तर्प्पयित्वा तिमिरपटलपाटनप-
टुमहसमुष्णरोचिषमुपस्थायौषधि-
[26] पतिशलशेखरं[86] समभ्यर्च्य त्रिभुवनत्रातु(र्भ)गवतो (वासु)देवस्य पूजां विधाय प्रचु(र)पायसेन हविषा हविर्भु(जं)
हुत्वा मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्ध-
[27] ये अस्माभिर्ग्गोकर्ण्णकुशलतापूतकरतलोदकपूर्व्वकं भारद्वाजगोत्राय भारद्वाजांगिरसवार्हस्प[87]त्येतित्रिप्रवराय रा-
उतश्रीआह्लले(?)पौत्राय राउतश्रीदूंदा-
[28] पुत्राय डोडराउतश्रीअणंगाय चंद्रार्क्कं यावच्छासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तो मत्वा यथादीयमानभागभोगकर(प्र)वणिकरप्रभृ-
तिनियतानियतसमस्तादायानाज्ञाविधे-
[29] यीभूय दास्यथेति ॥ ॥ भवन्ति चात्र (श्लो)काः । भूमिं यः प्रतिगृ(ह्णा)ति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्य-
कर्माणौ निय(तं) स्वर्ग्गगामिनौ ॥ संखं[88] भद्रासनं च्छ(त्रं)[89] वराश्वा वरवार-
[30] णाः । भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फलमेतत्पुरंदर ॥ षष्ठिं वर्षसहश्राणि[90] (स्वर्ग्गे) वसति भू(मि)दः । आच्छेत्ता चानु-
मन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ वहु[91]भिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सग-
[31] रादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो ह(रे)त व(सुं)धरां । स
विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह मज्जति ॥ तडागा(नां) सहश्रेण[92] वाजपेयशतेन च [।]
[32] गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्त्ता न सुध्यति[93] ॥ वारिहीनेष्वरण्येषु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । कृष्ण(स)र्पाश्च जायन्ते
देवब्रह्म[94](स्व)हारिणः ॥ न विषं विषमित्याहुर्ब्रह्म(स्वं)[95] विषमुच्य-
[33] ते । विषमेकाकिनं हन्ति ब्रह्मस्वं[96] पुत्रपौत्रिकं ॥ वाताभ्रवि(भ्र)ममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यमापातमात्रमधुरा विषयोप-
भोगाः । प्राणास्तृणा(ग्र)ज(ल)विंदुसमा नराणां धर्मः सखा पर-
[34] महो परलोकयाने ॥ यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेंद्रैर्द्दानानि धर्मार्त्थयशस्कराणि । निर्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को
नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥

TRANSLATION.

Ôm! May it be well!—(Verses 1 to 6 = verses 1 to 6 of the preceding.)

(V. 7.)—When he went forth to victory, the orb of the earth bent down beneath the excessive weight of the footsteps of his rutty elephants marching along, tall as towering mountains: then, as if suffering from cold, Śêsha, radiant with the clotted blood that trickled from his palate pierced by the crest-jewel, hid his face for a moment in his bosom.[97]

(Verses 8 to 10 = verses 7 to 9 of the preceding.)

(V. 11.)—His bright fame which met with no check in its playful course through the three worlds, (*and*) whose glory was sung by poets of known renown, made intense the fear of king Bali when it strode along like Trivikrama.[98]

(Verse 12 = verse 10 of the preceding).

(V. 13.)—After him (*i.e.* Vijayachandra) possessed of wonderful valour, (*comes*) the lord of princes named J a y a c h c h a n d r a; he is Nârâyaṇa, having become incarnate for the salvation of the earth. Having put aside (*all*) dissension (*and*) cursing (*their own*) liking for war, peacefully-disposed princes pay homage to him, seeking to rid themselves of the intense dread of the punishment (*inflicted by him*).[99]

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83 Read °विशुद्धः स्वसीमापर्यन्तास्त्रिचत्वारिंशदधिक°.
84 Read शुक्ल°. 85 Read संवत्. 86 Read °शकलशेखरं.
87 Read °बार्हस्प°. 88 Read शंखं. 89 Read छत्त्रं.
90 Read षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि. 91 Read बहु°.
92 Read सहस्रेण. 93 Read शुध्यति.
94 Read देवब्रह्म°. 95 Read °ब्रह्मस्वं. 96 Read ब्रह्मस्वं.

97 Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.—For the words which I have translated by "as if suffering from cold" the editor in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. X. has स्पर्शशादिव (which, I suppose, is meant for स्पर्शवशादिव); Captain Fell translates "forcing him from the trituration." F. E Hall and Rajendralal read पेषवश दिव; the former translates "as it were, in consequence of being crushed," and the latter "crushed as it were," but Dr. Hall suggests the reading पेषभयादिव which would mean "for fear as it were of being crushed." In the photolithograph before me the first consonant is certainly श (*not* प) and above it the two strokes for *ai* seem to me clearly visible; the actual reading then is शैषवसादिव. My reasons for proposing शैषवशादिव are:—Śêsha who carries the earth has his head actually hurt by the weight he has to bear, and hides it therefore in his bosom; but the writer of the verse, wishing to employ the rhetorical figure *Utprêkshâ* (which is indicated by इव), assigns a different reason for Śêsha's action, *viz.* this, that Śêsha is suffering from cold. If we were to read पेषवशादिव, इव would have no sense. It should be observed that in the present inscription the two sibilants श and स at any rate are several times confounded; and that शेषः शैष° is just what one would expect in a document the writers of which delight in plays upon words. शैष is given as a synonym of शिशिर by Hêmachandra.

98 Metre: Vasantatilakâ.—Bali became afraid lest he should be deprived by the king even of that portion of his dominions which had been left to him by Trivikrama, *i.e.* Vishṇu.—The original has the present tense.

99 Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

(V. 14.)—When he puts forth his might, the lord of serpents has his reputed strength failing under the great weight of the lines of elephants whose rutting-juice flows down in broad streams resembling torrents rushing down from moving mountains; distressed by the exertion of turning up again when pressed down upon the back of the tortoise, he would completely faint away if he did not inhale the thousand strong breezes from all his bending hoods.[100]

(L. 15.)—He it is who has homage rendered to his feet by the circle of all *Râjas.* And he, the most worshipful, the supreme king of *Mahârâjas,* the supreme lord, the devout worshipper of Mahêśvara, the lord over the three *Râjas,* (*viz.*) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, (*like*) Bṛihaspati in investigating the various sciences, the illustrious J a y a c h c h a n d r a d ê v a,—who meditates on the feet of the most worshipful, the supreme king of *Mahârâjas,* the supreme lord, the devout worshipper of Mahêśvara, the lord over the three *Râjas,* (*viz.*) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, (*like*) Bṛihaspati in investigating the various sciences, the illustrious V i j a y a c h a n d r a d ê v a,—who meditated on the feet of the most worshipful, the supreme king of *Mahârâjas,* the supreme lord, the devout worshipper of Mahêśvara, the lord over the three *Râjas,* (*viz*) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, (*like*) Bṛihaspati in investigating the various sciences, the illustrious G ô v i n d a c h a n d r a d ê v a,—who meditated on the feet of the most worshipful, the supreme king of *Mahârâjas,* the supreme lord, the devout worshipper of Mahêśvara, the illustrious M a d a n a p â l a d ê v a,—who meditated on the feet of the most worshipful, the supreme king of *Mahârâjas,* the supreme lord, the devout worshipper of Mahêśvara, the illustrious C h a n d r a d ê v a, who by his arm had acquired the sovereignty over the glorious Kanyakubja :—

(L. 20.)—He, the victorious, commands, informs and decrees to all the people assembled, resident at the village of K a m ô l î[101] (?) in the A s u r ê s a *Pattalâ,* and also to the *Râjas, Râjñîs, Yuvarâjas,* counsellors, chaplains, warders of the gate, commanders of troops, treasurers, keepers of records, physicians, astrologers, superintendents of gynæceums, messengers, and to the officers having authority as regards elephants, horses, towns, mines (?), *Sthânas* and *Gôkulas* :—

(L. 22.)—Be it known to you that,—after having bathed here to-day in the Ganges at the glorious V â r â ṇ a s î, after having duly satisfied the sacred texts, divinities, saints, men, beings and the group of ancestors, after having worshipped the sun whose splendour is potent in rending the veil of darkness, after having praised him whose crest is a portion of the moon, after having performed adoration of the holy Vâsudêva the protector of the three worlds, after having sacrificed to fire an oblation with abundant milk, rice and sugar,—we have, in order to increase the (*spiritual*) merit and the fame of our parents and ourself, on Sunday, the seventh lunar day in the bright half of the month Âshâḍha in the twelve-hundred-and-forty-third year,—in figures too, on Sunday the 7th Śudi Âshâḍha 1243,—given the above-written village with its water and dry land, with its mines of iron and salt, with its fisheries, with its ravines and saline wastes, with the treasure in its hills and forests, with and including its groves of *madhûka* and mango trees, enclosed gardens, bushes, grass and pasture land, with what is above and below, defined as to its four abuttals, up to its proper boundaries, to the *Doḍa*[102]-*Râuta* the illustrious Anaṅga, son of the *Râuta* the illustrious Dûṁtâ, grandson of the *Râuta* the illustrious Âḍhalô (?), of the Bhâradvâja *gôtra* (*and*) whose three *Pravaras* are Bhâradvâja Âṅgirasa and Bârhaspatya,—(*confirming our gift*) with (*the pouring out*) from the palm of our hand (of) water purified with *kuśa*-grass. . . . . .[103] (*and*) ordaining (*that it shall be his*) as long as moon and sun (*endure*). Aware (*of this*), you, being ready to obey (*our*) commands, will make over (*to him*) every kind of income, fixed and not fixed, the due share of the produce, the *pravaṇikara,* and so forth.

(L. 30.)—And on this (*subject*) there are (*the following*) verses :—[Here follow ten of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, which it is unnecessary to translate.]

[100] Metre: Sragdharâ.—In the last *pâda* the Editor in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.,* Vol. X. reads °द्विपालीवहनभर° and Captain Fell translates "by the firm weight." In the photolithograph the three *aksharas* before भर are दहल for which I suggest वहल or वहुल; compare l. 6 असमभर and l. 12 गुरुभार.

[101] See note 80 above.

[102] See Elliot, *Suppl. Glossary,* Vol. I. p. 81.

[103] See notes on the preceding grant.

AN ENGLISH-GIPSY INDEX.

COMPILED BY MRS. GRIERSON; WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY G. A. GRIERSON, B.C.S.

The only apology offered for this *Index* is the want of anything better. There is no English-Gipsy vocabulary in existence, except a short one in Paspati's excellent *Memoir on the Language of the Gypsies as now used in the Turkish Empire*, published in 1869 in the *Journal* of the American Oriental Society.

For reasons which will be subsequently understood, the want of such a work was much felt by Dr. Hoernle and myself, when writing the comparative portion of our *Dictionary of the Bihârî Language*. There was plenty of materials available in various languages, and accordingly the contents of the following works were indexed out :—

1. *Romano Lavo-Lil:* Word Book of the Romany, or English-Gypsy Language, by George Borrow. London: John Murray, 1874.
2. *Études sur Les Tchinghianés ou Bohémiens de l'Empire Ottoman,* par Alexandre G. Paspati, D. M., Constantinople: Imprimerie Antoine Koromela, 1870.
3. *Ueber die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europa's.* Theil V. Märchen und Lieder der Zigeuner der Bukowina. Zweiter Theil. Glossar, von Dr. Franz Miklosich. Theile VII. VIII. Vergleichung der Zigeunermundarten. Wien, in Commission bei Karl Gerold's Sohn, 1875.

It is believed that the *Index* following contains all the words in the above-mentioned works. The first of them contains a Gipsy-English Vocabulary. The second a very full French-Gipsy and Gipsy-French one. Part V. of the third consists of a Bukowina-Gipsy-German Glossary and Parts VII. and VIII. of a magnificent comparative glossary of selected Gipsy words. Out of them, the *Index*, which may be taken as a rough draft of an English-Gipsy Vocabulary, has been compiled.

Our knowledge of the Gipsy Language being only superficial, and only derived from the study of the above and similar books, we cannot hope that the *Index* is entirely free from blunders; but as we have found it extremely useful for the purposes of comparative philology, and as no other similar work is available, we think it right to place it at the service of our fellow-students. Perhaps some more thorough student, such as Mr. Leland, may be moved by its example to give us a really scientific *English-Gipsy Dictionary.*

We have thought it best to give the Gipsy words, generally, exactly as they have been spelt by the authors above named. This has been rendered necessary by the very unscientific spelling adopted by Borrow in the *Lavo-Lil.* Not being familiar with the pronunciation adopted by English Gipsies, we have been compelled to adhere to his spelling. Only in a few cases, in which there was no room for doubt, have we attempted to adopt a uniform system. Thus Borrow gives the root *dic,* and immediately afterwards *dickimengro,* 'an overseer,' and '*dikkipen,*' 'look,' 'aspect.' In all these cases we have spelt the root uniformly *dik.* So also elsewhere, when Borrow has given a *ck* or a hard *c,* we have written *k.* Again, where Borrow has written *oo,* we have written *û.* Thus Borrow's *poov,* 'earth' appears as *pûv.*

Paspati represents the hard palatal by *tch,* and the soft palatal by *dj.* We have followed the English method of writing *ch* and *j* respectively.

Miklosich complicates matters by using the Russian letter *yerĕ.* For this we have substituted throughout *ĕ,* as its nearest English equivalent. His *c, t', d'* and *l'* we have left unchanged. His *č, š,* and *ž* we have written *ch, sh,* and *zh* respectively, and his *ch* (which equals the Persian خ) we have written *ḳh.* His *dz,* and his *g'* we have written alike as *j,* his *γ* as *g,* and his *j* as *y.* In this way his spelling will nearly approximate the system used in transliterating Indian vernaculars.

With regard to the infinitive termination *ava,* Paspati spells it with a long *á,* thus, *áva*; but Borrow *ava.* We have used *âva* throughout to secure uniformity. Miklosich gives verbs in their root forms. To these we have added the infinitive sign *âva* for a similar reason.

Part V. of Miklosich contains many Rumunian words, which have been borrowed by the local Gipsies, and which do not form a portion of the genuine vocabulary of the whole Gipsy tribe.

Pending the formation of a complete Gipsy-English Vocabulary, it has been thought best to include these words in the *Index*.

In every case we have given a reference to the book whence the word has been taken, so that no difficulty will be experienced in finding it.

Mr. Leland has made a happy suggestion that the original Gipsies may have been Ḍ ô m s of India. He points out that *Romany* is almost letter for letter the same as डोमनि, the plural of डोम. डोमनि is the plural form in the Bhôj'pûrî dialect of the Bihârî Language. It was originally a genitive plural; so that *Romany-Rye*, 'a gipsy gentleman,' may be well compared with the Bhôj'pûrî डोमनि राय, (Skr. डोमानां राजा), 'a king of the Ḍ ô m s.' The Bhôj'pûrî-speaking Ḍôms are a famous race, and they have many points of resemblance with the Gipsies of Europe. Thus, they are darker in complexion than the surrounding Bihârîs, are great thieves, live by hunting, dancing, and telling fortunes, their women have a reputation for making love-philtres and medicines to pro-cure abortion, they keep fowls (which no orthodox Hindû will do), and are said to eat carrion. They are also great musicians and horsemen.

Mr. Fleet has drawn my attention to a South-Indian inscription given in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 9ff, in line 50 of which a certain Ḍ ô m m a is mentioned. On p. 10 of the same volume, Mr. Fleet says with reference to him, "in connection with him (R u d r a d ê v a), the first record in this inscription is that he subdued a certain Ḍ ô m m a, whose strength evidently lay in his cavalry. No clue is given as to who Ḍômma was; but as *ḍôma, ḍômba*, or *ḍama*, is the name of 'a despised mixed caste,' he may have been the leader of some aboriginal tribe, which had not then lost all its power." If this conjecture is true, it would show that the Ḍôms extended over the greater part of India, and in some places possessed considerable power.

But the resemblance of the Bhôj'pûrî and Gipsy dialects is not confined to a similarity of name. The Gipsy grammar is closely connected with Bhôj'pûrî, or with its original Apabhraṁśa Mâgadhî Prâkṛit, thus:—

	Gipsy.	*Bhôj'pûrî.*	*Mâgadhî Prâkṛit.*
Nom.	Rom	डोम	
Obl. Sing.	Romês	डोम	(gen.) डोमस्स or डोमास
Obl. Plur.	Romên	डोमन or डोमनि	(gen.) डोमण्णं
Nom.	kalô, 'black'	काला	
Obl.	kalè	काले	
Genitive Termination of nouns and pronouns	koro	कर	
3rd sing. pres.	lêla, 'he takes'	लेला	
3rd sing. past.	lèlas, 'he was taking'	लेलस, 'he took.'	
1st sing. fut.	jâv, 'I will go'	जाव	
Past part.	gelo, 'gone'	गेल	
1st sing. fut.	kama kerâva, 'I will do'	करब, 'I will do.'	
Infinitive	kerâva, 'to do'	करब, 'to do.'	

These examples might be continued at great length; but the above is sufficient to show the close grammatical connection between the two languages. The vocabularies possess even more numerous points of resemblance, which will be evident to any one studying the accompanying *Index*. The following mongrel, half-Gipsy, half-English, rhyme, taken from Borrow, will shew the extraordinary similarity of the two vocabularies:—

Gipsy	The	Rye	he	mores	adrey	the	wesh.
English		squire		hunts	within		wood.
Bhôj'pûrî		राय		मारे	अण्डल		बेशा (Prs. بيش)
Gipsy	The	kaun-engro		and	chiriclo.		
English		ear-fellow (hare)			bird.		
Bhôj'pûrî		कान-वाला			चिड़ई		

Gipsy	You	sovs	with	leste	'drey	the	wesh.
English		sleep		him	within		wood.
Bhôj'pûrî		सोए			अण्डल		बेश
Gipsy	And	rigs		for	leste	the	gono.
English		carries			him		sack (game-bag).
Bhôj'pûrî							गोन
Gipsy		Oprey	the	rukh	adrey	the	wesh.
English		Above		tree	within		wood.
Bhôj'pûrî		ऊपरि		रुख	अण्डल		बेश
Gipsy		Are		chiriclo	and		chiricli
English				male-bird			female-bird.
Bhôj'pûrî				चिड़ई			चिड़ई
Gipsy	Tuley		the	rukh	adrey	the	wesh.
English	Below			tree	within		wood.
Bhôj'pûrî	तले			रुख	अण्डल		बेश
Gipsy		Are		pireno	and		pireni.
English				lover	and		lady-love.
Bhôj'pûrî				पियारा			पियारी

In the above it must be remembered that the verbal terminations of the Gipsy text are English, and not Gipsy.

I propose to deal with this subject at greater length on a future occasion.

In reading the Gipsy words, it should be noted that the mark ^ over a vowel refers to accent, and not necessarily to prosodial length.

The following abbreviations are used in the succeeding pages:—Eng. = Borrow's *Laro Lil.* Tch. = Paspati's *Études.* M. = Miklosich, *Theil* V. M. 7 = Miklosich, *Theil* VII. M. 8 = Miklosich, *Theil* VIII. Gip. = Special Gipsy words given by Borrow; *e.g.* Span. Gip. = Spanish Gipsy. As. = Asiatic words given by Paspati; *e.g.* As. Tch. = Asiatic Gipsy. Psp. M. = Paspati's *Memoir*, referred to above.

ENGLISH-GIPSY INDEX.

A.

ABANDON, to,—Mukâva, (Tch.)

ABDOMINAL,—Perêskoro, (Tch.)

ABLE,—Hârniko, hârniku, (M.)

ABLE, to be,—Ashtiâva, ashtisarâva, shayâva, shtiâva, (M.)

ABOVE,—Opral, oprê, (Eng.); oprê, (Tch.); oprâl, (M.)

ABOVE, from—Oprâl, (Tch.)

ABROAD,—Abri, (Eng.)

ABSCESS,—Puknî, phuknî, (Tch.)

ACCOMPANY, to,—Petrichiâva, petrichisarâva, (M.)

ACCOMPANIED,—Malâlo, (Tch.)

ACCOMPLISH, to,—Isprĕvisarâva (M.)

ACCOUNT,—Môskoro, (Tch.): sâma, (M.)

ACCUSE, to,—Phukavâva, (M. 8)

ACCUSTOM, to,—Sekavâva, (M.)

ACHE, to,—Dukkerâva, (Eng.)

ACID,—Shutlô, (Tch.)

ACQUAINTED, to be, with,—pincharâva, pinjarâva, (Tch.)

ACROSS,—Padlo, pawdel, (Eng.)

ADJUDGE, to,—Sudisarâva, (M.)

ADVISE, to,—Zhudikiâva, zhudikisarâva, (M.)

ADVANTAGE,—Koshtipen, (Eng.)

ADVISER,—Fĉnichi, (M.)

AFAR,—Dûr, (Tch.)

AFFECTION,—Dukaibĉ, dukanibĉ, (Tch.)

AFFLICTED,—Tug, tugno, (Eng.)

AFFLICTION,—Tugnipen, kurapen, (Eng.); grêu, (M.)

AFRAID,—Atraish, (Eng.)

AFRAID, to be,—Trashâniovâva, (Tch.)

AFTER,—Palal, (Eng.); penchya, peochi, pethoi, (As. Tch.)

AFTERWARDS,—Anâpalal, nâpalal, (Tch.)

AGAIN,—Pali, apopli, (Eng.); dahâ, (Tch.); apala, (Span. Gip.); yârĕ, (M.)

AGE,—Phurimâta, (M.)

AGREE, to,—Ĕnvoisard'ovâva, (M.)

AGUE,—Bisheni, (Eng.)

AIM,—Skôpu, (M.)

AIR,—Bavol, (Eng.); dûkhos, dûkho, (Tch.); dukhos, (M. 7)

ALE,—Levinor, (Eng.); lovina, (M. 8)

ALEHOUSE,—Levinor-ker, kichema, (Eng.); kĕrchma, kĕzhma, (M., M. 7)

ALIKE,—Simen, (Eng.)

ALIVE, to be,—Zhud'ovâva, (M.)

ALL,—Sore, soro, (Eng.); sarrô, sarvilê, sâvore, sâore, sarrorê, sarinê, sa', (Tch.); sü, sa, (As. Tch.); saorô, saürô, sâüro, sorô, se, (M.); savoro, (M. 8)
ALMIGHTY,—Soro-ruslo, (Eng.)
ALMS,—Lachipê, (Tch.); pomânĕ, (M.)
ALONE,—Kokoro, kokoros, bikunyie, (Eng.); kôrkoro, kôlkoro (Tch.); kôrkoro, korkorô, (M., M. 7)
ALSO,—Asâ, asau, (Eng.); ĕnkĕ, (M.); vi, (M. 8)
ALWAYS,—Sar far, (Tch.) (*Paspati's Memoir gives* ghêles).
AMONG, he who is,—Maskarutnô, maskaritnô, (Tch.)
AMONGST,—Maskarê, (Tch.)
ANCIENT,—Pureno, (Eng.)
AND,—Tâ, (Eng.); ta, te, u, (Tch.); a, hay, he, tha, thay (M.); ta, u, (M. 8)
ANGLE,—Kôtu, (M.)
ANGEL,—Ĕnjeru, ĕnjeros, (M.)
ANGER,—Kholîn, (Tch.); ḳholi, (M.); kholin, (M. 7)
ANGRY,—Roshto, (Eng.); kholinâkoro, kholiniâkoro, (Tch.); ḳhol'êrniku, (M.)
ANGRY, to be,—Kholiterâva, kholasâilotarâva, jungaliovâva, (Tch.); ḳhol'arâva, rushâva, (M.)
ANGRY, to become,—Ḳhol'ard'ovâva, (M.)
ANNIHILATION,—Ârvani gârvani, (Tch.)
ANNUAL,—Bershêskoro, (Tch.)
ANOTHER,—Wafo, (Eng.); avêr, (M.)
ANSWER, to,—Pukkerâva, (Eng.); pukanar, (Span Gip.); anglâl dâva, (Tch.)
ANT,—(pl.) Krîor, (Eng.); kirî (Tch.); t'irê, tirê, (M.); kiri, (M. 7)
ANTHILL,—Mushunôy, (M.)
ANVIL,—Amunî, (Tch.); loh, (As. Tch.); vaznelî, (M.); amuni, (M. 7)
ANXIETY,—Tasâs, (Tch.)
ANXIOUS,—Tasalô, (Tch.)
ANXIETY, to be in,—Tasâliovâva, (Tch.)
ANY ONE,—Kânek, kanêk, kânek jenô, (Tch.); kanek, (M. 7)
APE,—Maïmûna, shebêka, (Tch.); maïmûn, (As. Tch.); maimunâ, (M. 8)
APES, those who carry in fairs,—Maimunakôro, (Tch.)
APOTHECARY,—Drab-engro, drav-engro, (Eng.)
APPLE,—Paub, paubi, pauvi, (Eng.); paboy, (Hun. Gip); pabâi, khapâi, papâi, (Tch.); phabây, (M); sev, sivi, (As. Tch.); phabay, (M. 8)
APPLE, of or belonging to,—Pabêngoro, (Tch.)
APPLE, dried,—Hucûl, (M.)
APPLE-TREE,—Papalîn, (Tch.); phabelîn, (M.)
APPLE, wild,—Pĕduryâca, padurêcĕ, pĕdurêcĕ, (M.)
APPREHENDED,—Linnow, (Eng.)
APPROACH, to,—Pâshiovâva, (Tch.); pashovâva, (M.)
APRIL,—Aprîr, (M.)
APRON,—Joddakaye, (Eng.)
ARM,—(pl.) Murces, mursior, (Eng.); musî, (dim.), musorî, (Tch.); murciales, (Span. Gip.); musi, (M. 8)
ARMFUL,—Angâli, (Tch.); angali, (M. 7)
ARMPIT,—Kak, (Tch.)
ARMY,—Ôste, ôaste, (M)
AROUND,—Ĕmprezhûr, (M.); truyal, (M. 8)
ARREST,—Arîshte, (M.)
ARRIVE, to,—Resâva, (Tch.); arĕsâva, (M.)
ARRIVE, to cause to,—Resavâva, (Tch.)
ARROW,—Okiâ, (Tch.); sejyâta, (M.)
ARROW, to shoot with,—Sejyetesarâva, (M.)
AS,—Sar, (Eng.); an, anî, in, enî, (Tch.); vâri, (As. Tch.); kâna, kana, sar, (M.); sar, (M. 8)
AS YET,—Ojâi, atghâi, (Tch.)
ASHAMED,—Aladge, (Eng.); lajanô, lajavô, (Tch.)
ASHAMED, to be,—Lajâva, (Tch.)
ASHES,—prâhos, (Tch.); char, (As. Tch.); shar, (M); praḳhos, (M. 8)
ASK, to,—Puchâva, (Eng.); puchâva, pachâva, mangâva, (Tch.); mangâva, pushâva, (M.); mangâva, phuchâva, (M. 8)
ASS,—Mailla, (Eng.); kher, kfer, fer, (dim.) kherorô, (pl.) khelel, (Tch.); kar, (As. Tch), magâri, (M.); kher, (M. 7)
ASS, female,—Kherni, (Tch.); magarîca, (M.)
ASS AND FOAL,—Mailla and posh, (Eng.)
ASS, of or belonging to,—Kheranô, (fem.) kherniakoro, (Tch.)
ASS-DRIVER,—Kherêskoro, (Tch.)
ASSASSIN,—Manushfarî, (Tch.)
ASSASSINATE, to,—Chinâva, murdarâva, (Tch.); le mar, (As. Tch.)
ASSEMBLE, to,—Ghêdava, (Tch.); t'idâva, (M.); gedâva, (M 7)
ASSENT, to,—Pristinisarâva, ĕnvoiâva, (M.)
ASSISTANCE,—Nanâsh, nanâshu, (M.)
AT,—Pashâ, pashĕ, (M.)
AT ALL,—Asarlas, (Eng)
ATTAIN, to,—Resâva, (Tch.); arĕsâva, (M.)
ATTORNEY,—Mĕndĕtâri, (M.)
AUDIENCE,—Shûnaben, (Eng.)
AUGER,—Boldinî, pripôi, pripâi, (Tch.)
AUNT,—Bebî, (Eng.); bîbi, bîbo, kakijalî, (Tch); bibîo, (As Tch); bibi, (M. 7)
AUTUMN,—Pahîz, (As Tch.)
AVIARY,—Chirikleskey tan, (Eng.)
AWAKE, to,—Jongarâva, (Eng.); trizisard'ovâva, trĕzosard'ovâva, (M)
AWAKEN, to,—Jangâva, (Tch.); usht'avâva, (M.); jangâva, (M. 7)

AWAKEN, to cause to,—Jangavâva, (Tch.)
AWAKENED, to be,—Jangâniovâva, (Tch.)
AXE,—China-mengro, (Eng.); tovêr, tovêl, (Tch.); tovêr, tovĕr, (M.)
AXE-SELLER,—Toverêskoro, (Tch.)
AXLES,—Butûchi, (M.)

B.

BACK, (adv.)—Pali, (Eng); palâl, palpalê, palpalî, (M.)
BACK, (sub.)—Dumô, (dim.) dumorô, (Tch.); piishto, (As. Tch.); dumo, (M. 7)
BACK-GROUND,—Fûndu, (M.)
BACKWARDS,—Palâl, palpalê, palpalî, (M.)
BACK AGAIN,—Palal, (Eng.)
BACON,—Ballivas, (Eng.); balibâ. (Span. Gip.)
BAD,—Vassavo, vassavî, wafodu, wafudo, (Eng.); gorko, (Tch.); kharabi, (As. Tch.); zhûngalô, (M.); phuy, (M. 8)
BAD PLACE,—Wafudo-tan, (Eng.)
BADLY,—Nasûl, zhungales, (M.)
BADNESS,—Wafudo-pen, (Eng.); nasulimas, nasulipî, (M.)
BAG,—Gono, (Eng.); gonô, (Tch.); burdûhu, galav, (M.); gono, (M. 7)
BAG-MAKER,—Gonêskoro, kaliardô, (Tch.)
BAG-PIPE,—Gâida, (Tch.)
BAKER,—Morro-mengro, (Eng.); bovêskoro, manrêskoro, chamêskoro, (Tch.)
BALD,—Pakô, (Tch.); pako, (M. 8)
BALL,—Bal, (M.)
BAND,—Dorî, plâna, bandipê, banloipê, (Tch.)
BANK, (elevated ground)—Chumba, (Eng.)
BANK, (counting-house)——Luvva-mengro-ker, (Eng.)
BANK UP, to,—Pashliâ kerâva, (Tch.)
BANKER,—Luvvo-mengro, (Eng.)
BANKER'S HOUSE,—Luvvo-mengro-ker, (Eng.)
BAPTISM,—Bolipê, (Tch.)
BAPTIZE, to,—Bollâva, (Eng.); bolâva, (Tch.); bolâva, (M.)
BAPTIZE, to cause to,—Bolavâva, (Tch.)
BAPTIZED, to be,—Bôlghiovava, vaptizâva, (Tch.) bold'ovâva (M.)
BAPTIZED, child who is,—Shînu, fînu, nanâsh, nanâshu, (M.)
BARE-FOOTED,—Nanghêpinrêngoro, pirnangô, pinangô, (Tch.)
BARK, to,—Bashâva, (M.)
BARLEY,—Jov, (Tch.); jev, (As. Tch.); zhôu, (M.), jov, (M. 7)
BARLEY, one who sells,—Jovêskoro, (Tch.)
BARN,—Gran, (Eng.); shûra, (M.)
BARN-DOOR,—Gran-wuddur, (Eng.)
BARN-DOOR FOWL,—Gran-wuddur-chiriclo, (Eng.)
BARREL,—Polubôku, (dim.) balûka, (M.)
BASHFULNESS,—Laj, lach, lajaibê, (Tch.)
BASKET,—Kipsi, kuesni, kushnî, kusni, (Eng.); quicia (Span. Gip.); kôshnika, sevlî, (dim.) sevlorî, (Tch.); sevli, (M. 8)
BASKET-MAKING,—Hosdôpa, (M.)
BASKETS, one who makes or sells,—Sevliêngoro, (Tch.)
BASTARD,—Bostaris, (Eng.)
BATH,—Bagnia, tatto (Tch.); nayeripi, skĕldûshka, skaldûshka. (M.)
BATH-SERVANT,—Bagniâkoro, (Tch.)
BATHE, to,—Nayarâva, (M.); nandâva, (M. 8)
BATHE ONESELF, to,—Nayard'ovâva, (M.)
BATTLE,—Maribê, (Tch.); maripî, (M.)
BE, to,—Isóm (I am), (Tch.); asti (he is) (As. Tch.); avâva, isâva, (M.)
BEADLE,—Gav-engro, (Eng.)
BEAM,—Kasht, (M.)
BEAN,—Bob, (Eng.); bôbi, bôpi, (dim. pl.) bobôlia, (Tch.); bobi, (M. 7)
BEAR,—Richinî, (Tch.); hirch, (As. Tch.); rishô, (fem.) rizhnî, (pl.) ûrshi, (M.); (fem.) richini, (M. 8)
BEAR, one who leads, in fairs,—Richiniêngoro, (Tch.)
BEAR, to,—Riggurâva, (Eng.)
BEAR CHILDREN, to,—Benâva, (M. 7)
BEAR IN MIND, to,—Rigâva in yi, (Eng.)
BEARD,—Jor. chor, (Tch.); shor, (M.); chor, (M. 7); pahuni, (M. 8)
BEARDED,—Jorêngoro, (Tch.)
BEAST,—Vîta. (M.)
BEAT, to,—Netavâva, (Eng.); marâva, (Tch.); marâva, (M.)
BEAT, to cause to,—Maravavâ, mardarâva, (Tch.)
BEATING,—Kûrapen, (Eng.)
BEAUTIFUL,—Sukâr, shukâr, (Tch.); bakyz, pakêzi, (As. Tch.); (dim.) sukarôro, chordo, (Tch.); shukâr, mĕndru, (M.); shukar, (M. 8)
BEAUTY,—Sukaribê, chordipê, (Tch.)
BECAUSE,—Sostâr, (Tch.); kĕ, (M.)
BECAUSE OF,—Vash, (M.)
BECOME, to,—Uvâva, (Tch.); avâva, kĕrd'ovâva, (M.); uvava, (M. 8)
BED,—Woddrus, wuddrus, (Eng.); tronî, (Tch.); likhev, (As. Tch.); patos, (Hun. Gip.); charipê, (Span Gip.); lûshka, pâto, pâtu, than, (M.); chiben, (M. 7); vodro, (M. 8)
BED, in—Pashlô, (Tch.)
BEE,—Gudlo-pishen, bata, (Eng.); burlî, berûli, (Tch.); biruli, (M.); burli, (M. 7)
BEECH,—Fâgu, (M.)
BEER,—Lovina, (M. 8)
BEET-ROOT,—Dip, (As. Tch.)
BEFORE,—Anglo, (Eng.); vegur, (As. Tch.); anglâl, (M.); angle, (M. 7)

BEG, to—Mangâva, (Eng.); mangâva, (Tch.); mangâva, rudiâva, rudisarâva, rudisard'o-vâva, (M.)

BEGET, to,—Benâva, (Tch.)

BEGGAR,—Manga-mengro, tororo, (Eng.)

BEGGING, the trade of,—Mangipen, (Eng.)

BEGIN, to—Arkhevâva, (Tch.); urziava, urzĕsa-râva, (M.)

BEHIND,—Palal, (Eng.); palê, pâlpale (Tch.); penchy'a, pechôi, pethoi, (As. Tch.); palâ, pâla, (M.); pale, (M. 8)

BEHIND, from,—Palâl, (Tch.)

BELCH,—Kockarida, (M. 7)

BELIEVE, to,—Pakiâva, (Tch.); pat'aâva, (M., M 8)

BELIEVED, to be,—Pakiâniovâva, (Tch.)

BELIEVE, I,—Apasavello, (Eng.)

BELL,—Klôpotu. klôpotu, (M.)

BELLOWS—Pude-mengri, (Eng.); pishôt, (Tch. M. 8)

BELLY,—Per, pur, (Eng.); bor, por, per, (Tch.); por, pĕr, (M.); per, (M. 8)

BELOW,—Tulê, tuley, (Eng.); telê, felê, (adj.) telalutnô, telalunô, (Tch.); telê, tilî, telî, (M.)

BELOW, from,—telâl, (Tch.)

BELT,—Kiûstik, (Tch.)

BENCH,—Lâicĕ, lâyca, oslônu,(pl.) skâmena, (M.)

BEND, to—Band'arâva, (M.)

BENEATH,—See BELOW.

BERRY,—Durril, (pl.) durrilau, durilyor, (Eng.)

BESIDES,—Tulûm, (Tch.)

BESPRINKLE, to—Stropiâva, stropisarâva, (M.)

BETRAYER,—Khokhamnô, (M.)

BETROTHAL,—Logôdna, (M.); biav, (M. 7)

BETTER,—Ferreder, fetêr, (Eng); fetêr, (Span. Gip.); feder, (M. 7)

BETWEEN,—maskarê, (Tch.)

BEVERAGE,—Pibê, (Tch.); (pl.) pimâta, (M.)

BEWARE, to,—Gerâva (Gare in orig.), rakâva, (Eng.)

BEWITCH, to,—Chovahânâva, dukâva, dukkerâva. (Eng.)

BEY,—Gh'alti, (As. Tch.)

BEYOND,—Ĕnt'âl, (M.)

BIG,—Boro, (Eng.); tulô, (Tch)

BIG, to become—Tuliovâva, (Tch.)

BIG WITH CHILD,—Bori, (Eng.); kabnî, kamnî, (Tch.); see PREGNANT.

BIND, to—Pandâva, (Eng.); phandâva, (M., M. 8).

BIRD,—Chericlo, chiriclo, (Eng.); chiriclô, (dim.) chiricloro, (Tch.); tayer, (As. Tch.); che-riklî, (M.); chiriclo, (M. 7)

BIRD-CAGE,—Chiricleskey tan, (Eng.); kûshka, klîtka, (M.)

BIRTH,—Ben, (Tch.)

BITE,—Dantilipê, (Tch.)

EXTRACTS FROM CHINESE AUTHORS CONCERNING THE HISTORY OF THE KUSHANS.

BY EDWARD THOMAS, F.R.S.

In this Journal, Vol. XII. p. 6 ff. there appeared a paper of mine on "Indo-Scythian Coins with Hindi legends." During the course of the collateral investigations, I had occasion to refer to the obscure history of the Kushans, in regard to which I was able to glean but little information. Singular to say, in the latter part of the same year, an article was published in the *Journal Asiatique* containing very important contributions to our knowledge of the migratory movements of Central Asian tribes, the new materials for which were contributed by hitherto unexamined texts of the Chinese chroniclers.

In the article in question, M. Ed. Specht.[1] while carefully recognizing and regarding the labours of De Guignes and other learned Frenchmen, who led the way to the study of the Chinese authors, endeavours to base his new translations upon a general disregard of what he calls the "Compilateurs Chinois," and to have recourse to the more authentic documents of the Tching-sse[2]—which was the original source from whence Ma-twan-lin and others derived their information

I have, therefore, copied out the subjoined extracts, concerning the history of the Kushans, for the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*—retaining them, however, intentionally, in their French garb, in order to preserve the integrity of the proper names.

M. Specht, in his introductory remarks, is careful to get rid of the confusion, existing in some quarters, as to the identity of the Kushans and the Ephthalites. He observes—

"M. Vivien de Saint-Martin avait cru trouver dans les articles de l'encyclopédie de Ma-touan-lin concernant les Yué-tchi et les Yé-tha, la preuve positive que ces deux peuples ne différaient entre eux ni par le nom, ni par les mœurs et les habitudes: qu'en un mot, les Indo-Scythes et les Ephthalites ne faisaient qu'une seule et même nation. Cette opinion est péremptoirement réfutée par l'inspection des documents que nous donnons. D'abord, le nom de Yé-tha n'existe

[1] *Études sur l'Asie Centrale, d'après les historiens Chinois* (M. Edouard Specht), p. 117, 1883 [October, November, December.]

[2] Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, pp. 12-19.

même pas; c'est une abréviation à l'usage des Chinois du nom complet Ye-ta-i-li-to, qui correspond à Ephthalites. Par là tombe l'identification du nom des Yé-tha avec celui des Yué-tchi d'une part, et de l'autre avec celui des Djats du nord-ouest de l'Inde; deux résultats qui avaient été admis par plusieurs indianistes éminents, Lassen en tête. Ensuite les Indo-Scythes, nommés par les Chinois Yué-tchi ou Kouei-chouang, étaient un peuple primitivement nomade, qui est devenu sédentaire, et s'est assimilé, au moins en partie, la civilisation indo-hellénique, comme le prouvent ses monuments, ses médailles, et ses inscriptions. Les Ephthalites, d'après le témoignage des récits contemporains, sont restés nomades, ils n'avaient pas de monnaies, et enfin eux seuls, et non leurs prédécesseurs, les Yué-tchi, pratiquaient la polyandrie. Bref, ces deux peuples sont absolument distincts, non-seulement par l'époque à laquelle ils ont apparu dans l'histoire, mais par leurs mœurs et leur civilisation.

Ce résultat vient donc confirmer l'hypothèse, émise par M. Nöldeke, que les Kouchans et les Ephthalites devaient être deux peuples différents qui ont habité successivement les mêmes contrées."—(*Tabari, Geschichte der Sasaniden,* p. 115, No. 2.)

Extracts from Chinese Authors.

Yué-tchi ou Kouchans. L'histoire des premiers Han (206 ans avant Jésus-Christ à 24 ans après) contient, au chapitre xcvi. une description de l'Asie occidentale, dont nous extrayons le passage suivant:—

Le royaume des Ta-Yué-tchi a pour capitale la ville de Kien-chi,[3] à 11,600 li (de Tchang-ngan; il ne dépend pas du gouverneur général (Tou-hou); on y compte 100,000 familles, 400,000 habitants, une armée de 100,000 hommes. À l'est, jusqu'à la résidence du gouverneur général, il y a 4,740 li; à l'ouest, jusqu'aux A-si (les Arsacides), 49 jours de marche, et il est limitrophe au sud avec le Ki-pin (Cophène). [Le pays, le climat, les productions *ainsi que* les mœurs des habitants, les monnaies et les marchandises qu'on en tire, sont les mêmes que chez les A-si * *]

Originairement les Ta-Yué-tchi étaient nomades. Ils suivaient leurs troupeaux et changeaient de place avec eux, ressemblant sous ce rapport aux Hioung-nou. Ils comptaient au moins 100,000 archers; si bien que se fiant à leurs forces, ils méprisaient les Hioung-nou. Ils habitaient primitivement entre le pays de Thun-Hoang: (Koua-tcheou) et le mont Ki-lian (les monts célestes).

Après que le tchen-yu-Mao-thun eut attaqué les Yué-tchi et que le tchen-yu Lao-chang ayant tué leur roi, eut fait de son crâne un coupe à boire, les Yué-tchi s'en allèrent au loin, passèrent au delà de Ta-Ouan, battirent les Ta-Hia dans l'ouest, et les soumirent. Leur chef établit alors sa résidence au nord de la rivière Oueï (Oxus).[4] Une petite partie de ceux qui n'avaient pu s'éloigner avec eux se mirent sous la protection des Khiang des montagnes du midi, et prirent le nom Petits Yué-tchi.

Primitivement les Ta-hia n'avaient pas un souverain ou un magistrat principal; chaque ville, chaque bourgade était gouvernée par son magistrat. La population était faible et craignait la guerre. Lorsque les Yué-tchi arrivèrent ils les soumirent."

Il y a cinq principautés:

1. La principauté Hieou-mi, ayant pour capitale la ville de Ho-me, à 2,841 li de la résidence du gouverneur général et à 7,802 li de Yang-kouan.

2. La principauté Chouang-mo, capitale la ville du même nom, à 3,741 li de la résidence du gouverneur général et à 7,782 li de Yang-kouan.

3. La principauté Kouei-chouang (Kouchans), capitale la ville Hou-tsao[5] à 5,940 li de la résidence du gouverneur général et à 7,982 li de Yang-kouan.

4. La principauté Hi-thun a pour capitale la ville Po-mao (Bámián) à 5,962 li de la résidence du gouverneur général et à 8,202 li du Yang-kouan

5. La principauté Kao-fou (Kábul) a pour capitale la ville du même nom, à 6,041 li de la résidence du gouverneur général et à 9,283 li de Yang-kouan.

Ces cinq principautés dépendent de Ta-Yué-tchi.

Extract from Chapter 118 *of the History of the second Han* (A.D. 25 *to* 220).

Le royaume de Ta-Yué-tchi. Le roi demeure dans la ville de Lan-chi * * * *

Lorsque les Yué-tchi furent vaincus par les Hioung-nou, ils passèrent chez les Ta-hia, parta-

[3] Lan-chi: selon Mr. Kingsmill, *J. R. A. S.* xiv. p. 82, cette ville serait Daraspa, *Δάραψα* de Strabon. On pourrait aussi bien identifier Lan-chi avec Za-riaspe, un nom de Bactres. Les auteurs chinois seraient alors d'accord avec les Arméniens, qui donnent Balkh comme la capitale des Kouchans. Lebeau [Paris Edition of 1825 iii. p. 386. Moses of Khorene, passim].

[4] C'est dans cette contrée que Tchang-kian trouva les Ta-Yué-tchi établis en l'an 126 avant notre ère; il les quitta pour aller chez les Ta-hia qui etaient au sud de l'Oxus: la capitale de ces derniers etait Kien-chi ou Lan-chi, conquise plus tard par les Ta-Yué-chi."

[5] From the history of the Wei (220 to 280 A.D.)

Le royaume Kien-tun, qui est l'ancienne principauté Kouei-chouang (Kouchans), a pour capital la ville de Hou-tsao à l'ouest de Tche-sei-mo-sun, à 13.560 li de Tai. Les habitants demeurent au milieu des montagnes et des vallees.

Le royaume Fo-ti-cha, qui est l'ancienne principauté Hi-thun, a pour capitale la ville de Po-mao (Bamián, à l'ouest de Kien-tun, à 13,660 li de Tai.

gèrent leur royaume en cinq principautés qui étaient Hieou-mi, Chouang-mo, Kouei-chouang-Hi-thun, Tou-mi (Kao-fou ?).

Environ cent ans après, le prince de Kouei-chouang, Kieou-tsieou-khio, attaqua et subjugua les quatre autres principautés, et se constitua roi d'un royaume qui fut appelé Kouei-chouang (Kouchans).

Ce prince envahit le pays des A-si ; il s'empara du territoire de Kao-fou (Kâbul), détruisit aussi Po-ta et le Ki-pin (Cophène) et devint complètement maître de ces contrées. Kieou-tsieou-khio mourut à quatre-vingts ans environ : son fils Yen-kao-tchin-tai monta sur le trône, il conquit le Thien-tchou (l'Inde) et y etablit des généraux qui gouvernaient au nom des Yué-tchi.

Depuis cette époque cette nation fut riche et puissante.

Tous les pays en parlant du souverain l'appellent roi des Kouei-chouang (Kouchans). Les Han (les Chinois), selon leur ancienne dénomination, les nomment *toujours* les Ta-Yué tchi [7]

The French translator enters into a critical examination of the exact date implied in the term "environ cent ans après"—and considers that it must be held to refer to the complete conquest of the Ta-hia, and not, as might be supposed from the words of Ma-twan-lin, to 100 years "after the journey of Tchang-kian, towards 126 B C."[8] This inference is further confirmed by the non-mention of this conquest in the work just cited, which dates from 25 A D. The French commentator would therefore place this event in 24 A D., up to which time the Second Han continued to reign However, with so loose an expression as about 100 years, we need not seek to be very precise in our speculative results.

Indeed, M É. Specht in his final summary contents himself with saying, "Le fils de Kieou-tsieou-khio conquit l'Inde, et cette empire dura depuis le milieu du premier siècle de notre ère jusque vers le commencement du cinquième siècle."

Subsequent extracts give us some information of the decadence of the Kushans, which may as well be reproduced here.

Le compendium des Wëi composé par In-houan nous apprend qu'à l'époque des trois royaumes (220 à 280) "le royaume de Ki-pin (Cophène), ainsi que ceux de Ta-hia, de Kao-fou (Kábul) et de Thien-tchou (l'Inde), étaient sous la domination des Ta-Yué-tchi." Quoique l'histoire du Tsin (265 à 419) ne donne pas de notice sur les Kouchans, les Ta-Yué-tchi sont cités comme étant au sud des Ta-Ouan.

Dans l'histoire des Wei (386 à 556) nous trouvons sur ce peuple les deux notices suivantes, qui nous parlent de la fin de leur empire dans la Bactriane.

Le royaume des Ta-Yué-tchi a pour capitale la ville de Lou-kien-chi à l'ouest de Fo-ti-cha * * Ils passèrent alors à l'occident et s'établirent dans la ville de Po-lo, à 2.100 li de Fo-ti-cha. Leur roi, Ki-to-lo, prince brave et guerrier, leva une armée, passa au midi des grands montagnes, fit un invasion dans l'Inde du nord, et les cinq royaumes au nord de Kan-tho-lo se soumirent à lui.

In conclusion, I have to advert to the casual mention of the change in the government of the country, brought about by the conquest of the Kushans—in the substitution of the military chiefs for local *Rájas*.[9] What direct effect this may have had on the population at large we have no means of knowing, but it looks like the mere centralisation of a tribal empire, and the entrusting of subordinate power to responsible members of their own body, in supercession of the irregular and often conflicting interests of the old Hindu rulers.

And this is the exact state of things our coins bear testimony to—we have no *Rájas* or *Mahárájas*—as noticed in my previous paper,—the legends, written in a downward Chinese fashion, give us all told eleven names of generals with more or less Scythic designations, while their sectional tribal sept is always carefully added, as their *quasi* title to rule.

The multitude of these gold coins extant, and the range of the localities where they are found, testifies to the ample power and long sway of this exotic dynasty, and fully explains the frequent reference by the home "conquerors of the Scythians," which got to be a brag-word with the pretending 'Vikramâdityas' of India in these later times.

MISCELLANEA.

AFGHANISTAN IN AVESTIC GEOGRAPHY.

At the present time, when the mountain regions of the Paropamissus will, in all probability, have once more to play their accustomed part in history as a bulwark against Turanian aggression the earliest geographical records of the country

[6] Cf. Lassen, 2nd Edit. Vol. II. p 806; General Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Ind.* Vol. II. p 66; Vol. V. p. 61.

[7] Lebeau, *History of the Lower Empire*, Paris 1825. (Edition de M de S. Martin) Tome III. p. 386; *Tabari*, Nöldeke, p. 7.

[8] *Vivien de Saint Martin* p. 42.

[9] Ma-twan-lin—quoted in the *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, Vol. VI. p. 63

as preserved in the *Avesta*, may attract the attention of the student of Eastern history. The *Avesta*, like other religious books of the East, deals generally with mythical localities rather than with details of real topography. An exception to this rule with regard to the rivers of Afghânistân will, therefore, be all the more entitled to our interest.

Within the limits of Afghânistân and its former dependencies we recognise the "powerful, faithful Mòurva" as the modern Merv, little deserving these epithets, the "beautiful Bâkhdhi" as Balkh, Haraêva as Hirât, the mountain Vâitigaêsa as the Bàdghiz of recent notoriety. The Harahvaiti (etymologically corresponding to Sanskrit Sarasvatî) has been known in successive ages as 'Αράχωτος and Arghandâb (near Qandahâr); but more important for Avestic geography is the large stream of which it is a tributary, the "bountiful, glorious Haêtumañt," the 'Ετύμανδρος and Hermandus of classic authors, the modern Helmand. It waters the country of Sìstân (Σακαστάνη) where, since time immemorial, the epic tradition of Irân has localised its greatest national heroes, and where, even in our days, one of the indigenous families proudly claims, as Kayânians, to be descended from the legendary kings of Irân. Long indeed have such reminiscences of heroic times lingered about the river. We receive an unusually detailed account of its origin and course just in that *Yasht* which is mainly devoted to the praise of "kingly glory," as connected with lawful rule over Irân. There we read (*Yasht* xix 66; conf. *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXIII p. 302) of its counterpart, "which is attached to the river Haêtumañt, as it runs increasing towards the lake (*zrayô*) Kãśava, from where the mountain Ushidâo stands, round about whose foot mountain streams gather in abundance.

A glance at the map shows the lake Kâśava (or Kâśaya, according to some MSS.) to be the great lagune in the depression of Sìstân, which its present neighbours simply call the Zirra (derived from Zand *zrayô*; *i.e.* 'lake'). Similarly, the name Ushidâo, although it cannot be traced to a more recent period, must apply to the lofty mountain range formed by the Kòh-i-Bâbâ and its continuation towards the west, the Siàh Kòh, from whence the Helmand itself, with all its northern tributaries, takes its beginning.

For a fuller description of this river system, clearly alluded to in the above-quoted text, we should naturally look first to the passages immediately following; but here we stumble on difficulties which have puzzled in no small degree interpreters of the *Avesta*. They are considerably aggravated by the unfortunate circumstances that Pârsî scholarship has left us entirely destitute of any traditional help for this particular *Yasht*. The passage in question, simple in its structure, contains a comparatively large number of what apparently are adjectives. Their etymology and their position in the context suggest their being appropriate epithets to something like a river. But just this noun so eagerly looked for cannot be found. It was the new editor of the *Avesta*, Professor Geldner (*Drei Yasht*, Stuttgart, 1884), to whom the happy thought first occurred of looking among these apparent adjectives for the indispensable complement implied by their presence—real river names. He advanced this explanation for the last four of those mentioned below; but the difficulty of identifying any of these four names on the map seems to have induced, subsequently, this distinguished Zand scholar to restrict his hypothesis to only two of them. I shall endeavour to produce in the following remarks such evidence as may justify the addition of eight new river names to the geographical index of the *Avesta*. Our version of the interesting passage which follows immediately on the one translated above, must, for the present, take for granted what has still to be proved.

"At its foot (the Mountain Ushidâo) gushes and flows forth the Hvâstra and the Hvaspa, the Fradatha and the beautiful Hvarenanhaiti, and Ustavaiti, the mighty, and Urvadha, rich of pastures, and the Erezi and Zarenumaiti; at its foot gushes and flows forth the bountiful, glorious Helmand,[1] swelling its white waves (?), rolling down its copious floods."

As we have no means for identifying these rivers besides their names, which, if they remained in use for a longer period, must have undergone considerable phonetic changes, it will be safest to turn first to those sources of geographical information which rank in respect to their age nearest to the *Avesta*—the reports of classic authors. Fortunately, as far as Ariana is concerned, they are based to a great extent on a very exact survey made under the Seleukidan rule.

Pliny, speaking of the districts to the south of Aria (Hirât), mentions the rivers Pharnacotis and Ophradus (*i.e.* ὁ Φράδος of the Greek original), which Tomaschek, in his exhaustive

[1] The name of the Helmand is introduced in the above version in accordance with a most convincing emendation of Professor Geldner's, based on MS. evidence. The words describing the course of the river are not clear in detail, but there is no doubt about their general purport.

treatise on the corresponding portion of the *Tabula Peutingerana* (*Proceedings* of the Viennese Academy, 1883), has recognised as the modern Harrût Rûd and Farâh Rûd. They both flow from the western part of the Siâh Kôh into the lake of Sistân. The form *Farnahrati*, which is suggested by Tomaschek as the original and native one for Pharnacotis, represents exactly our Zand Hvarenanhaiti in Persian pronunciation. The substantive *hvarenah* "glory," as contained in *Hvarenanhaiti* (*hvarenan* + suffix *vaiti*), assumes in the Old Persian dialect the form of *farna*. Thus the Old Persian *Vindafarna*, Ινταφέρνης, is the exact equivalent of the Zand *Vinda-hvarenah* "winning glory." A striking parallel to the doublet Hvarenanhaiti—Pharnacotis is furnished by the indifferent use of the names Ζαραγγιάνη and Δραγγιάνη, Ζαράγγαι and Δράγγα, for the neighbouring district and its inhabitants, the change of initial *Z* into *D* being a well-known characteristic of Persian pronunciation, as compared with Zand.

For proving the identity of the Fradatha of our Zand text with (O)Phradus, Farâh Rûd, we can utilise the additional evidence of those names by which the old town Farâh on the left bank of the Farâh Rûd was known in the Makedonian epoch. In the itinerary of Isidôros of Kharax this πόλις μεγίστη is called by the modern name Φρά; but Stephanos Byzantios, has preserved a more ancient form in the following excerpt: Φράδα πόλις ἐν Δράγγαις ἣν Ἀλέξανδρος Προφθασίαν μετωνόμασεν. Προφθασία is, in fact, a literal rendering of Zand *frad-tha*, which, in common use as neuter, means (literally "proficiency"), "progress," "increase."

The Farah Rûd is the next independent affluent of the Hamûn or Zirra to the east of the Harrût Rûd; on the other hand, the Fradatha is placed in our list immediately before the Hvarenanhaiti. We are, therefore, inclined to look towards the east for rivers, with which the preceding two—the Hvaspa and Hvâstra—may be identified. We find on the map of South Afghânistân two main rivers in a corresponding position, whose names must remind us of the Avestic forms—the Khuspâs Rûd and the Khâsh Rûd. Coming from the southern slope of the Siâh Kôh they both reach the eastern basin of the lagune, where the lower course of the Helmand is lost. In Khuspâs, a place on the upper course of the Khuspâs Rûd, we may recognise the town Khoaspa, mentioned by Ptolemy in Arakhosia. The name Hvaspa means "having good horses," and seems to have been a favourite designation for rivers in Irân. Besides the famous Khoaspês near Susa, whose water was supplied to the "Great King" wherever he moved (Herod. i. 188), we hear of another Khoaspês, a tributary of the Kâbul river.

The station Cosata, given by the *Anonymous Ravennas*, but missing in the *Tabula Peutingerana*, refers evidently to the town Khâsh, mentioned already by older Arab geographers, on the bank of the Khâsh Rûd, and supplies a welcome link between the Zand form Hvâstra and the modern name of the river. Whether the water of the Hvâstra = Khâsh is in reality what a probable etymology of the name (*conf.* Sanskrit *svâttra*, √ *svad*) seems to imply,—"well tasting," —may be decided by those who have traversed the arid plains, stretching on both sides of the lower river course.

There is, as yet, no indication to aid us in identifying the remaining river names. But fortunately we find at least one of them recognised in its true character by traditional authority. We read in the *Bundahish* (as translated by Mr. West, chap. xx. 34; *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol V. p. 82) the following interesting passage:—

"Regarding Frâsiyâv, they say that a thousand springs were conducted away by him into the sea Kyânsih (the Kãsava of the *Avesta*). . . ; and he conducted the spring Zarînmand, which is the Hêtûmand river they say, into the same sea; and he conducted the seven navigable waters of the source of the Vachaêni river into the same sea, and made men settle there."

The connexion with the Hêtûmand shows clearly that the Zarînmand of the *Bundahish* is the Zarenumaiti of our text. But no further light can be gained at present from this isolated statement. Whether the "*seven* navigable waters of the source Vachaêni," mentioned besides the Zarînmand, bear any relation to the seven rivers whose names appear in the *Yasht* passage discussed above, besides the Zarenumaiti, must likewise remain uncertain.

The resemblance of the names and the identity of the epithet *pouruvâstra*—"rich in pastures," suggest some relation between the river Urvada, and the land (?) Urva, named as the eighth creation of Ahura Mazda in the first chapter of the *Vendidad*; but Urva itself still remains a most obscure point in Avestic Geography. In spite of the scantiness of historical evidence for the last four rivers, we need not yet renounce all hope of identifying them on some future map of Afghânistân, the present ones shewing a conspicuous blank in quarters where a further exploration of the [illegible] will, perhaps, reveal some distinct traces of our river names.[2]

AUREL STEIN.

[2] *The Academy*, May 16th, 1885.

BOOK NOTICES.

AN ILLUSTRATED HANDBOOK OF INDIAN ARMS: Being a Classified and Descriptive Catalogue of the Arms Exhibited at the India Museum: with an Introductory Sketch of the Military History of India, by the Hon. WILBRAHAM EGERTON, M.A., M.P. London: Allen and Co., 13, Waterloo Place, 1880. R. 8vo.

Some time ago I received, through the kindness of the author, a copy of the above work. It was quite new to me at the time, and does not appear, even yet, to be known so well as it deserves; few or none of my Indian friends to whom I have mentioned it having seen it.

The readers of the *Indian Antiquary* will therefore, I hope, be glad to have their attention called to it.

When Mr. Egerton, M.P. for Cheshire, visited India about the year 1855, his attention was drawn to the great variety of arms and military weapons he there saw. The difficulty of obtaining accurate information regarding the names and origin of many of these led to the collection, by him, of the materials which form the basis of the present publication.

It was undertaken in the first instance, as one of a series of Handbooks descriptive of the different sections of the India Museum, but on the transfer of that collection, by the India Office, to the Kensington Museum, the design was interrupted, and the *Illustrated Handbook of Indian Arms* was the only one of the series which saw the light.

The subject has been treated by Mr. (now Lord) Egerton in a very full and exhaustive manner. Premising that he might have arranged the arms on an ethnological, historical or artistic basis, he decides, we think rightly, in favour of the first, on the ground that "identity of arms often denotes identity of race to a greater extent than language or religion, long after the more important characteristics of language and religion have disappeared," in illustration of which he refers to Mr. Cust's example of the Hindî dialect adopted by the Bhils instead of their original Kolarian tongue. A similar instance is afforded by the Nairs on the Malabar coast, the descendants, according to Mr. Hodgson, of the Himâlayan Newârs, whose normal speech has given place to the vernacular Malayâḷim.

The treatise opens with a rapid sketch of the Military History of India, commencing with the earliest arms in use after the pre-historic period to the invasion of the Mughal Emperor Bâbar (1494-1530 A.D.) Adverting first to the legendary and heroic epoch comprising the age of the great epics, and the earliest notices of the Greek writers, he passes to the first appearance of the Muhammadans in the time of the Caliphs (or Khalifas) the inroads of Mahmûd of Ghaznî (1001-1030 A.D.) and the raids of 'Alâu'd-dîn Khilji (1294-1312 A.D.)

The next period treats of changes consequent on the more frequent intercourse between India and Europe, following the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, and extends from the reign of Bâbar to the death of the Emperor Aurangzeb. The third chapter deals with the transactions which occurred from the death of Aurangzeb to the fall of the Mughal Empire, which led to the introduction of a great variety of arms, and the more general use of artillery. During this period occurred the invasion of the Afghâns and the rise of the Marâṭhâs, followed by the establishment of various European factories on the coast; the struggle between the French and the English, and their relations with the Native powers, more particularly with the recently established Muhammadan kingdom of Maisûr. The last part (Chapter IV.) relates to the period of comparative tranquillity under the supremacy of the English rule, during which the subordinate native princes were gradually brought under subjection to the paramount power, and, instead of contending with each other, amused themselves by drilling their followers on the model of the disciplined troops of their conquerors, for purposes of pageantry and show, while the military operations of the latter were directed against more distant localities on the North-East, and West, and the chapter closes with the end of the first Burmese war in 1826.

After these preliminaries the author passes to the more immediate subject of his treatise, and describes first the embellishments employed in the ornamentation of Indian Arms, which he treats under the three forms of Hindî, Iranian (Persian) and Turanian art. These he illustrates at length, with appropriate examples and figures, into the details of which we need not follow him, neither need we enter into an examination of the processes employed in the manufacture of many of the weapons, an interesting description of which will be found in the second part of the chapter, but proceed at once to the more practical portion which treats of the weapons themselves. This is founded on the India Office Collection as it originally stood, with further illustrations from the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle, that of the Prince of Wales made during his Indian Tour, the Tower, the British Museum, &c., as well as on that formed by himself. The whole affords a very complete description of the warlike implements indigenous to India, and also of those introduced into it by the frequent conquests to which it has been

subjected, and by the numerous military adventurers who flocked thither for service, or were invited by prospects of advancement or more ambitious aspirations. The first groups of arms described are those of the Aboriginal and Non-Aryan Races, comprising the bows and arrows, clubs and axes, found amongst the earliest inhabitants of the Mainland and the Islands. Leaving the latter he takes a rapid glance at the pre-Aryan races of the Mainland, our information regarding which is too imperfect to admit of an accurate classification. We can point, however, to some of the most characteristic groups, such as the pastoral races represented by the Santâls, Ahîrs, and Kurumbars; the more warlike and predatory classes like the Bhîls, Gujars, Kolis, Râmosîs, Bedars and Marawârs; and the people of the north-eastern tracts who have been described by Colonel Dalton, and to whom the general term of Kolarians has been given. These distinctions again are all more or less fused by the influence of language, as they are connected on the one hand with the Hindî, and on the other with the Drâvidian tongues.[1] The weapons in use among all these will be found to exhibit considerable uniformity arising out of the earliest requirements of civilized man. Its normal form is that of the staff or club which supports him in his walk, and acts as his lever for removing obstacles, or repels the assault of an opponent, whether man or beast. A flint inserted at the end becomes a battle-axe or hatchet, and the sharpened edge is the proto-type of the sword. With a shorter piece in his left hand he wards off the blows of an assailant, and by increas[illegible] becomes a shield, and protects [illegible] arrow. When thick and heavy [illegible] with a slender slip [illegible] more [illegible] from a bow he strikes the more distant game beyond reach of the throwing stick.

Among the [illegible] of these primitive expedients is that [illegible] in the author's illustrations by No. 1 and [illegible] of Group I. at p. 73. It [illegible] to be the [illegible] weapon of the hill tribes of India, Gonds, Kolis, &c.; as well as of the native inhabitants of Australia. It is made of heavy wood of extreme hardness, rarely of metal, from 18 inches to 2 feet long, and from 2 to 3 inches broad, more or less curved, generally flat: some are hooped with iron and with three or four spikes of the same metal at the extremity to make them more deadly. The best specimens exactly resemble the Australian Bomerang, and differ in no respect from the weapon used by the ancient Egyptian sportsmen as depicted in the tombs of the kings at Thebes, an example of which, found in a mummy pit, is preserved in the British Museum. The form differs somewhat in different parts of India, that of the southern predatory tribes, as the Marawârs and Kallars, becomes narrower at one end, terminating in a knob or pommel to give a firmer grip in throwing.[2] These are of different sizes, some in my possession being only 22½ inches, but a specimen at Sandringham (see Plate, fig. 2) measures 23½ inches round the curve. They are of a very heavy dark-coloured wood.[3] The collection of the Prince of Wales contains one of fine steel (Plate, fig. 2a) 19 inches long, and 2½ broad at the broadest part, not much thicker than a sword blade, with a foliage pattern of silver running along the centre, a very formidable weapon; and also one of ivory about the same size, probably intended more for show than use. Not improbably it may be an instance of the *radanakuthâri* mentioned in the Nâgamangala copper plates, which Prof. Eggeling has translated "ivory weapons," and which Prof. Dowson suggests were kept as trophies of victory by great princes.[4] The name given to this missile by the Kolis of Gujarât is *katariya* (see Plate, fig. 1) but in the Drâvidian dialects it is called [illegible] or [illegible] (= bent stick) by the Kallars and Marawârs. Some specimens from Tinnevelly in the India Museum are labelled [illegible].[5] In some parts of the country the wooden throw-stick has given place to a small sharp [illegible] which is thrown with great precision. The Gonds are described by Captain Forsyth as killing pea-fowls, hares, and small deer, by throwing the little arm, which they

[1] The pre-Aryan population has been [illegible] in the use of [illegible] of [illegible] and agricultural. [illegible] various [illegible] in Southern India [illegible] the Drâvidian tongue [illegible] all earlier dialects, the remnants of the older races have failed to [illegible] some of its most remarkable phonetic sounds. [illegible] puts the [illegible] of the Todas of the Nilgiris in the second place of his enumeration. Their numbers never exceeded a thousand, and they are now much fewer. They belong clearly to the pastoral division, and speak a very rude Drâvidian dialect, and will be seen to fall naturally under Prof. [illegible] Physical Distribution noticed further on.

[2] In the list at p. 73, Group I. No. 4, said to be from Gujarat [illegible].

[3] The wood [illegible] is that [illegible] in Tamil [illegible], but they are also made of a species of [illegible] or ebony tree.

[4] [illegible], Vol. [illegible] p. 152.

[5] [illegible] p. 81, Groups II. III. I have never met with this name, but it nearly resembles the term *kataria*, a word, however, not found in the Gujarati or Marathi Dictionaries, used for the boomerang in Gujarât, and is nearly identical with the name *katar* or *katârî* given to the dagger with the *H*-shaped handle worn in the girdle by the military classes throughout India, said to be derived from Sanskrit. See Shakespeare's *Hind. Dict.* s. v.

invariably carry, at them, in doing which they are very expert.[6] Similar testimony is borne by another writer to the accuracy with which they use their little hatchets "knocking over a hare at full speed with astonishing celerity and certainty of aim."[7] "The Baigâ Gonds in the Pachmaṛhî Hills use a hatchet which they throw with great skill at deer and even at tigers. They always carry it in their hand."[8] In the Southern Marâṭhâ Country, and also in the hill tracts of the Madras Presidency, several varieties of clubs and sticks are in use as missiles. Some of these are merely short clubs from 2 to 3 feet long, heavy at the extremity, and go by the name of *kuruntaḍi* (See Plate, fig. 3). Others are simply sticks of various lengths strengthened by iron bands to give them weight. Two specimens from the Dhârwâr district, from 2 feet 7 inches to 2 feet 10 inches, long, heavy, and becoming gradually more curved and wider towards the extremity, and with a steel ring at either end (see Plate, fig. 4) are said to be favourite weapons of the Bedar caste. All these varieties of the throw-stick continue in use to the present day. In the wilder tracts, on the festival of the Ugâdi, which occurs on the first day of the soli-lunar year, early in March, the whole village turns out armed with every available weapon, the great proportion being throw-sticks, the Kanarese term for which is *yese-gôlu*, and beats across the whole area of the village lands, sparing neither bird nor beast, but not venturing across the line of their own boundary. The pursuit of a wounded hare beyond these limits has led to violent affrays with the people of the neighbouring township, similarly engaged, sometimes ending in bloodshed, which has brought them under the cognizance of the magistrate.

Prof. Huxley, in a paper on *The Geographical Distribution of the Chief Modifications of Mankind*, observes that "the indigenous population of Australia presents one of the best marked of all the types or principal forms of the human race," a description of which he gives, founded on their physical characters alone, and goes on to state that this group, to which he gives the name of Australoid, is not confined to that continent only, but includes the "so-called hill-tribes who inhabit the interior of the Dakhan in Hindûstân." To these he adds the Ancient Egyptians and their modern descendants. "For although the Egyptian has been much modified by civilization and probably by admixture, he still retains the dark skin, the black silky wavy hair, the long skull, the fleshy lips, and broadish *alæ* of the nose which we know distinguished his remote ancestors, and which cause both him and them to approach the Australian and the Daśyu more nearly than they do any other form of mankind."[9]

Now it is very remarkable that it is to these three groups that the use of the bomerang is exclusively confined, thus adding a further confirmation to the principle of an ethnological classification adopted by the author for the arrangement of the multifarious arms he was about to describe. It is true that the use of the throw-stick had disappeared from the debased inhabitants of Egypt proper, under the grinding influence of centuries of oppression. It is still, however, the national weapon of the brave and unsubdued people of the Soudan, improperly called Arabs, with whom they have nothing in common except their religion, and with whom we have recently come into much to be lamented collision.[10] In all the recent conflicts, armed only with their throw-sticks and short spears, they rushed, regardless of the withering fire, upon the serried ranks of their opponents, hurling their wooden missiles and endeavouring to close in with their spears. Several of these sticks, picked up at random by an officer of the Black Watch after the action at El-Teb, are now before me. They are called *kolai* by the Soudanese, *assai* in Arabic, and in Central Africa *trumbash*.[11]

The best formed are from 30 to 30½ inches long and curved only at one end (see Plate, fig. 5) a peculiarity noticed by Wilkinson[12] and also

[6] *Highlands of Central India*, p. 118.

[7] *Seonee in the Sâtpura Range*, by Robert A. Sterndale, p. 52.

[8] *Handbook*, p. 76.

[9] *Journal*, Ethnological Society, Vol. II. p. 404.

[10] The men of the Hadendoa tribe, of whom so many fell in the actions at El-Teb and Tamai, are described by an eye-witness as tall and athletic, with dark skins, the hair divided horizontally round the head above the ears, the upper portion drawn up to the crown, the lower hanging down to the neck, all features of the Australoid type.

[11] Schweinfurth in his *Heart of Africa*, Vol. II. p. 9, says, "The principal weapons of the Niam-Niam are their lances and *trumbashes*. The word *trumbash*, which has been incorporated into the Arabic of the Soudan, is the term employed to denote generally all the varieties of missiles that are used by the Negro races. It should, however, properly be applied solely to that sharp flat projectile of wood, a kind of bomerang, which is used for killing birds or hares or any small game. When the weapon is made of iron it is called *kulbeda*."

[12] "The use of the throw-stick was very general, every amateur chasseur priding himself on the dexterity displayed with this missile, and being made of heavy wood, flat, and offering little surface to the air in the direction of its flight, the distance to which an expert arm could throw it was considerable; though they always endeavoured to approach the birds as near as possible under cover of the bushes or reeds. It was from one foot and a quarter to two feet in length, and about one inch and a half in breadth, slightly curved at the upper end. Its general form may be inferred from one found at Thebes by Mr. Burton, from those of the Berlin Museum, and from the sculptures." Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. III. pp. 38, 39, (1837) particularly fig. 337 on p. 42.

found in the Dakhan, while others resemble the *kuruntadi* or short club.[13] The affinity of these tribes to the ancient Egyptians, is further deducible from their language which belongs to the Hamitic stock. This consists of several groups, one of which under the general name of Bishâri (the Bishareen of late newspaper correspondents) is found occupying the extensive tract between Abyssinia and Suâkin, and the Red Sea and the Nile. It is described as a language of great historical interest, and is supposed to be that used in the Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of Nubia. The different dialects of which it is composed are now spoken by the *Hadendoa, Ababde, Boja,* and other tribes, known collectively to the Romans as the Blemmyes, and in the Middle Ages as the Beja.[14]

The bow is very much the same among all the tribes which retain its use. It is about 5 feet long, generally of bamboo, and strung by means of a slip of cane or bamboo bark. The arrows, which are from 2½ to 3 feet long, are variously pointed. On one occasion I met with a peculiarity which, as far as I am aware, has not been noticed before. When exploring the Gôdâvarî in 1848 we landed to communicate with some natives in a forest on the bank, and examining their arms Colonel (now Sir Arthur) Cotton, who was of the party, observed that the feathering of their arrows was adjusted spirally[15] On inquiring the reason they said they had inherited the practice from their forefathers, and that it gave the arrow a more accurate flight.

The above description applies to all the bows in use among the Non-Aryan tribes, but a more elaborate sort, like those numbered 80 and 457 (*Handbook*, pp. 81, 114) from Travancore and Gwâlior, seem to have been intended rather for show than use. Others of a composite character are alluded to in a note at the same place, but are now seldom, if ever, seen. Examples of the *kamân* or curved Tâtar bow, made of horn, are occasionally met with, but being of foreign origin and belonging to a much later period do not call for more notice here.[16]

From these ruder weapons we pass to the arms with a cutting edge, which came into use at a more advanced stage of society, when the art of smelting metal became known. One of the earliest forms was that in use among the Khonds, Kols, and Sauras known by the name of *tângî,* a Hindî word of Sanskrit origin. It is a sort of axe with wooden handle from 2½ to 3 feet long and upwards. They are shod with brass, the blades being of various shapes, each distinctive of the different sections of the tribe. Several of these are figured at p. 73 of the *Handbook,* where they are entered under the name of *tabar,*[17] a name I have never heard as being in use among the Khonds, and being a Persian word it is not likely it should be. Other specimens mentioned in the *Handbook* are said to come from the Malabar Coast.[18]

After the bomerang the most characteristic Hindû weapon is a sort of bill or chopper which under various forms and names is found throughout the whole of India from the Himâlayas to Cape Comorin. It is the *kora* (*a*) of Naipâl, the *kukri* (*b*) of the Gurkhâs, the *ayudha* (*c*) *katti* of the Nairs and Moplas,[19] and the *korgatti* of Coorg, Maisûr, &c. They are often carried slung to the back equally ready for attack or defence, or for clearing a path through the forest. Paraśurâma, the leader of the Turanian colony which invaded the western coast, is represented as carrying a *paraśu* (Sanskrit bill or battle-axe), which, though generally figured and translated as a battle-axe, must have been the Nair war-knife or *ayudha katti* still carried by his tribe. It is the prototype to the eastward of the *dâ* or *dâo*[20] which according to Captain Lewin is in general use among the wild tribes.[21] It is a blade about 18 inches long, narrow at the haft, square at the top, pointless, and sharpened on one side only. Speaking of the Karens, Major Tickell says, "In the hand is generally carried the *dâ* (an awkward implement, half-knife, half

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[13] Specimens of this description were not wanting in the India Museum, as appears by the mention in Mr. Egerton's note at pp. 78, 81, where he refers to "Cudgels or sticks used by watchmen, robbers, and others, plain and iron-bound." Some of them are 4 and 4½ feet long, with which may be associated the clubs called *kania* 4 or 5 feet long carried by the Todas (well-marked typical representatives of the Australoid group), which are entirely of wood, neatly shaped, and seem to be the only weapon in use among them.

[14] Cust's *Modern Languages of Africa*, Vol I. pp. 125-26; Conf. also pp. 39, 40.

[15] Since this was written Colonel Clay, late of the Madras Survey, has told me that he brought home a number of arrows feathered in this way from Gumsûr which are now in the possession of Sir Robert Sinclair, Achvarsdale Lodge, Caithness.

[16] Descriptions of these, the mode in which they are strung, and the agate ring *zihgîr* (from the Pers. *zih* a bow-string and *gîr* taking or catching), or *sutan* (from the Arabic root = scraping) for protecting the thumb when discharging the arrow (p. 114) two of which we possess, will be found in the lists. See Nos. 366, 457-59, 592-93.

[17] Group I. Nos. 30-32, 35, 37, 39, 40-42, 51, 56.

[18] Groups II. III. p. 79, Nos. 89, 90.

[19] (*a*) Group VII. p. 100, Nos. 322, 323.
(*b*) Group VII. p. 100, Nos. 314, 315, 318, 319.
(*c*) *ayudha-katti*, literally war-knife, is from the Sanskrit *âyudha*, a weapon, or arms of any kind, which is derived from the root *yudh* to fight. It is the *ayda-katti* of the *Handbook*, Groups II. III. p. 79, figs. 111, 119, 128.

[20] Group IV. p. 84, Nos. 192, 194, 195, 202, 209, 213. Group V. pp. 84-95, Nos. 241, 242, 250, 252.

[21] *Wild Races of Southern India.*

chopper), which, like the Lepchas of Sikhim, the Newârs of Nêpâl, and the Bhotiâs of Tibet, they apply to all imaginable uses."[22] It is not intended to follow Mr. Egerton through the minute description he gives of the rude tribes to the eastward, and I merely remark in passing that the Burmese sword appears to be derived directly from the bomerang, retaining its curved form, one-half serving as a handle to the metal blade of the other.

In early Drâvidian poems, especially the war songs of the Marawârs,[23] a weapon is found under the name of *vâl*, often translated, but erroneously, a sword. There is little doubt it refers to a form of the bill. The name still lingers in part, in the term applied to the broad sacrificial knife used in some of the temples of Kâli, with which the heads of the sheep, goats, and other victims are struck off at a single blow, a feat sometimes accomplished even on a buffalo. The word is used by the Tôdas, and is found in the *irucdlli* or axe of the Badagas.[24]

The remaining portion of the work is devoted to the notice of arms not characteristic of any particular race or country, which have been introduced by foreigners, and that chiefly since the earlier Muhammadan conquests. Among these I propose to touch only upon such as have a special Hindû character, and have been more particularly adopted by the natives in that part of India with which I am best acquainted.

The general Hindû term for a sharp-edged instrument is *katti*, a word which will be seen in combination with some of the names before quoted. This I at first thought might be a Prâkrit form of the Sanskrit *kâshṭha* = wood, and so deriving it from the wooden throw-stick. But this etymology is not clear. Its Drâvidian parentage rests on better grounds. Dr. Caldwell, under the root *kaḍi* to cut, inserts *katti*, a knife, a sword, and refers to the Sanskrit *krit* to cut and its many derivatives.[25] Then again we have the Tamil *kaṭṭai* = trunk of a tree or block of wood. The most characteristic weapon of this description that I have seen is the *paṭâ*. In the *Handbook* it is called the gauntlet sword of the Marâthâ Cavalry, in which the arm to the elbow is protected by a steel gauntlet fixed to the blade of the weapon (Nos. 463, 464). I do not remember a single instance in which it formed part of the equipment of the Marâthâ trooper in the *risâlas* of Irregular Cavalry in the Dakhan or Gujarât. Indeed it appears to be a weapon unsuitable for use on horseback. I have only seen it carried by men on foot, especially athletes, who declare that with it a single warrior may defend himself against a host. The mode of doing so is shown by an exercise in which the swordsman, holding his weapon horizontally, whirls about with rapid gyrations making sweeping cuts and giving point on every side. A skilful feat performed in this exhibition is described on p. 119.

The *khaṇḍa* is the national sword of Orissa, and especially of a class of military landholders in that province known as *Khaṇḍâits* who, like the *Mankâvalgârs*[26] of the South were bound to protect the inhabitants of the plains from the attacks of marauders. The *khaṇḍâ* is a straight two-edged sword about 3 or 3½ feet long, becoming broader at the extremity which is rounded (*Handbook*, No. 521.) The term *sosanpaṭâ* is applied in the Dakhan to a weapon of somewhat remarkable form, probably peculiar to that locality. It varies in length from 2 to 3 feet, becoming broader towards the end near which it curves outward, terminating in a sharp point. On the back, about 4 or 5 inches from the hilt is a round button-like knob, the use of which is not apparent

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[22] *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*

[23] These poems, which possess much ethnological interest, relate generally to plundering raids for driving off the cattle of neighbouring villages and led to fierce encounters. Many of the *Vîrakals* or monumental stones represent these cattle fights. Specimens of the poems are preserved in old Tamil grammars like the *Nannûl*, and are well deserving of being rendered generally known in an English dress, with a critical examination of their contents.

[24] The similarity of all the forms above enumerated to those found among other peoples of [illegible] descent, seem to point to a common origin in [illegible] Asia. Of this we have an example in the [illegible] (Κοπίς) a specimen of which, obtained from S[illegible], is in the Collection of General Pitt-Rivers. [illegible] the [illegible]. Liddell and Scott, *Greek L*[illegible] render it [illegible] chopper, cleaver, kitchen knife [illegible] a broad curved knife like our bill used by the Thessalians. Euripides, *El*[illegible], 837) and by [illegible] Xenophon *Cyropaedia*, 2. 1. 9, 6. 2 10. [illegible] σάγαρις) a weapon used by the Scythian tribes [illegible] the Persians, Amazons, &c. a single-edged [illegible]. The ancient Egyptians seem to have had a somewhat similar weapon represented in the paintings of the tombs, and it survives among those of some of the Negro tribes figured by Schweinfurth. In the *R*[illegible] *of the Past* king Amenemhat of the XIIth dynasty, is represented as saying to his son Osirtesen, "I brought [illegible] with [illegible]." The late George Smith in the [illegible] of his third lecture on Assyrian History delivered at the Royal Institution, April 1875, [illegible] the [illegible] type of the Egyptian [illegible] in no other instance represented among the Assyrian monuments. It is the property of Mr. [illegible] Hambury, the [illegible] which were formerly explained by Mr. Smith. The blade [illegible] an [illegible] the standard of one of the divisions of the Assyrian [illegible] the inscription [illegible] it to the [illegible] Vul-nirari I., 1330-1300 B.C. [illegible] 32 centuries. It is probably the oldest sword in the world. —[illegible] 25th April 1875.

[25] *[illegible] Dravidian Languages*, p. 177.

[26] Chiefs of the predatory tribes of the Kallars and Mar[illegible] who protect the villages of the plains from [illegible] one of their followers in each village [illegible] or [illegible] grain in return for the payment of Ludumil



INDIAN ARMS.

1. Katarîya of Gujarât.
2. Vaḷai tâḍi of the Karnâṭak.
2a. Steel ditto.
3. Kuruntâḍi or Club.
4. Vaḷai tâḍi, variety.
5. Throw-stick of the Soudan.
6. Imaginary sketch of a Sosanpaṭá Blade.
7. Monumental Stone at Guntûr.
8. Figure on the Kadambêswar Temple in the Fort at Reṭṭihaḷḷi, Kôḍ Tâlukâ, Dhârwâḍ, S.M.C.

This addition is also found on some of the broad sacrificial *vâḷ* blades. A weapon of the same name is mentioned in the *Handbook* (p. 104, No. 578 T); but neither the figure nor the description—"A short, broad, heavy sword, slightly bent, point inclining upwards; worn by all ranks in Hindûstân,"—agrees with the examples I have seen. The kind more particularly referred to is now very rare. The best of those that have come under my observation was in the collection of the Nawâb of the Karnatic at Chepâk, a figure of which is not available, but a rough outline is given from memory (see Plate, fig. 6). A specimen specially obtained from Haidarâbâd proved on receipt to be like No. 578 T. The blade is 2½ feet long, somewhat more curved, and wants the knob on the back. It is seen, therefore, to belong to the Hindûstân group, and that the sword known by the same name in the Dakhan is very different. The accompanying rough sketch of a *virgal* (see Plate, fig. 7) or monument about 3 feet high, near Guntûr, exhibits the Dakhan *sosanpaṭâ* in a very rude and somewhat exaggerated form. A fourth kind of sword peculiar to the south has a long, straight, sharp-pointed two-edged blade, 3 feet 7 inches long, with a handle so small that it will only admit half the hand, and a broad hilt sloping outwards. In a statue of the founder of the Yâdava dynasty of Dvârasamudra, which forms part of a remarkable group, more than once repeated in the Kôḍ Tâlukâ of the Southern Marâṭhâ country, the hero is shown in the act of piercing a tiger, and holding a sword of this description with his two first fingers outside the hilt, and the rest of his hand within (see Plate, fig. 8). Believing the hilt was intended to protect the hand from the weapon of an opponent, it seemed doubtful whether the sculptor had not been careless in thus representing the grasp of the hand, but the following extract from the work of an old master-at-arms clears up the difficulty, and vindicates the accuracy of the sculptor. "An Englishman cannot thrust straight with the sword because the hilt will not suffer him to put the forefinger over the crosse, nor to put the thumbe upon the blade, nor to hold the pummell in the hand; whereby we are of necessitie to hold fast the handle in the hand; by reason whereof we are driven to thrust both compasse and short (*sic*), whereas with the rapier they can thrust both straight and much farther than we can with the sword because of the hilt, and these be the reasons they make against the sword"[27] This weapon is very uncommon. I have only once met with what I deemed to be an exemplar of it. The long, straight cut-and-thrust blade found among the local militia known as *Shetsanadîs* and *Kâtaks*, called *farangî* or *farhangî* (No. 523 and p. 56 note 1) is of European manufacture, and was largely introduced by the Portuguese after the establishment of their trade in Malabar. They are often stamped with what appear to be single letters far apart, but not legible, as if impressed by workmen copying marks they did not understand. It is still commonly met with among all classes in the south, but chiefly among the village soldiery before mentioned. *Bhawânî*, the sword of Śivajî, is a long straight weapon slightly curved and double-edged towards the point, resembling the kind known in Upper India as the *sirohi*, and the regulation blade carried by the British Cavalry. At a Darbâr held by the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone at Rihmatpûr about 1826, at which I was present, the Râjâ of Sattârâ exhibited this weapon, and at the same time the *bâgh-nak*, or tiger-claw, with which his ancestor treacherously slew 'Afzûl Khân, the Muhammadan general of Bijâpûr. The weapon so called consists of four sharp curved claws resting at the base of each finger on a transverse steel band, terminating in a ring fitted to the fore and little finger, and looks externally simply like an ornament, while the weapon remains concealed in the palm. This last was subsequently presented, at another Darbâr, to Sir John Malcolm, by whom it was probably given to the India Museum, and now appears in the *Handbook* as No 476.[28]

A variety of names are given to the long straight blades comprehended under the general name of *saif*, *shamsher*, &c. *Talwâr* is a general term applied to shorter and more or less curved side arms, while those that are lighter and shorter still are often styled *nîmchas*. The *'abbâsî* is an elegant curved Persian scimitar, so called from the name *'Abbâs* often stamped on the blade. The name *shamsher* given to them in the lists is rather a generic term equivalent to sabre. The blades are sometimes richly "ornamented (like No. 654, p. 132), on both sides with numerous figures of animals, *incised* and damascened in gold." In a similar example now before me the figures are in *relief*, and display on one side two elephants butting, a horseman pursuing a stag, two buffaloes fighting, a *chîtâ* killing a deer, two lions opposite each other, an elephant and a deer, a buffalo, a tiger killing a buffalo On the other side a horseman pursuing a deer, a tiger suckling its young one, two lions face to face, a tiger on its back killing a deer, a tiger killing a deer, the latter on its back, tiger killing a calf and three other calves. The *teghâ*

[27] *The Paradoxes of Defence.* By George Silver (a Master of Fence) Gentleman, London 1599, 4to.

[28] P. 115. See also p. 27.

a very broad, much curved blade, is a favourite weapon of the Pathâns. On one occasion a sword ingeniously formed out of the snout of the saw-fish (*Pristis*), was seen in the hands of a soldier in a hill fort in Maisûr not far from Chitaldurg. A great variety of daggers are carried in the sash or waist band. The most common in South India are the *kaṭâr* before mentioned, and the *bâṅk* or *bichhwâ*. The first is specially affected by the military classes. It is of various sizes, but always with the same handle, and more or less ornamented. I have one with two blades side by side, but not otherwise remarkable. The second is a small dagger, varying a good deal in form, but all more or less curved. Many others of foreign origin are met with, as the Persian *peshkabz* and *khanjar*, the Arab *jambiya*, the long Afghân knife and the *Lesghî* dagger with a long broad double edged blade, as also smaller knives with the general name of *churî* or *kattî*.

I will here refer to the light thrown on the origin of the numerous swordblades known by the name of *farhangîs* by the description given in a former number of the *Indian Antiquary*[29] of the Armoury at Tanjore. On the death of the last Râja in 1855 the whole of the personal and landed property was made over to his widow, with the exception of the armoury. This was found to be in a most neglected condition. Arms of all descriptions were lying heaped together on the sunk floor of an out-building in the precincts of the palace, called the music-hall, but apparently used for athletic sports, and surrounded by a gallery for spectators.

Hundreds of swords of every kind lay caked together and covered with rust. Many of those that could be cleaned were found to be of choice manufacture and highly ornamented. The number of straight cut-and-thrust blades was very great, which Mr. Wallhouse, quoting a former writer (*ante*, Vol. II. p. 216), states to have derived their name of "*phiraṅgîs* from the Portuguese, by whom they were either introduced from Europe, or else made in imitation of such imported swords."

In addition to these were numerous *kaṭârs* with ornamented handles fitted to blades formed of pieces of European swords. The design and execution of these handles is described as being of the highest artistic merit. "The fancy shown is endless and the execution minute and admirable." * * * * "One has the grasp covered by a shield-shaped guard of pierced steel, bearing a griffin on each outer rim, from whose backs small blades project on each side at right angles to the central blade, which bears this inscription on both sides:—

× × INTI × × DOMINI × ×.

Another fantastic dagger has three long narrow blades parallel to one another, the middle one longest, and on it are the letters EDRO. A *kaṭâr* with a handle throughout of beautiful workmanship, the open-work sides an arrangement of griffins, phœnixes, and clustered fishes, and the holdfasts of the blade each four fancifully grouped parrots, bears on one side the blade, which is broad and three-channelled, the letters S M.V.N., and on the other C V.M, with a human face in a crescent further up. A second *kaṭâr* has the handle covered with a guard representing a cobra with expanded hood between two rampant griffins; the long narrow blade exhibits a single deep groove "in which on one side are the letters IOHANIS * VLL, and on the other four or five indistinct letters, and then ALIV N. A third with a handsome well-wrought steel hilt, after the thick layer of rust that coated it had been removed, disclosed to my surprise, in two deep channels on each side the blade the well-known name

ANDREA
FERARA."

The number of arrows and arrow-heads scattered about is stated to have been very large, "the former as usual, of reeds, with bone or ivory nocks and spike-heads of all possible shapes, short and lengthened, rounded, three or four-sided, channelled, or bulging in the centre; many were barbed, and many flat-tipped or ending in small globes,—perhaps for killing birds without breaking the skin; and there were some headed with hollow brass balls perforated with three or four holes, which were said to be filled with some inflammable composition, and shot burning on to roofs and into houses. Under the head each arrow was elaborately gilt and painted for six inches down the stem, and also for the same length above the nock, and each bore above the feathers an inscription of two lines in Marâṭhî characters in gold," &c. &c.

Several kinds of spears are included in the lists. The most common are the long lance or *birchî* carried by the Marâṭhâ *Silahdârs*, and the Irregular Musalmân troopers of the Dakhan. It has a bamboo shaft 10 to 12 feet long, and a small steel head with a long iron ferrule at the lower end for sticking it into the ground. The *ballam* or *bhâlâ* is a strong pike 8 or 9 feet long, with a heavy sometimes curved, steel head, a formidable weapon, and the favourite arm among the Polygar foot

[29] Vol. VII. pp. 192-96.

soldiers which has been used with much effect in defending their strongholds. A shorter javelin, sometimes seen, but not used in the South, where it is attributed to the Râjpûts, is the *sáng*, a slender iron shaft grasped in the middle, with a thong attached. A specimen before me is 6 feet 9 inches long, 26 inches of which form the quadrangular point.

It remains only to notice a few miscellaneous weapons. The parrying stick formerly mentioned has developed into a more artificial form called the *márû* or *mádû*. The ringed shaft of one before me is 22 inches long, terminating in a turned knob at one end, and in a sharp spear point at the other, which is 5 inches more. The handle, about the middle of the shaft, is protected by an unarmed guard.[30] Another form called the *singautá*, made of two antelope horns, (*sing*,) 26 inches long, joined at their base by a handle from which projects a short blade, the extremities shod with pointed javelin heads, each about 4 inches long.[31]

Here, too, I may mention the flail, a specimen of which from Southern India has a handle or shaft 15 inches long, from the end of which depend two chains 19 inches long, attached by a ring, each ending in a ball.[32] A similar weapon appears to have been used by the ancient Britons of which I remember to have seen a figure in a pictorial *History of England*.

Blue clad Sikh mercenaries are sometimes met carrying on their conical turbans half a dozen steel *chakras* or more, which they discharge with considerable accuracy.

Of the two concluding chapters the first is devoted to a description of the martial exercises and games practised at the *Dassara* (*Daśahra*) and on other festive occasions at Native courts. These have now fallen somewhat into disuse in the South, but in many villages in the Marâṭhâ country, and in most Native Regiments, gymnasia or *tálim-khánas* are kept up for the practise of athletic exercises by the young men of the place.[33] The principal of these are the *ḍand*, in which the hands are placed on the ground and then bending down until the chest almost touches the floor, the body is raised by straightening the arms; the *magdar*, in which two heavy clubs are used in a series of motions somewhat like dumb bells; the *lézam* or bow with a steel chain for a string, which is pulled by extending either arm alternately with great force. The proficient multiplies the performance of each of these exercises as his strength allows until he can repeat them from fifty to a hundred times or even more, by means of which his muscular powers become fully developed and fit him to compete with advantage in their favourite game of wrestling. On festive occasions the athletes of a district meet to contend for the mastery, in which one or two of the most successful become recognised as the rural champions of the neighbourhood.

The last chapter treats of artillery and describes some of the most remarkable pieces of ordnance that have been cast in India.[34]

The lists likewise contain the names of some varieties of the matchlock, as *karol*,—a term new to me, the carbine of Haidâr 'Alî's cavalry; *jazâ'il*—a wall-piece, whence perhaps the Dakhani *jinjál*. A piece heavier than the common matchlock is found amongst the Marawârs of Śivagaṅga and is called *sarboji*, which may have some connection with the name of the neighbouring ruler of Tanjore (Serfoji *vulgo* Sarboji). A still larger kind belonging to the same part of the country is the *sanjali*.[35]

The work is interspersed with much interesting information regarding the warlike habits and practices of different races, and I feel assured that it will be found very instructive, as well as useful, to the readers of the *Indian Antiquary*.

Want of sight will account for inaccuracies which may have crept into the foregoing descriptions and particularly in referring to the figures.

WALTER ELLIOT, K.C.S.I.

BERUNI'S INDICA.

Preliminary Notice.

Ever since Reinaud's *Extraits* and *Mémoire* made fragments of Bêrûnî's *Indica* accessible, the great importance of his work for the political and literary history of India has been generally recognized, and the desire to see the whole made *publici juris* has been frequently expressed. It will be, therefore, welcome news to all who feel an interest in India, that Professor Sachau, to whom we owe an excellent edition and translation of Bêrûnî's *Chronology*, has almost finished printing the text of the *Indica*, and that a large portion of his translation will shortly be ready for the press. An examination of Professor Sachau's MS., which he kindly placed at my disposal, has convinced

30 *Cf. Saintt. Handbook*, No. 557. In the Soudan a curved stick, with a hollow in the centre to protect the hand, called a *quayre* is used for the same purpose. Another called the *dang* is shaped like a bow and receives the blow of the club on the string. Schweinfurth's *Heart of Africa*, Vol. I. p. 155.

31 *Handbook*, Group X. No. 694.

32 *Handbook*. Group I. No. 62.

33 [The Daśahrâ is everywhere still in full swing in North-West India.—ED.]

34 [In the out-of-the way fort of Bahâdurgarh or Saifâbâd near Patiâlâ town is a large quantity of Native ordnance of all sorts and ages worth examining.—ED.]

35 *Madr. Jour.* Vol. IV. p. 360. Nelson's *Madura*, p. 41.

me that Reinaud's extracts have by no means exhausted all the interesting information contained in Bêrûnî's book. On the contrary, there is not a branch of Indology—with, perhaps, the single exception of Vedic studies—which will not gain very considerably by its publication. Bêrûnî was himself a Sanskrit scholar. He studied some *Śâstras*, especially astronomy and mathematics, deeply, possessed a superficial knowledge of others, and made careful inquiries among the best *Paṇḍits* of his time, regarding the remainder and regarding the geography and the history of India. Though he complains of the want of communicativeness on the part of the Brâhmaṇs, which he ascribes partly to their arrogant contempt for all but their own caste-fellows, and partly to their hostility towards the Muhammadan invaders of their country, he has nevertheless collected more, and more correct, information than any foreigner who wrote before the great opening-up of Brâhmanical India under British rule. His wide culture, his high scientific attainments, and his full acquaintance with the literature of the Western nations, enabled him to estimate Hindû science and learning at their proper value, and permitted him to draw interesting parallels. Both the accounts left us by the Greeks and by the Chinese pilgrims read, by the side of Bêrûnî's work, like children's books, or the compilations of uneducated and superstitious men, who marvelled at the strange world into which they had fallen, but understood its true character very little. Bêrûnî's style is somewhat stiff and quaint, and he often devotes much space to very abstruse matters; yet his book will possess considerable interest even for the general reader, and many passages will be found to be highly amusing. In order to show how much the specialist may gain from a careful study of the *Indica*, I may give, as an instance, the remarks on the *Sikhitá* of Ugrabhûti, which explains the *Kâtantra* Grammar. It is the last on the list of Indian grammatical compositions, and Bêrûnî adds the following account of the manner in which it became famous:—Ugrabhûti, he says, was, according to common report, the spiritual guide and teacher of the reigning Shâh, Ânandapâla, the son of Jayapâla. When he had composed his work, he sent it to Kaśmîr for the approval of the learned. The latter, "being haughtily conservative," rejected it as useless, and refused to study it. Thereupon he moved his royal pupil to forward "200,000 *dirhams* and presents of equal value," to be distributed among those who would learn and teach it. The consequence was that the Kaśmîrians, "showing the meanness of their avarice," immediately recanted their former opinion, and not only adopted the *Sikhitá* as their class-book, but wrote numerous commentaries on it. Now this story, which, at first sight, reads like a spiteful anecdote, can easily be shown to be quite true, and it enlightens us on various difficult points. As it is the custom in Northern India to pronounce *sa* instead of *śa* and *kha* instead of *sha*, it is evident that the *Sikhitá* is the *Śishyahitá* commentary on the *Kâtantra*, copies of which I brought from Kaśmîr in 1875. The first service which Bêrûnî does us is that he gives us its date, the beginning of the 11th century. But he teaches us still more. The *Śishyahitá* is at present only found in Kaśmîr, where several commentaries on it, written by Kaśmîrians are extant, and where it is a favourite class-book. To any one acquainted with the literary history of Kaśmîr, it must be clear that the *Kâtantra* was not the grammar originally studied in the valley, but that in earlier times the works of Pâṇini's school alone were studied and commented on. This struck me very much at the time of my visit, and I inquired in vain for the causes of the change. Bêrûnî's story now furnishes an easy explanation, and its truth is confirmed by the state of things in Kaśmîr. The same story teaches us further that royal favour and liberality were employed in the interests of mere school-books, and that the needy *Paṇḍits* easily succumbed to such influences. Ugrabhûti's case was probably not the only one of its kind, and it will be well for the historian of Sanskrit literature if he does not trust too exclusively to the theory of natural development, but is also in other cases on the look-out for similar external influences, which the anecdotes of the *Paṇḍits* mention not rarely. Finally, the assertion, made in Jaina and Brâhmaṇical *Prabandhas*, that, during the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries, the *sabhás* of the Kaśmîrian *Paṇḍits* were considered literary courts of appeal, becomes now credible. The same story is told regarding the *Naishadhíya*, which its author is said to have taken to Kaśmîr, and to have placed in the lap of the goddess Śâradâ. Hitherto, I must confess, I doubted that this narrative had any foundation in truth, but now it seems very probable.

G. BÜHLER.

THE SASBAHU TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF MAHIPALA, OF VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1150.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN; GÖTTINGEN.

ON a projecting point near the middle of the eastern wall of the fortress of Gwalior there are two temples, which the people call "the temple of the mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law" (सास बहू का देहरा).[1] "By our own countrymen," so General Cunningham writes, (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 357). "they are generally called the 'great Jain temple,' and the 'small Jain temple;' but, as the sculptures, which can be recognised both inside and outside of the larger temple, are chiefly confined to the members of the Hindu triad and their consorts, I conclude that the temple must belong to the Brâhmaṇical worship. Inside the portico there is a long inscription, No. VII., on two slabs, with the date of S. 1150, or A.D. 1093."

An edition of this inscription was attempted, from a facsimile supplied by General Cunningham, by Dr. Rajendralal in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 411 ff.; but owing, I assume, to the imperfect state of the materials from which he was working, the text printed by Dr. Rajendralal is so full of errors and omissions that it may be considered almost valueless. Dr. Rajendralal has also given (*loc. cit.* p. 400 ff.) an abstract of the contents of the inscription, which, as in several particulars it cannot be made to agree with the Sanskrit text published by him,[2] must have been based on the '*Thent* Hindvi translation, prepared for the late Major Markham Kittoe,' which is mentioned by him on page 400. Misled probably by the popular belief or by the name Padmanâtha, which occurs in the opening blessing and in the body of the inscription. Dr. Rajendralal has pronounced the temple, in which the inscription is, to be a Jain temple, and he has told how, during the reign of the king Mahîpâla, a figure of Padmanâtha—a Jain divinity—came suddenly into existence, and how Mahîpâla dedicated to it the temple in the doorway of which the inscription under notice was recorded. This statement has already been discredited by General Cunningham on the evidence of the sculptures; and (like other statements which it is unnecessary to mention here) it is distinctly refuted by the inscription itself, in which it is recorded again and again, that the temple was built for the worship of Vishṇu.

My own transcript of this very interesting and valuable inscription has been made from an estampage, which at my request was prepared for me, on his recent visit to Gwalior, by Dr. Hultzsch, to whom my best thanks are due for the great trouble which he has taken on my behalf.[3] I have finally revised my reading by the photo-lithograph, prepared from an ink-impression sent to Mr. Fleet by General Cunningham, and published herewith. The estampage shows—what indeed could not have been inferred from Dr. Rajendralal's account—that the inscription has on the whole been well preserved: it no doubt contains many passages, sometimes extending over half a dozen letters, where the stone is worn away, and the deciphering of which has on that account been very troublesome; yet in the whole of the inscription there is not a single *akshara* of which some traces at least are not visible: and I venture to hope that the new transcript will be found to contain a complete and trustworthy copy of the original.

As has been stated above, the inscription, which is in Sanskrit, is engraved on two slabs. The writing on the first slab covers 5′ 1½″ in length and 1′ 6¼″ in height; that on the second slab 5′ 4″ in length and 1′ 6″ in height. Each portion contains twenty-one lines; but the writing in the last line of the second part

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[1] I owe the words in brackets to Mr. Fleet. The current name of the temple has therefore nothing to do with *sahasra-bâhu* 'hundred-armed.'

[2] On p. 400 Dr. Rajendralal writes—"The composer of the deed was one Manikaṇṭha of the Bharadwâja gotra." on p. 418. lines 4 and 8, we read मणिकण्ठेन. He proceeds—"and its writer Digambarârka. Its engraving needed the services of three artists, Padma, son of Devaswâmi, Sinhavâja and Mâhula." Of these five names, only that of Padma occurs in the Sanskrit text on p. 418. On p. 401 we read:—"Vajradâma, according to our inscription, before entering into Gwalior, had subdued the king of Vindhyanagara." The Sanskrit text on p. 411 contains the words निर्व्याजमरिभूय वैरिनगराधीशं ततोदयं. In reality the correct reading is neither *Vindhyanagara* nor *Vairinagara*, but *Gâdhinagara*.

[3] I have also had a rubbing of the inscription,—prepared for Dr. Burgess,—which, for a rubbing, is very good, and the sight of which first made me wish to re-edit the inscription. With it alone, however, I should not have been able to accomplish the task.

covers only about one-third of the length of the whole line. The inscription has been carefully and beautifully written in Dêvanâgarî characters by one Yaśôdêva-Digambarârka, 'the sun of the Digambaras' (V. 106) who is described as a poet in all languages,* and engraved by the three artists Padma, the son of Dêvasvâmin, Siṁhavâja, and Mâhula, whose names are given in the concluding lines. As regards the forms of the letters, I may state that the sign for ध is frequently not to be distinguished from that for व, and that I often have found it difficult to distinguish the signs for त and व, and those for ग and म. Besides, I may draw attention to the sign for फ which is used in हर्षोत्फुल्ल in L. 1, and in फलम् towards the end of L. 11; and to that for भ, which occurs in भगवान् and सुभगं at the beginning of L. 3. Lastly, a peculiar sign for घ is used in the word संघाः in L. 9.

On the spelling of the words, and on the observation of the rules of *Saṁdhi*, but few remarks are required. Concerning the rules of euphony, it may be observed that a final म् has not been changed to *Anusvâra* before a following initial व in L. 3 भूभृताम्वद्य:, L. 13 यम्वोढास्मो, L. 18 भूमीभृताम्विवुध°, and L. 25 त्वम्विशुद्ध°; and that छ, wherever it occurs, has been changed to च्छ, even in L. 6, संच्छाद्यां°, L. 9, वांच्छित°, and L. 22, वांच्छ:. As regards the spelling, we find व for ब everywhere, except in L. 5 सौर्याब्धिना; but we have once बपु: for वपु:, in L. 1. We have the dental for the palatal sibilant in अंसु L. 8, अविनासिन् L. 30, आसु, L. 20, आस्विन L. 40, चतुर्विंसाति L. 32, निस्त्रिंस L. 10, पञ्चास L. 40, पञ्चासत् L. 40. प्राविसत् L. 26, रासि L. 2, विस्व L. 20, शस्वत् L. 19, सश्वत् L. 12 and 25, सुभ L. 13, सौर्य L. 5, 14, 23, and 29, and स्रुत्वा L. 9; (but we have also अंशु L. 29, अनीनशः L. 28, आशु L. 28, विंशति L. 39, विशन्ती L. 13, शाश्वत L. 35, and शोभा L. 23). On the other hand, we find the palatal sibilant used for the dental sibilant in श्रुत L. 10 for स्रुत, and शाशनोदित L. 34 for शासनोदित (against शासति L. 10). Lastly, the *Jihvâmûlîya* has been employed instead of the lingual sibilant in निᳵक, निᳵकलङ्क, and चतुᳵक, for निष्क, निष्कलङ्क, and चतुष्क, all in L. 36.

With the exception of the introductory ओं नमः पद्मनाथाय and the date in l. 40 अंकतोपि ११५० ॥ आस्विनवहुलपंचम्यां, the whole inscription is in verse, and was composed, by order of the king Mahîpâla, by the poet Maṇikaṇṭha (or Maṇikaṇṭhasûri), who calls himself a student of the *Mîmâṁsâ* and *Nyâya*, and states that his father was the poet Gôvinda, and his grandfather the chief of poets Râma, and that he belonged to the Bhâradvâja *gôtra* (verses 104-105). It contains altogether 112 verses, in the following metres:—

Anushṭubh: verses 2, 11, 13-15, 21, 24, 25, 32-34, 65, 66, 69, 79-99, 100 (only half a verse), 101-105, 107, 108, 110-112. [Total 46.]

Indravajrâ: verses 9, 72, 75. [3.]

Upêndravajrâ: verses 8, 74. [2.]

Upajâti: verses 22, 30, 68, 71, 73, 76, 106. [7.]

Drutavilambita: verse 7. [1.]

Vasantatilakâ: verses 12, 20, 23, 35-59, 70, 78. [30.]

Śikhariṇî: verses 4, 26, 28, 67. [4.]

Mandâkrântâ: verse 31. [1.]

Śârdûlavikrîḍita: verses 1, 5, 6, 10, 16-19, 29, 60-64, 77, 109 [16.]

Sragdharâ: verses 3 and 27. [2.]

When I say that the inscription is in verse, I do not mean to maintain that it is a poetical composition from the beginning to the end; for the whole passage from verse 71 to 112, excepting perhaps two or three verses, is—with its strings of names, lists of ornaments and sacrificial implements, and bare statements of fact—hardly more than a piece of prose put in the form of the Anushṭubh and Trishṭubh metres. But I believe that the first 70 verses will be found to compare favourably with any similar number of verses in such works as, *e.g.*, the *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita*, composed about the same time. If they contain no very striking and original thoughts, their author probably had little to tell, and he, at any rate, has shown that he was familiar with the rules laid down for poetical compositions of the kind, and had carefully studied the *Kâvyas* in which those rules had been exemplified. His poetry is, on the whole, easy to understand, and his language correct and fluent.

Considering the great length of the inscription, the historical information furnished by it

* Yaśôdêva, it is stated in the inscription, was a friend of Maṇikaṇṭha, the composer of the inscription, and of one Pratâpa-Laṅkêśvaravâch, who was a friend of both. He is himself the composer of the Gwalior inscription No. VIII., which will be re-edited by Dr. Hultzsch.

is exceedingly scanty, and may be summed up as follows:

Verse 5.—In the Kachchhapaghâta (or, v. 57, Kachchhapâri) race there was a prince (1) Lakshmaṇa.

Verses 6-7.—He had a son (2) Vajradâman, who defeated the ruler of Gâdhinagara (Kânyakubja), and conquered the fort of Gôpâdri (Gwalior).

Verse 8.—He was succeeded by (3) Maṅgalarâja.

Verses 9-11.—(4) Kîrttirâja, who succeeded him, defeated the prince of Mâlava. He built a temple of Śiva in the town of Siṁhapânîya.[5]

Verses 12-13.—His son was (5) Mûladêva, also called Bhuvanapâla, and Trailôkyamalla.

Verses 14-15.—Mûladêva's son, from his queen Dêvavratâ, was (6) Dêvapâla.

Verses 16-30.—(7) Padmapâla, his son, carried on wars in all quarters; his armies are said to have marched even to the southern-most point of India. He died young.

Verses 31-67.—He was succeeded by (8) Mahîpâla, also called Bhuvanaikamalla, who being described as son of Sûryapâla (*Sûryapâlasya sûnuḥ*, or, v. 51, *Sûryajanita*, and, v. 58, *Sûryanṛipanandana*) and *bhrâtṛi* of Padmapâla, probably was a cousin of the latter. Nothing definite of any historical importance is said of Mahîpâla, unless there is in v. 50 an allusion to some war in which a prince of the Gandharvas was defeated by him. As the inscription is dated Vikrama-Saṁvat 1150, and as the temple at which it is put up was only completed, not begun, by Mahîpâla, and was completed immediately after his coronation, we may assume that the latter event took place not long before V.-S. 1150. Mahîpâla's minister was Gaura (verses 109 and 110), the son, it appears, of Yôgêśvara (v. 77).

The temple, at which the inscription is put up, was built for and dedicated to Vishṇu. This appears not only from the introductory verses (1-4), which invoke the blessings of Hari and of Aniruddha, an incarnation of Vishṇu, but also from the distinct statements in verses 26 and 28, where the temple is described as *bhavanaṁ Harêḥ* and *Hari-sadanam* 'the edifice of Hari,' or 'seat of Hari,' and from the references to Vishṇu, his wife Lakshmî, and his incarnations, in the later portion of the inscription. That the name Padmanâtha, in the *ôṁ namaḥ Padmanâthâya* with which the inscription opens, must be taken to be a local name of Vishṇu (suggested by such ordinary names of that deity as Padmanâbha, Padmagarbha, Padmin) clearly appears from a comparison of the verses 30 and 69. In the former verse we read that Padmapâla died when the god, who from what precedes can be no other than Vishṇu, was only *half completed*; and in v. 69 we are told that Mahîpâla, so soon as he had been crowned, vowed *to complete* Padmanâtha, and that he kept his vow (V. 70). It is easy to conjecture that this particular name was chosen to honour the memory of the prince Padmapâla (see V. 1) who had begun the erection of the temple and buildings connected therewith, and had, it appears (see V. 30), designed the charitable institutions which were completed only by his successor.

What these charitable institutions were and how they were kept up, what portion of his revenues Mahîpâla devoted to the erection of the temple-buildings, what idols he gave to the temple, what ornaments he presented them with, what arrangements he made and what implements he furnished for their worship,—has been fully stated in verses 71-102 of the inscription, and need not be repeated here. I will only add, that I am unable to identify the village of Pâshâṇapallî (v. 75), the income from which was divided into 30 shares, of which a few were allotted to the god, and by far the greater number to Brâhmaṇs. The statement, in the original publication, that 'assignments of land in the district of Brahmapura were made for the support of the temple'[6] rests on a misunderstanding.

The contents of the concluding portion of the inscription (verses 103-112) have already been given above.

In my transcript I have enclosed within brackets all *aksharas* which are indistinct in the estampage, from which I have transcribed the text; all those *aksharas*, about which I am at all doubtful, I have pointed out in the notes.

[5] I am unable to identify this town.

[6] *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 402.

I trust I shall not be blamed for having omitted from my translation the verses 35-60. A literal translation of these verses, which frequently remind one of passages in the *Kâdambarî* and *Vâsavadattâ*, would have been impossible or would have required more notes than the verses deserve. Besides, to the Sanskrit scholar those verses will offer no difficulty; and for the historian unacquainted with Sanskrit the short abstract of their contents which I have inserted between the translation of vv. 34 and 61, will, I believe, be sufficient.

TEXT.[7]

First Part.

ओं.

[1] ओं नमः पद्मनाथाय ॥

हर्षोत्फुल्लविलोचनैर्द्दिशि दिशि प्रोद्गीयमानं जनै-
र्म्मेदिन्यां विततन्ततो हरिहरब्रह्मास्पदानि[8] क्रमात् ।
श्वेतीकृत्य यशात्मना परिणतं श्रीपद्मभूभृद्यश-
पायादेष जगन्ति निर्म्मलवपुः[9] श्वेतानिरुद्धश्चिरम् ॥
—Verse 1.

मौलिन्यस्तमहानी[ल]शकलः पातु वो हरिः ।
दर्शयन्निव केशस्थनव-
[2] जीमूतकर्ण्णिकाम् ॥—V. 2.

मुक्ताशैलच्छलेन क्षितितिलकयशोराशिना[10] निर्म्मितोय-
न्देवः पायादुपाया पतिरतिधवलस्वच्छकान्ति-
र्ज्जगन्ति ।
म[न्वा]नः सर्व्वथैव त्रिभुवनविदितं श्यामतापह्नवं यः
शङ्के स्वं वर्ण्णचिह्नं मुकुटतटमिलन्नीलकान्त्या विभ-
र्त्ति[11] ॥ —V. 3.

इदं मौलिन्यस्तं न [भ]वति महानीलशकलं
न मुक्ताशैलेन स्फुरति घटितश्चैष
[3] भगवान् ।
उमाकर्ण्णोत्तंसीकरणसुभगं नीलनलिनं
वहत्यद्याप्यस्याश्चिरविरहपाण्डूकृततनुः ॥ —V. 4.

आसीद्दीर्घिलभूकृतेन्द्रतनयां निःशेषभूमीभृता-
म्वद्यः[12] कच्छपघातवंशतिलकः क्षोणीपतिर्लक्ष्मणः ।
यः कोदण्डधरः प्रजाहितकरश्चक्रे स्वचित्तानुगा-
ङ्गानेकः पृथुव[त्सु]नति हरद्भूपा[ङ्य] पृथ्वीभृतः ॥
—V. 5.

तस्माद्वज्रधरोरमः क्षिति-
[4] पति श्रीवज्रदामाभव-
द्दुर्व्वारोर्ज्जितवाहु[13]दण्डविजितं गोपाद्रिदुर्गे [यु]धा ।
निर्व्याजम्परिनूय [गाधि][14] नगराधीशप्रतापोदयं
यद्वीरव्रत[पू]रकः[15] समचरत्प्रोद्घोषणाडिण्डिमः ॥
—V. 6.

न तुलितः किल केनचिदप्यहञ्जगति भूमिभृतेति कुतु-
हलात् ।
तुलयति स्म तुलापु[रु]षैः स्वयं स्वमिह य[ः सु]विशु-
द्धहिरण्मयैः ॥ —V. 7.

ततो रिपुध्वान्तसहस्रधामा नृपोभवन्मं-
[5] गलराजनामा ।
य ईश्वरैकप्रणतिप्रभावान्महेश्वराणाम्प्रणतः सहस्रैः ॥
—V. 8.

श्रीकीर्त्तिराजो नृपतिस्ततोभूद्यस्य प्रयाणेषु चमूसमुत्थैः ।
धूलीवितानैः सममेव चित्रं मित्रस्य वैवर्ण्ण्यमभूद्विषश्च ॥
—V. 9.

किं ब्रूमोस्य[16] कथा[द्भु]तं नरपतेरेतेन सौर्याब्धिना[17]
द[ण्ड]ो मालवभूमिपस्य समर[सं]ख्यामतीतो जितः ।
यस्मि[न्भ]ङ्ग[मु]पागते दिशि दिशि त्रासा-
[6] त्कराग्रच्युतै-
र्य्यामीणाः स्वगृहाणि कुन्तनिकरैः संच्छादयां[18]च-
क्रिरे ॥ —V. 10.

अद्भुतः सिंहपानीयनगरे येन कारितः ।
कीर्त्तिस्तंभ इवाभाति प्रासादः पार्व्वतीपतेः ॥—V. 11.

तस्मादजायत महामतिमूलदेवः
पृथ्वीपति[र्भुवनपा]ल इति प्रसिद्धः ।
आनन्दयज्जगदनिन्दितचक्रवर्त्ति-
चिह्नैरलंकृततनुर्मनुतुल्यकीर्त्तिः ॥ —V. 12.

यस्य ध्वस्ता[न्य]भूपालां सर्व्वाम्पालयतः
[7] प्रभोः ।
भुव[स्त्रै]लोक्यमल्लस्य निःसपत्नमभूज्जगत् ॥—V. 13.

राज्ञी देवव्रता तस्य हरेर्ल्ल[क्ष्मीरि]वाभवत् ।
तस्यां श्रीदेवपालोभूत्तनय[स्तस्य] भूपतेः ॥ —V. 14.

त्यागेन कर्ण्णमजय[त्पार्थ]ङ्कोदण्डविद्यया ।
धर्म्मराजञ्च सत्येन [स] युवा विनयाश्रयः॥ —V. 15.

सूनुस्तस्य विशुद्धबुद्धिविभव[19] पुण्यैः प्रजानामभू-
त्साक्षादिव स[ः] चक्रवर्त्तितिलकः श्रीपद्मपालः प्रभुः ।
मत्स्वापयेपि क-
[8] रवृत्तिरद्रष्टयेनीव यश्चिन्तय-
न्दिग्यात्रासु मुहुः खरांशुमरुणत्सान्द्रेश्वमूरेणुभिः[20]॥
—V. 16.

कृत्वान्या स्ववशे दिशः क्रमवशा[द्दाशा]ङ्कतैर्द्दक्षिणा-
मुत्क्षिप्ताचलसन्निभानाविरतं [यन्त्रो]त्यवाजित्रनैः ।
उ[द्भि]न्नाम्बुनतः पयो[धिमभि]तः संप्रेक्ष्य रेणूत्करा-
न्सूर्याण्युद्दसेतुवन्धन[21] धि[या] त्रस्यन्ति नक्रव्रजाः ॥
—V. 17.

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[7] From the ink-impression. [8] Read °ब्रह्मास्पदानि.
[9] Read °वपुः. [10] Read °राशिना. [11] Read बिभर्त्ति.
[12] Read °भूतां वन्द्यः. [13] Read °बाहु°.
[14] The reading गाधि is certain.
[15] °पूरकः. I am somewhat doubtful about the first *akshara*; it looks to me like शू, altered to पू. The following is clearly र, not च.
[16] Read ब्रूमोस्य. [17] Read शौर्याब्धिना.
[18] Read संछादयां. [19] Read °बुद्धिविभवः.
[20] Read खरांशुमरुणत्सान्द्रैश्चमूरेणुभि; the *akshara* न्द्रे may have been altered to न्द्रै.
[21] Read °बन्धन°.

J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

SCALE .25

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.



[य]स्येन्दुद्युतिडम्बरेण[22]यशसा नीते सुराणाङ्गणे
[वै]वर्ण्ये भ्रमशीलखण्डन-
[9] भयादप्राप्तुव[न्त]ः प्रियान्।
नूनं शक्रपुरःसरामरवधूसंघाः श्रिये [सां]प्रतं
गौ[र्यै] च स्पृहयंति ये प्रथमतः प[त्यु]र्व्वपुः संश्रिते॥
—V 18.

कैर्दृष्टाः क्व[समस्त]वांच्छित[23][फलभ्राजिष्णवः] पादपा
गावः कामदुघाः क्व[कैः क्व म]णयः कैश्चिन्तितार्थ-
प्रदाः।
[दृ]ष्टाः कस्य मनोरथा इह न कैः पत्यामुना पूरिता
वीरांद्यानतट[स्य][24]तद्गुणव[त]ः कल्पद्रुमादीन्य-
पि॥ —V. 19.

[श्रु]त्वा[25] न पद्मनृपतिं प-
[10] रिरक्षिता भूः
प्रा[प्तोन्यथापि] यदसौ वत नम्रभावः।
[शैस्थ्या]न्निरम्वर[26]तनुर्व्विपिनेष्व[शो]च-
द्य[स्माःप्रालिक्ष][27]णमिति प्रतिपंथिसार्थः॥—V. 20.

भ्रमः कुलालचक्रे[षु] लोभः पुण्यार्ज्जनेष्वभूत्।
काठिन्यं कुचकुं[भेषु] तां [स्मञ्शा]सति मेदिनीम्॥
—V. 21.

असम्मतोदृङ्गगस्य पीडा साधुर्न निस्त्रिंस[28]परि[ज्ञ]-
तापि।
इत्याललम्वे[29] न धनुर्न्न चासिं तथापि यो वैरिगण-
ञ्जिगाय॥ —V. 22.

सद्यःश्रु-[30]
[11] तास्रपृषतव्यति[कीर्ण्णरूपो]
[वैरिद्वि]षाधिपशिरोमणिभिः [समन्तात्]।
लोकानुरागय[श]सामिव वीजवापं
विस्तारयां यदसिरास रणाजिरेषु॥ —V. 23.

वने य[दरि]नारीणां हैमनीरज[निश्च]यः।
भृङ्गाणां तन्मुखे नातो है[म]नीरज[निश्च]यः॥
—V. 24.

स विमृश्य नदीपूरगत्वरे संपदायुषी।
पूर्त्तध[र्म्मे]मतिञ्चक्रे जिघृक्षुरनयोः फलम्॥ —V. 25.

प्रजाभर्त्रा ते-
[12] न क्षितितिलकभूतेन[भ]वनं
हरेर्द्दुर्म्मर्ज्ञेन त्रिदशस[दृशा] कारितमदः।
वराम्यस्यो[च्चैस्त्वं] कथमिव गिरा यस्य शिखरं
समारूढः सिंहो मृगमिव [मृगाङ्क]स्थमशितुम्॥
—V. 26.

[प्रासादस्यास्य] सश्व[31]द्विधुधरशिखरिस्पर्द्धिनो हैमभण्ड-
द[ण्डा]प्रात्पावनीयं शशधरधवला वैजयन्तीपतन्ती।
निर्व्वांतम्भाति भूतिच्छुरितनिजतनोद्देवदेवस्य[32] शम्भोः
स्वर्ग्गाद्गङ्गेव पिङ्गस्फुटवि-
[13] कटजटाजूटमध्यं विशन्ती॥
—V. 27.

तदेतद्ब्रह्माण्डं[33] स इह भविता पङ्कजभव[34]
पुनर्यम्वोढास्मो[35] वयमिह विमानेन वियति।
[सुवर्ण्णाण्डं] हं[सा]स्तदिदमुररीकृत्य सकलं
ध्रुवं संसेवन्ते हरिसदन[मुच्चैः]स्थितममी॥ —V. 28.

तद्भिन्ना कनकाचलः सुभ[36]विधावन्तःस्थितः श्रीप[ति]-
र्व्विभ्राणो[37] द्विजसत्तमानु[द]धिजा[वासो]नृसिंहा-
न्वितः।
निर्म्माता[स्य] वृतः समस्तवित्रु[धै]र्ल्ब्ध[38]प्रतिष्ठैरयं
प्रासादश्च
[14] धरातलं सममहो कल्पं हरेः कल्पताम्॥
—V. 29.

देवेर्द्धसिद्धे द्विजपुङ्गवेषु प्रतिष्ठितेष्वष्टसु पद्मपालः।
युवैव दैवप्रतिकूलभावात्संक्रन्दना[ङ्कास]नभाग्वभूव[39]॥
—V. 30.

तस्य भ्राता नृपतिरभवत्सूर्यपालस्य सुनुः
श्रीगोपाद्रौ सुकृतनिलयः श्रीमहीपालदेवः।
यम्प्राप्यैव प्रथितयशसन्तावभूतां सनाथौ
सौर्यत्यागौ[40]हरिरविसुताभावदुस्थौ[41]चिरेण॥
—V. 31.

सृष्टिङ्कुर्व्वन्न[मा]त्यानां विप्रा-
[15] णां स नृपः स्थितिम्।
प्रलयं विद्विषा[मा]सीद्ब्र[42]ह्मोपेन्द्रहरात्मकः॥—V. 32.

यत्र धामनिधौ राज्ञि पालयत्यवनीतलम्।
न भास्वान्भास्करादन्यो न राजान्यो विधोरभूत्॥
—V. 33.

कृताभिषेकं स[द्वृत्तै]रुपविष्टं नृपासने।
यमुदारपदै[रे]वन्तुष्टुवुः सूत[गायना]ः॥ —V. 34.

[त्वामु]द्वहन्ति शिरसा खलु राजहंसाः
सृष्टास्त्वया पुनरिमाः समयावसन्नाः।
नाथ प्रजाः सुमनसां प्रथमोसि कोसि
त्वं सिद्धवीररस ता-
[16] मरसोद्भवस्य॥ —V. 35.

लक्ष्मीपतिस्त्वमसि पङ्कजचक्रचिह्नं
पाणिद्वयं वहसि भूप भुवं विभर्षि[43]।
श्यामं वपुः प्रथयसि स्थितिहेतुरेक-
स्त्वङ्गोसि नीतिविजितो[द्ध]व माधवस्य॥—V. 36.

[त्वं] पालयस्यनिशमर्थिजनस्य कामं
रामः श्रिया त्वमसि नाथ गुणैरनन्तः।
सङ्कर्षणः समितिविद्विषदायुषस्त्वं
त्वं कोसि सचरितहाल हलायुधस्य॥ —V. 37.

ख्याता रतिस्त[व नि]जप्रमदासु नित्यं
रूपन्तवातिश-

[22] Read °डम्बरेण.
[23] Read °वाञ्छित°. [24] Originally वीरोद्यानितटस्य.
[25] Read श्रुत्वा. [26] Read दौःस्थ्यान्निरम्बर°.
[27] I am somewhat doubtful about the first two *aksharas* of those enclosed in the brackets.
[28] Read निस्त्रिंश°. [29] Read इत्याललम्बे.
[30] Read सद्यःस्रु°. [31] Read शश्व°.

[32] Read °तनोर्देवदेवस्य. [33] Read तदेतद्ब्रह्माण्डं.
[34] Read पङ्कजभवः. [35] Read °र्ये वोढास्मो.
[36] Read शुभ°. [37] Read बिभ्राणो.
[38] Read °विबुधैर्लब्ध°. [39] Read °भाग्बभूव.
[40] Read शौर्यत्यागौ. [41] Read °दुःस्थौ.
[42] Read °सीद्ब्र°. [43] Read बिभर्षि.

[17] यविस्मयकारि देव ।
त्वं मीनचिह्न पुरुषोत्तमसम्भवोसि
कस्त्वं क्षितीशवर शंवर[44]सूदनस्य ॥ —V. 38.
भूभृत्सुतापतिरसि द्विषतां पुराणां
भेत्ता त्वमीश वृषपोषरतोसि नित्यम् ।
भूतिन्दधास्यमलचन्द्रविभूषिताङ्गः
कस्त्वं सदम्बुज[45][विभा]कर शंकरस्य ॥ —V. 39.
त्वन्तेजसा शिखिनमिद्धमधः करोषि
शक्तिन्दधासि नरदेव विपा[त्र]ह[न्त्री]म् ।
त्वन्तारकं रिपुवल-
[18] स्य वला[46]न्निहंसि
कस्त्वं नवीननल नीलगलध्वजस्य ॥ —V. 40.
त्वं वज्रभृत्त्वमसि पक्षभिदप्यशेष-
भूमीभृताम्विवुध[47]वंद्य गुरुप्रियोसि ।
श्रीक[म्बु][48]वर्ण्णगिरिदुर्ग्गचणोसि कोसि
त्वं भीमसाहस सहस्रविलोचनस्य ॥ —V. 41.
ख्यातन्तवेश वहु[49]पुण्यजनाधिपत्यं
कान्तालका वलि[50]भिराप्तनमै[श्व]गुप्ता ।
त्वामामनन्ति परमेश्वरवद्ध[51]सख्यं
त्वङ्कोसि सद्गुणनिधान ध-
[19] नाधिपस्य ॥ —V. 42.
तेजोनिधिस्त्वमसि भूमिभृतः समग्राः
क्रान्ताः करैः प्रस[भ]मुग्रतरैस्तवेश ।
प्राप्तोदयः सततमर्थिजनस्य कोसि
त्वं कल्पभूरुह सरोरुहवांधवस्य[52] ॥ —V. 43.
आनन्ददोसि जनतानयनोत्पलाना-
माप्यायिताखिलजनः करमार्द्दवेन ।
त्वं शस्व[53]दीश्वरशिरस्तलदत्तपाद-
स्त्वं कोसि मर्त्त्य[भु]व[ने]श निशाकरस्य ॥ —V. 44.
त्वामंशमीश नि-
[20] गदन्ति मधुद्विषोर्मा
श्यामाभिरामतनुरस्यमलप्रवोधः[54] ।
पुण्यं च भारतमिदं विहितं त्वयैव
त्वङ्कोसि सत्यधन सत्यवतीसुतस्य ॥ —V. 45.
नीतात्मकीर्त्तिसुरसिंधुरियं समुद्र-
प्रान्तन्त्वयोन्नतिमसौ [ग]मित· स्ववंश· ।
पूर्व्वे पवित्रतनवो विहिताश्च कोसि
[त्वं]स[त्सु]लब्ध[55]परभाग भगीरथस्य ॥ —V. 46.
एतत्त्वया कृतमनाडकमासु विस्वं[56]
व्याप्ता मही ह-
[21] रिभिरीश मनोजवैस्ते ।
पुण्यावतारकरणक्षतदुर्द्दशास्य-
स्त्वं कोसि दत्तरिपुलाघव राघवस्य ॥ —V. 47.
धर्म्मप्र[सू]स्त्वमसि सत्यधनस्त्वमेक-
स्त्वं वासुदेवचरणार्च्चनदत्तचित्तः ।
त्वं कोसि विप्रजनसेवित शेषवृ[त्ति]:
सङ्ग्रामनिष्ठुर युधिष्ठिरपार्थिवस्य ॥ —V. 48.
त्वं भूरिकुंजरवलो[57] भुवनैकमल्ल
विद्याविभूषिततनुर्नृप पावनोसि ।
प्रच्छन्नसू-

Second Part.

[22] पकृतिसंभृतवंधुवांच्छः[58]
कस्त्वं कवीन्द्रकृतमोद वृकोदरस्य ॥ —V. 49.
एकस्त्वमीश भुवि धर्म्मभृतां वरिष्ठः
सस्वामिकारिगणदर्पहरस्त्वमाजौ ।
गंधर्व्वराजपृतनाविजयाप्तकीर्त्ति-
स्त्वं कोसि सुंदर पुरंदरनंदनस्य ॥ —V. 50.
दुर्योधनारिवल[59]दर्पहृतस्तवेश
यत्नः पराज्र्जुनयश·प्रसरं निरोद्धुम् ।
त्वं कोसि सूर्यजनित प्रमदार्थिसार्थ-
दौर्ग्गत्यकर्त्तन विकर्त्तनसंभवस्य ॥ —V. 51.
[23]रत्नालयस्त्वमसि [धा]म गभीरताया-
स्त्वं पासि पार्थ समभूमिभृतः प्रविष्टान् ।
अंतःस्थितस्तव हरिः सततं नरेश
कस्त्वं विनीर्ण्णरिपुजागर सागरस्य ॥ —V. 52.
सौर्यैकभूः[60]क्रमसमागत सत्ववृत्ति-[61]
स्त्वं राजकुञ्जरशिरःप्रवितीर्ण्णपादः ।
दृप्तारिभास्करतिरस्कृति[सिंहिका]भूः
कस्त्वं महीपतिमृगाङ्क मृगाधिपस्य ॥ —V. 53.
दानन्ददासि विकटोन्नतवंशशोभ-
स्त्वं दत्तपालि[62]करवा-
[24] लहतारिदर्पः[।]
क्षोणीभृतो जयसि तुङ्गतया नरेन्द्र ।[63]
त्वं कोसि वैरिवल[64]वारण वारणस्य ॥ —V. 54.
सद्म श्रियस्त्वमसि मित्रकृतप्रमोद-
स्त्वं राजहंससमलंकृतपादमूलः ।
स्वामिन्नध कृतजडोसि गुणाभिरामः
कस्त्वं स्मिताढ्यमुखपंकज पंकजस्य[65] ॥ —V. 55.
सत्पत्र[66]भूषिततनुः सुविशुद्धकोश-
स्त्वं चंद्रकांतिसमलङ्कृतकांतमूर्त्तिः [।]
ख्यातन्त्वमेव कवि[व]ल्ल[भ सौमनस्यं]
त्वं [ब्रू]हि[67]कः

[44] Read शम्बर°. [45] Read सदम्बुज°.
[46] Read °बलस्य बला°. [47] Read °ता विबुध°.
[48] Read श्रीकम्बु°. [49] Read बहु°.
[50] Read बलि°. [51] Read °बद्ध°.
[52] Read °बान्धवस्य. [53] Read शश्व°.
[54] Read °प्रबोधः. [55] Read लब्ध°.
[56] Read °माशु विश्वं. [57] Read °बलो.
[58] Read °बन्धुवाञ्छः. [59] Read °बल°.
[60] Read शौर्यैकभूः. [61] Read सत्त्ववृत्ति°.
[62] Read दन्तपालि°.
[63] This sign of interpunctuation should have been put after the preceding line.
[64] Read °बल°. [65] Read पङ्कजस्य.
[66] Read सत्पत्त्र°. [67] Read ब्रूहि.

[25] समरभैरव कैरवस्य ॥ —V. 56.

त्वं पश्यतां हरसि देव मनांसि सश्व-[68]
न्मङ्गल्यभूस्त्वमसि निर्म्मलताभिरामः ।
कोसि प्रसीद वद सद्गुणरत्नयोनि-
स्त्वङ्कच्छपारिकुलभूषण भूषणस्य ॥ —V. 57.

धाता परोपकरणाय विसृष्टकाय
सच्छाय जन्मसमलङ्कृततुङ्गगोत्र ।
ब्रुहि[69]विसं[ध्य]मवनीश्वरवन्दनीय
त्वङ्गोसि सूर्यनृपनन्दन[चन्द]नस्य ॥ —V. 58.

नाथःकृतद्विज[पतिर्न मदा]न्वितोसि
न त्वम्वि[70]शुद्धहृदय प्रथितो-
[26] प्रमायः ।
त्वं जानु[71]न क्षतवृषो न जडे कृतास्थ-
स्तेनास्तु नाथ हरिणोपमितिः कथं ते ॥ —V. 59.

नित्यं सन्निहितक्षयः स तमसा प्रायोभिभूयेत स
त्वत्त्रासाद्भुवनैकनाथ हरिणस्तस्योदरे[प्रा]वि[स]-
त्[72] ।
मूर्त्ति[स्तस्य] कलङ्किता स जडतां धत्ते स दोषाक[र]ः
श[ब्दस्ते[73]] विदितस्तथापि नृपते राजा त्वमित्य-
द्भुतम् ॥ —V. 60.

एकेनो[त्तर]गो[ग्रहे] विमुखतां [पा]र्थेन नीताः प[रे]
व्यासेन स्तुतिरर्ज्जुन-
[27] स्य विहितेत्यज्ञायि पूर्व्वं किल[।]
तत्सम्यक्प्रतिभा[ति] संप्रति पुनः श्रीमन्महीपाल न-
स्त्वामालोक्य सहस्रशो रिपुवलं[74] निघ्नंतमेकं रणे ॥
—V. 61.

किं ब्रूमोधिक[न]त्वमीश[75] भवतस्त्वं नीतिपात्रं प[रं]
वृत्तान्तं जगतीपते चतसृणामात्मप्रियाणां शृणु ।
[कीर्त्ति]र्भ्राम्यति दिक्षु गी[र्गु]णवताङ्कण्ठे लुठत्यादृता
मर्यादारहि[ता म]ही द्विज[सुहृद्गेहे र]ता श्रीरपि ॥
—V. 62.

किं चित्रं [भु]वनैकमल्ल यदियं
[28] मन्दाकिनी पद्मभू-
लोकादुद्धरता भगीरथनृपेणानायि निम्नां महीम् ।
आश्चर्यम्पुनरेतदीश यदितो निम्नान्महीमण्डला-
दूर्द्ध्वं[76] कीर्त्तितर[ङ्गि]णी कमलभूलोकं त्वया प्रा-
पिता ॥ —V. 63.

चित्रं नात्र स ल[क्षश]स्त्वमकरोः सर्व्वात्मना विद्विषां
देव प्रत्य[य]लोप[मा]शुविशि[खैः सं]मूर्च्छितस्या-
हवे ।
को[धाङ्गरव]मूर्त्ति[रु]ल्लसदसिक्रूरप्रहारा[द्भुतै]-
रस्य त्वं यदनीनशः प्रकृतिमप्ये-
[29] तन्न नाश्चर्यकृत् ॥
—V. 64.

अत्यंवुधि[77]भवद्धैर्यमत्याद्रित्यं भवन्महः ।
अतिसिंहं भवत्सौयमतः[78]केनोपमीयसे ॥ —V. 65.

केयूरं तव भूपाल भुजदण्डे विराजते ।
किरीटमिव[वाह्वन्त[79]]र्निवासिविजयश्रियः ॥ —V. 66.

यद[र्चां संतत्य] त्रिभुवनगुरोस्तोत्र[80]मकृथा-
स्तदेष[प्रीत]स्त्वां ध्रुवमकृत कल्पस्थितिमिह ।
यदु सङ्गे तुङ्गे [ध]वलरविचन्द्रांशुविमला
[प्र]लम्व[81]व्याजेन क्षितितिलक तारावलिरियं ॥
—V. 67.

[30] वैतालिकैरित्थमभिष्टुतेन संपूजितामर्त्यगुरुद्विजेन ।
विमुक्तकारागृहसंयतेन वितीर्ण्णभूताभयदक्षिणेन ॥
—V. 68.

तेनाभिषिक्तमात्रेण प्रतिजज्ञे द्वयं स्वयम् ।
पद्मनाथस्य संसिद्धिः कन्यायाः सद्वरा[र्प]णम् ॥
—V. 69.

त[च]द्वयं कृतमनेन वि[वे]कभा[जा]
[रा]जात्मजा मदन[हारि][82]वराय दत्ता ।
[श्री]पद्मनाथसुरमन्दिरमेतदु[च्चै]-
र्नीतं समाप्तिमविनासि[83]यशःशरीरम् ॥ —V. 70.

स-
[31] मर्पिता व्रह्मपुरी[84] च तेन शेषा[न्वि][85]धायावनि-
देवमुख्यान् ।
प्रवर्त्ति[तं स]त्त्रमतन्द्रितेन मृष्टान्नपानैरतिधार्म्मिकेण ॥
—V. 71.

श्रीपद्मनाथस्य स लोकनाथश्चक्रिद्वयं भूपतिचक्रवर्त्ती ।
नैवेद्यपाकाय विपक्वबुद्धिः[86] प्रा[दा]त्प्रदीपाय च गोत्र-
दीपः ॥ —V. 72.

व्रह्मोत्तरं[87] मण्डपिकासमुत्थं द्विधा विधाय [स्व]यमी-
श्वरेण ।
श्रीपद्मनाथाय विनीर्ण्णमर्द्धमर्द्धञ्च वैकुण्ठसुरेश्वराय ॥
—V. 73.

विला-
[32] सिनीवादकगा[य]नाद्यैर्यथार्हतः पादकुलस्य वृ-
त्तिम् ।
स पद्मनाथस्य पुरः समग्रामकल्पयत्प्रेक्षणकाय भूपः ।
—V. 74.

पाषाणपल्लीं प्रविभज्य सम्यग्देवाय सार्द्धानि [प]दानि
पंच ।
संपादयामास तथा द्विजेभ्यः सार्द्धाञ्चतुर्विंसति-[88]
मुत्तमेभ्यः ॥ —V. 75.

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[68] Read शश्व°. [69] Read ब्रूहि.

[70] Read त्वं वि°. [71] Read जातु.

[72] Read प्राविशत्. [73] Read शब्दस्ते.

[74] Read रिपुबलं. [75] Read ब्रूमोधिकतत्त्वमीश.

[76] Read °दूर्ध्वं. [77] Read अत्यम्बुधि.

[78] Read अतिसिंहं भवच्छौर्यमतः. [79] Read बाह्वन्त°.

[80] Read °गुरोः स्तोत्र°. [81] Read प्रलम्ब°.

[82] I am doubtful about these two *aksharas*, particularly about the first.

[83] Read °नाशि. [84] Read ब्रह्मपुरी.

[85] This *akshara* might be read म्वि.

[86] Read °बुद्धिः. [87] Read ब्रह्मोत्तरं.

[88] Read °विंशति°.

ददौ कर[स्कन्ध][89]कवा[टपी]टं महीपतिस्तत्रभवं समस्तम्।
आकाशपातालसमुद्गतञ्च देवद्विजेभ्यो लवणाकरं च। —V. 76.

[त]स्याद्[इस]हायतामु-
[33] पगतो योगेश्वरांगोद्भवः
ख्यातः सूरिसलक्षणः क्षितिपतेः सर्व्वत्र विश्वासभूः॥
आधारो विनयस्य शीलभवनं भूमिः श्रुतस्याकरः
स्वाध्यायस्य कृतज्ञतैकवसतिः सौजन्यकौशलयः॥ —V. 77.

तत्प्रत्ययेन निदधे निखिलानि धर्म्म-
कार्याणि [धर्म्म]निरतः स नरेन्द्रचन्द्रः।
विप्रः स [निस्पृ]हतया[90]गुणगौरवेण
चित्तं विवेश समवृत्तितया च राज्ञः॥ —V. 78.
म-
[34] हीपालेन ये विप्रास्तस्मिन्ग्रामे प्रतिष्ठिताः।
तेषां नामानि लिख्यन्ते विस्तरः शाशर्नोदितः[91]॥ —V. 79.

देवलब्धिः[92]सुधीरा[द्य]स्ततः श्रीधरदीक्षितः।
सु[रि]ः कीर्त्तिरथः सार्द्धपदिनो [वे]द्विजास्त्रयः॥ —V. 80

गङ्गाधरो गौतमश्च मलकोथ गयाधरः।
देवनागो वसिष्ठश्च देवशर्म्मा यशस्करः॥ —V. 81.
कृ[ष्ण]ो वराहस्वामी च गृ[हदा]सः प्रभाकरः।
इच्छाधरो मधुश्चैव तिल्हेकः पुरुषोत्त-
[35] मः॥ —V. 82.
गमेश्वरो द्विजवरस्तथा दामोदरो द्विजः।
अष्टादशैते विप्रा[श्च पदि]नः षड[भो] द्विजः॥—V. 83.

पादोनपदिको रत्नतिहुणेकौ सुरार्चकौ।
द्वावर्द्धपदिनावेष विप्राणां संग्रहः कृतः॥ —V. 84.
ददौ देवपशनाञ्च मध्यादर्द्धपदं नृपः।
विधाय शाश्वतं [लो][93]हभटका[य]स्थसूरये॥ —V.85.
देवाय दत्तः सौवर्ण्णो राज्ञा रत्नैः समाचितः।
मुकुटः [सुमहान्मध्ये म]णिर्यत्र वि[राज]ते॥ —V. 86.
हरिन्मणि[म]यं भूपति-
[36] लकस्तिलकन्ददौ।
रत्नैर्विचितं नि[ष्क]ञ्च नी[ष्क]लङ्कः स भूपतिः॥ —V. 87.
प्रादात्केयूरयुगलं रत्नैर्व्वहु[94]भिराचितम्।
कङ्कणानाञ्चतुष्कञ्च महार्हमणिभूषितम्।[।]—V. 88.
इति रत्नमयन्तावदेकमाभरणं विभोः।
द्वितीयमनिरुद्धस्य सौवर्ण्णं केवलं यथा॥ —V. 89.

कङ्कणानां चतुष्कञ्च तालपट्टद्वयन्तथा।
कृत्तिदारं स्वर्ण्णमुष्टिम्विभ[95]र्त्यं[न्वह]मच्युतः।[।] —V. 90.

रूप्यमङ्गा[लिहा]द[त्ता] क[च्चो]लैः पंचभिर्युता।
[नै]वेद्यधारणार्थञ्च कां-
[37] [स्य]स्थालचतुष्टयं ।[।] —V. 91.

सुवर्ण्णाण्डत्रयं देवपरिवारविभूषणं।
धृतं चोपरि हेमाब्ज[96]मातपत्रीकृतं विभोः॥ —V. 92.
निवेश्य ताम्रपट्टे च तन्मयेनैव ग[ड्ड]ना।
स्नास्यते प्रतिमा नित्यमनिरुद्धस्य [रा]जती॥—V. 93.
प्रतिमा [वाम]न[स्यै]का [द्वि]तीया लघुरा[च्यु]ती।
राजावर्त्तमयी चान्या द्वे पूर्व्वे रीतिनिर्म्मिते॥—V. 94.
ताः प्रयत्नेन तिस्रोपि पूज्यन्ते गर्भवेश्मनि।
तत्र ताम्रम[यं]दत्तन्दीपार्थे मल्लिकाद्व[यम्]॥ V. 95.
स्नानार्थे ताम्रकुण्डे द्वे दत्ते
[38] द्वे ताम्रपात्रिके।
[illegible]पात्रितयं तथा दत्तं महीभुजा॥ —V. 96.
सधूपदहनाः सप्त घण्टाश्चापि[कान्विता]ः।
दत्ताः शंखाश्च सप्तै[व] ताम्रपात्रीचतुष्टयम्॥ —V. 97.
स कांस्यवाद्यौ प्रददौ नृपतिः काहलाद्वयम्।
चामरं दण्डयुग्मञ्च रीतिस्फाटिकसम्भवम्॥ —V. 98.
वृह[97]चरुद्वयं ताम्रमयं ताम्रालुका द्वय[म]।
ताम्रभाण्डत्रयस्तथा पञ्च दत्ताश्चा[ड्डु]श्च तन्मयः॥ —V. 99.

एष देवोपकरणद्रव्याणां सङ्ग्रहः कृतः॥ —V. 100.
शिलाकुट्टस्थपत्या-
[39] दिय[न्त्रि]शाकटिकादिषु।
वापीकूपतडागादिखननाबन्धनेषु[98]च ।[।] —V. 101.
दशमांशं[99]तथा विंशत्यंशं [स]र्व्वत्र मण्डले।
ददौ राजानिरुद्धाय तेन सत्रं प्रवर्त्तते॥ —V. 102.
अयं देवालयः पद्मनृपतेः स्फटिकामलः।
भूयाद्दुपार्ज्जितः पुण्यैः विष्णु[100]र्लोक इवाक्षयः॥ —V. 103.

भारद्वाजेन मीमांसान्यायसंस्कृतबुद्धिना[101]।
कवीन्द्ररामपौत्रेण गोविन्दकविसूनुना।[।] —V. 104.
कविना मणिकण्ठेन सुभाषितसरस्वता॥[102]
प्रशस्ति-
[40] र्द्विजमुख्ये[न] रचितेयमनिन्दिता॥—V. 105.
प्रतापलङ्केश्वरवाग्द्वितीयां विभ्र[103]त्सुहृत्तां मणिकण्ठसूरेः।
अशेषभाषासु कविर्लिलेख वर्ण्णा[न्यशोदे]वदिगंवरार्कः [104]॥ —V. 106.

[89] Both *aksharas* are quite certain.

[90] Read निःस्पृहतया. [91] Read शासनोदितः.

[92] Read देवलब्धिः.

[93] I am doubtful about this *akshara*; this and the following *akshara* might possibly be read लोहि.

[94] Read रत्नैर्बहु°. [95] Read °ष्टिं विभ°.

[96] Read हेमाब्ज°. [97] Read बृह°.

[98] Read °बन्धनेषु. [99] Read दशमांशं.

[100] Read पुण्यैर्विष्णु.°

[101] Read °बुद्धिना.

[102] One stroke is superfluous [103] Read बिभ्र°.

[104] Read °दिगम्बरार्कः.

एकादशस्वतीतेषु संवत्सरशतेषु च ।
एकोनपञ्चासति च गतेष्वद्बेषु[105] विक्रमात् ॥—V.107.
पञ्चासे चास्विने[106] मासे कृष्णपक्षे नृपाज्ञया ।
रचिता मणिकण्ठेन प्रशस्तिरियमुज्ज्वला ॥—V. 108.
अंकतोपि ११५० ॥ आस्विनवहुल[107]पंचम्यां
[41] ओं[॥] तैस्तैस्तस्य महीपते· प्रतिरणं प्रौढप्रतापानले
नाश्चर्यं यदनेकशो रिपु[च]मूचक्रैः पतङ्गायितम् ।
यस्ये[न्द्र]प्रतिमस्य वुद्धि[108]सहितः सर्व्वज्ञकल्पोभव-
न्नीत्या निर्ज्जितसौर्यवंशतिलकाचार्यः स गौरः सुधीः ॥
—V. 109.
किञ्चित्वं यन्महीपालो भुनक्ति स्माखिलां महीम् ।
यस्य गीर्व्वाणमंत्रीव मन्त्री गौरोभवत्सुधीः ॥ —V. 110.
प्रशस्तिरियमुत्कीर्ण्णा सद्वर्ण्णा पद्मशिल्पिना ।
देवस्वामिसुते-
[42] न श्रीपद्मनाथसुरालये ॥ —V. 111.
तथैव सिंहवाजेन मा[इ[109]]लेन च शिल्पिना ।
[प्राप्नुवन्तु] समुत्कीर्ण्णान्यक्षराणि [यथार्थताम्] ॥
—V. 112.

TRANSLATION.

OM !

Ôm ! Adoration to Padmanâtha !

(Verse 1.)—May this white Aniruddha[110] of spotless body long protect the worlds !—he into whom is transformed the fame of the illustrious prince P a d m a, which, being sung aloud in every quarter by people whose eyes were joyfully opened, first spread on the earth, and then in its course had rendered white the abodes of Hari, Hara, and Brahman !

(V. 2.)—May Hari protect you !—he who wears on his crest a piece of sapphire, exhibiting as it were, resting on his hair, a new cloud bulging out (*from it*) !

(V. 3.)—May this god, the lord of Ushâ, fashioned out of the mass of the fame of the ornaments of the earth, (*so that he appears*) as if (*made*) of pearl-stone,[111] of a lustre exceedingly white and pure, protect the worlds ! Thinking that his dark complexion has become altogether unknown in the three worlds, he carries, I fancy, the badge of his colour in the lustre of the sapphire joined to the edge of his diadem !

(V. 4.)—What he wears here on his crest is not a piece of sapphire, nor is the holy one who glitters here made of pearl-stone. His body is rendered pale by the long separation from Ushâ (*and*) he even now carries the blue lotus which had the good fortune of forming her ear-ornament.

(V. 5.)—There was a prince L a k s h m a ṇ a, an ornament of the K a c h c h h a p a g h â t a race, surpassing in manliness the son of Indra (*and*) an object of reverence for all princes. Wielding his bow (*and*) promoting the welfare of his subjects, he unaided, like Pṛithu, made the earth obedient to his will, after he had by force extirpated even mighty princes (as Pṛithu had uprooted the mountains.)[112]

(V. 6.)—From him sprang the illustrious prince V a j r a d â m a n, resembling the wielder of the thunderbolt. When by honest means he had put down the rising valour of the ruler of G â d h i n a g a r a,[113] his proclamation-drum, which fulfilled his vow of heroism, resounded in the fort of G ô p â d r i, conquered in battle by his irresistible strong arm.

(V. 7.)—Knowing that he surely was not outweighed by any prince on the earth, he from curiosity had himself weighed of his own accord against donations of quite pure gold.

(V. 8.)—Then came the ruler of men named M a ṅ g a l a r â j a, (*who scattered*) his enemies as the thousand-rayed (sun) does the darkness. As he for ever paid worship to the Lord (*Îśvara*), so he was worshipped by thousands of great lords.

(V. 9.)—Then came the lord of men, the illustrious K î r t t i r â j a. Whenever he marched forth, the sheets of dust rising from his armies took away, wonderful (*to relate*), the colour of the sun[114] and at the same time that of the enemy.

(V. 10.)—Shall we tell the wondrous tale of this lord of men ? By this ocean of bravery was the countless host of the prince of M â l a v a

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105 Read °पञ्चाशति च गतेष्वब्देषु.

106 Read पञ्चाशे चाश्विने. 107 Read आश्विनबहुल°.

108 Read बुद्धि°.

109 I am somewhat doubtful about this *akshara*.

110 "The name of the son of Pradyumna or Kâmadêva by Śubhângî or, according to others, Kakudvatî, the daughter of Rukmin ; his wife is Ushâ, the daughter of Vâna, or according to others, Subhadrâ, the grand-daughter of Rukmin, and his son Vajra.—The Vaishṇava sect, called Pâñcharâtra or Bhâgavatas, consider him as an incarnation or part of Vishṇu and identify him with Ahaṁkâra, self-consciousness."—Goldstucker's *Dictionary, s.v.* अनिरुद्ध.

111 The exact meaning of मुक्ताशैल, which occurs again in v. 4, is unknown to me. The word is not given in our dictionaries.

112 See *Vishṇu-Purâṇa* I. 13, 82; and e.g. *Kâdambarî*, Calc. Ed., I. p. 5 वैण्य इव चापकोटिसमुत्सारितसकलारातिकुलाचलः.

113 Gâdhinagara is Kânyakubja.

114 The word for 'sun' also means 'friend.'

conquered in battle. When that (*prince*) had met with defeat, the villagers surrounded their houses with the multitudes of spears, which through fear had fallen from the hands (*of his soldiers*) in every direction.

(V. 11.)—In the town of Siṁhapânîya he caused to be built a wonderful temple of the lord of Pârvatî, which shines like a column of fame.

(V. 12.)—From him was born the lord of the earth, the high-minded Mûladêva, known as Bhuvanapâla, causing joy to the world. His body was decorated with the irreproachable marks of a universal sovereign; his fame was equal to Manu's.

(V. 13.)—When this powerful Trailôkyamalla protected the whole earth whose other rulers had been destroyed, the world contained no rival of his.

(V. 14.)—His queen was Dêvavratâ, as Lakshmî (*is the wife*) of Hari. From her was born to that lord of the earth a son, the illustrious Dêvapâla.

(V. 15.)—He surpassed Karṇa by his generosity, the son of Prithâ by his knowledge of the bow, and Dharmarâja by his truthfulness. He as a youth was the abode of modesty.

(V. 16.)—Through the religious merits of his subjects he had a son whose power of intellect was free from blemish, the illustrious lord Padmapâla; like Mândhâtṛi he was the ornament of universal sovereigns. Thinking as it were 'how can, even though I am master, another levy taxes[115] ?' he on his expeditions in the various quarters again and again obstructed the fierce-rayed (sun) with the thick (*clouds of*) dust (*raised*) by his armies.

(V. 17.)—After his troops of soldiers and horse had subdued the other quarters, they in due course marched to the southern region; (*and*) when the night-walkers saw the masses of dust, resembling uplifted mountains, incessantly raised up by them (*and*) falling down on both sides of the ocean, they trembled, thinking that a lofty bridge was again being built.[116]

V. (18.)—Since the host of the gods had been deprived of its colour by his fame, beautiful like the splendour of the moon. surely all the wives of the immortals, of Indra and the rest, not going near their lovers from fear lest they should err and act improperly, envy now *Srî* and *Gauri*, who at once were united with the body of their husband.[117]

(V. 19.)—Who has anywhere seen the trees radiant with every wished-for fruit? Who anywhere the cows yielding desires? Who anywhere the gems granting the object of one's wishes? (*But*) who has observed that any person's hopes were not fulfilled by that lord? A distinguished hero then is an excellent garden, which contains such things even as trees of paradise.

(V. 20.)—His doing it was, that the bands of robbers,[118] even before they had heard of prince Padma, with bodies unclad on account of their wretchedness, complained every moment in the forests that the earth was well protected since, alas, what used not to be, such nakedness had come upon them.

(V. 21.)—While he was ruling the earth, turning round existed (*only*) in potter's wheels,[119] covetousness (*only*) in the acquirement of religious merit, hard were (*only*) the round breasts.

(V. 22.)—Knowing that to press the highly virtuous is not approved of, and also that it is wrong to be familiar with the merciless, he laid hold neither of the bow nor of the sword,[120] nevertheless he defeated his enemies.

115 कर has here, as in similar passages, the double meaning of 'rays' and 'taxes.'

116 Compare with the above a verse of the *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita* (III. 77) which ends:

वैदेहीरमणस्य रावणशिरश्छेदेऽप्यशान्तक्रुधः
प्रत्यावृत्तिरकाण्डकम्पतरलैराशङ्कि लङ्काचरैः ॥

The same idea occurs in verse 19 (really v. 20) of the inscription published *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. [illegible] P. I. p. 167ff, where the actual reading on the stone [illegible] is as follows:

सुहृदुपकृतिदक्षो दक्षिणाशां जिगीषुः
पुनरधितपयोधिर्बन्धबैधुर्यमर्यः ॥

It might almost appear as if those expeditions to the south were mere poetical ornaments.

117 *Srî* 'Majesty' and *Gauri* 'the Earth' are represented as the wives of the king.

118 नितनन्थिन् is used on account of the metre for परिपन्थिन्.

119 But there was no भ्रम in the sense of 'erring, giddiness, confusion,' &c. For similar passages compare e.g. *Kâdambari*, I. pp. 6 and 61; and *Vâsavadattâ*, pp. 17 and 125.

120 उदूढगुण, which has been translated by 'highly virtuous,' also denotes the bow 'on which the string has been fixed,' and निस्त्रिंश 'merciless' also means 'sword;' compare *e.g. Vâsavadattâ*, p. 129, निस्त्रिंशत्वमसीनां न पुरुषाणाम्.

(V. 23.)—His sword, covered with the drops of blood which at once began to flow, scattered on the battle-fields all around the seed[121] as it were of the affection of the people and of his fame, with the crest-jewels of the hostile princes.

(V. 24.)—Because the wives of his enemies found out gold-lotuses in the forest, for this reason did the bees not find out the gold-lotus in his face.[122]

(V. 25.)—Having reflected that fortune and life are unsteady like the flood of a river, he set his mind on the performance of pious deeds, desirous of gathering the fruit of those two.

(V. 26.)—This supporter of his subjects, who was an ornament of the earth, who knew the law (*and*) was like unto the gods, caused that edifice of H a r i to be built. How can I possibly with words tell its height?[123] The lion who has ascended its top, means to devour, it seems, the deer in the moon.

(V. 27.)—From the top of the gold-ornamented staff on this temple, which rivals the mountain[124] of the moon-carrying (*Śiva*), there constantly (*waves*) this holy flag, white as the moon; hanging down at the setting of the wind it appears like the Ganges when, falling down from heaven, it enters the thickly-matted tawny-bright hair of the god of gods Śambhu, whose body is coated with ashes.

(V. 28.)—'This is that mundane egg; the Lotus-born (*Brahman*) will be here, whom again we here shall carry on our vehicle through the air': surely those swans are ever present at the lofty seat of H a r i, after they have (*thus*) admitted it to be the golden egg unopened.[125]

(V. 29.)—Within the glittering structure stands the lord of Lakshmî, high like the golden mountain (*Mêru*); (*it is*) a dwelling of the Sea-born (*goddess Lakshmî*) supporting the most excellent of the twice-born (*and*) containing the man-lion; its maker was chosen by all the gods, who have found (*here*) a home, and so was this temple on the surface of the earth. Oh, may the whole turn out to be fit for H a r i!

(V. 30.)—When the god was (*only*) half completed, (*and*) when eight of the most excellent twice-born had been installed,[126] P a d m a p â l a, still a youth, through the adversity of fortune obtained a seat on the lap of Saṁkrandana.[127]

(V. 31.)—(*Then*) his brother, the son of S û r y a p â l a, the illustrious M a h î p â l a d ê v a, the abode of good deeds, became ruler at the glorious G ô p â d r i. When they had come to him of wide-spread fame, bravery and generosity, which in the absence of the son of Hari (*Arjuna*) and the son of the Sun (*Karṇa*) had been in distress, had at last (*again*) found a master.

(V. 32.)—Engaged in the creation of ministers, in the preservation of the Brâhmaṇs, and in the destruction of his enemies, that prince partook of the nature of Brahman, Vishṇu, and Śiva.

(V. 33.)—When this king, a treasury of splendour, protected the broad earth, none else was endowed with splendour but the sun, none else was a king but the moon.

(V. 34.)—When his coronation-ceremony had been performed by well-conducted (*persons, and*) when he was seated on the throne, bards and singers thus praised him in lofty strains:—

[In the following verses Mahîpâla is compared (v. 35) to Brahman, (v. 36) to Mâdhava (Kṛishṇa-Vishṇu), (v. 37) to Halâyudha (Balarâma), (v. 38) to the destroyer of Śambara (Kâmadêva), (v. 39) to Śaṁkara, (v. 40) to Śiva, (v. 41) to Indra, (v. 42) to Kuvêra, (v. 43) to the sun, (v. 44) to the moon, (v. 45) to the son of Satyavatî (Vyâsa), (v. 46) to Bhagîratha, (v. 47) to the Râghava (Râma), (v. 48) to Yudhishṭhira, (v. 49) to Vṛikôdara (Bhîmasêna), (v. 50) to the son of Indra (Arjuna), (v. 51) to the son of the Sun (Karṇa), (v. 52) to the sea,

[121] Compare *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita* IV. 112 आख्याति-वीजवापाय चचानेव नभःस्थलीम्.

[122] If I understand this verse rightly, it simply means that the prince had driven his enemies from their homes, and that his face was beautiful like the gold-lotus: the bees showed no desire for this lotus, because they did not wish to have anything in common with the wives of the prince's enemies.

[123] Compare *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 359,—"As it stands at present, the great temple of Padmanâtha is about 70 feet in height, but as the pyramid top is very much broken, I estimate the original height of the building at not less than 100 feet."

[124] *i.e.* the Himâlaya.

[125] We may assume that swans were carved on the walls of the temple: the poet (in order to employ the figure *Utprêkshâ*, which is indicated by the word ध्रुवम्.) represents these carved swans as live birds, ever present at the temple, which they take to be the mundane golden egg, to serve as vehicles for Brahman who is born from the lotus that grows out of Vishṇu's navel.

[126] 'Installed,' *viz.* in the Brahmapurî mentioned below, verse 71, which was connected with the temple. For the use of the word प्रतिष्ठित compare below verse 79.

[127] *i.e.* Indra; the sense is 'Padmapâla died,' and as a warrior went to the heaven of Indra.

(v. 53) to a lion, (v. 54) to an elephant, (v. 55) to the day-lotus, (v. 56) to the night-lotus, (v. 57) to an ornament, (v. 58) to the sandal; (v. 59) he is praised as surpassing the deer and (v. 60) the moon.

Incidentally he is (v. 51) called *Sûrya-janita* 'begot by Sûrya,' (v. 58) *Sûryanṛipa-nandana* 'son of prince Sûrya,' (v. 57) *Kachchhapârikula-bhûshaṇa* 'an ornament of the Kachchhapâri family, and (v. 49) entitled Bhuvanaikamalla. (V. 41) he is stated to have been familiar with the impervious tracts of the Srîkambuvarṇagiri, and (v. 50) to have obtained fame by defeating in battle the king of the Gandharvas.

After verse 60, the bards continue praising Mahîpâla as follows]:—

(V. 61.)—"That the son of Pṛithâ at the capture of Uttara's cows had alone put to flight the enemies,—that, it is true, we had learnt before, because Arjuna has been praised (*for it*) by Vyâsa;[128] but now (*only*) can we form a clear conception of it, after we have seen how you, O illustrious Mahîpâla, unaided, are striking down the host of the enemies by thousands on the battle-field.

(V. 62.)—"Need we tell (*even*) more facts about you, O lord? You are the unsurpassed receptacle of the rules of policy. Hear, O master of the earth, how it fares with the four that are beloved to you: your fame spreads in (*all*) quarters; your praise is ever in the mouth of the virtuous; the whole earth reverences you; fortune delights to dwell in the house of (*you*) the friend of the twice-born.

(V. 63.)—"Is it strange, O Bhuvanaikamalla, that king Bhagîratha should have led away this Mandâkinî from the world of the Lotus-born (*Brahman*) and brought it down to the earth below? But wonderful indeed is this, O lord, that from the orb of the earth here below you have made the stream of your fame to ascend upwards to the world of the Lotus-born.

(V. 64.)—"Nothing strange is there in this, O lord, that, such as you are, you with your quick arrows completely bereft of confidence your enemies hundreds of thousands strong in battle; but that in your anger, like the god of destruction, by the marvellous cruel strokes of your flashing sword you should have annihilated their very nature—that indeed does rouse our wonder.

(V. 65.)—"Your depth surpasses (*that of*) the ocean, your lustre (*that of*) the sun, your bravery (*that of*) the lion; with whom then can you be compared?

(V. 66.)—"The bracelet, O protector of the earth, shines on your massive arm as if it were the diadem of the goddess of victory dwelling within your arm.

(V. 67.)—"Because continually engaged in worship you have uttered the praises of the lord of the three worlds, therefore surely has he, pleased, firmly established you here. On your exalted lap, O ornament of the earth, we see a row of stars,[129] spotless like the bright rays of the sun and the moon, in the guise of a string of pearls."

(V. 68.)—When he had thus been praised by the bards, when he had reverenced the immortals, the preceptors and the twice-born, set free the inmates of the prisons, (*and*) granted assurance of safety to all beings,—

(V. 69.)—He, so soon as he was crowned, of his own accord made two vows, to complete Padmanâtha, (*and*) to give his daughter to a good husband.

(V. 70.)—And both these things did he, endowed with discernment, accomplish. The king's daughter was given to a husband, charming as the god of love, (*and*) this lofty temple of the glorious Padmanâtha was completed, an imperishable embodiment of fame.

(V. 71.)—And having appointed the remaining chief Brâhmaṇs, he attached a *Brahmapurî*[130] (*to the temple*). Unwearied (*and*)

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[128] *viz.* in the *Virâṭaparvan* of the *Mahâbhârata*.

[129] The king is like a mountain, on whose lofty slopes the stars appear to rest. Compare e.g. *Kâdambarî*, I. p. 9 (अपरशाशिशङ्कया) नक्षत्रमालयेव हारलतया कृतमुखपरिवेशम्.

[130] The word ब्रह्मपुरी appears to me to denote a row or set of rooms or buildings, attached to a temple for the accommodation of holy and learned Brâhmaṇs; it occurs again in the same sense *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 305, l. 34 (*Srî-Mâdhavadêva-brahmapurî*), where, as in the present instance, the *sattra* is mentioned afterwards; and Vol. VI. p. 211, l. 16. Compare also Vol. XI. pp. 100 and 101: and *Vikramânkadêvacharita*, XVII. 29. In the inscription mentioned in note 13 above we find the word सैधि used, instead of ब्रह्मपुरी (v. 53 सौधेषु स्फटिकाद्रिकूटविकटेष्वारोपिता ब्राह्मणाः). I assume that Padmapâla had provided rooms for, and installed in them, eight Brâhmaṇs (see above, verse 30), and that Mahîpâla finished the building or buildings and selected the other occupants.

exceedingly devoted to the law, he established a charitable hall, where savoury food and drink were distributed.

(V. 72.)—Having done both, the master of the world, the universal sovereign of princes, of mature intelligence (*and*) the light of his family, made donations for the cooking of the *naivêdya* of the glorious **Padmanâtha** and for lights.

(V. 73.)—The *brahmôttara*[131] rising from the small hall the lord himself divided into two portions; one half was assigned to the glorious **Padmanâtha** and the other half to the lord of the gods, **Vaikuṇṭha**.

(V. 74.)—The prince arranged suitably for the complete maintenance of the tribe of attendants,[132] women, musicians, singers and the rest, that there might be public performances before **Padmanâtha**.

(V. 75.)—Having properly divided **Pâshâṇapalli**, he allotted five shares and a half to the god, and twenty-four shares and a half to the most excellent twice-born.

(V. 76.)—The lord of the earth gave all taxes . . . .[133] connected therewith, and what was produced above and below the ground and a mine of salt to the god and to the twice-born.

(V. 77.)—With him there came to share the unseen (*fruit of his pious deeds*) the famous son of **Yôgêśvara**, endowed with the characteristics of a sage, in all matters a depository of the prince's confidence, a receptacle of modesty, a home of propriety, a seat of learning, a mine of sacred study, an unsurpassed dwelling of gratitude, a treasury of benevolence.

(V. 78.)—Confiding in him, the moon of princes, taking delight in the law, entrusted to him all acts of piety; (*and*) the sage entered into the thoughts of the king, because he was similarly disposed, was free from envy, and esteemed excellences (*in others*).

(V. 79.)—The following are the names of the sages who by **Mahîpâla** were given shares[134] in that village; the particulars are stated in the grants:—

(V. 80.)—First, the intelligent Dêvalabdhi, then Śrîdharadîkshita, (*and lastly*) the sage (*Sûri*) Kîrttiratha,—(*these*) three twice-born received each one share and a half.

(V. 81.)—Gaṅgâdhara, Gautama,* Malaka, Gayâdhara, Dêvanâga, Vasishṭha, Dêvaśarman, Yaśaskara,—

(V. 82.)—Krishṇa, Varâhasvâmin, Gṛihadâsa, Prabhâkara, Ichchhâdhara, Madhu, Tilhêka, Purushôttama,—

(V. 83.)—Ramêśvara, the excellent twice-born, and the twice-born Dâmôdara;—these eighteen sages received one share each. The twice-born Shaṭṭhabha

(V. 84.)—received three-quarter shares. Ratna and Tihuṇêka, the worshippers of the gods, received both half a share each. This completes the list of the sages.[135]

(V. 85.)—And out of the shares of the god the prince gave half a share to the sage (*Sûri*) the *Kâyastha* Lôhabhaṭa (?) to be his for ever.

(V. 86.)—To the god the king gave a golden diadem covered with precious stones: in the midst of it a very large jewel is shining.

(V. 87.)—The ornament of princes gave a frontal ornament made of emeralds; the spotless lord of the earth also (*gave*) a golden ornament for the neck, blazing with precious stones.

(V. 88.)—He gave a pair of arm-rings set with many precious stones, and also four bracelets ornamented with jewels of great value.

(V. 89.)—This one set of ornaments, containing precious stones, is for the Lord; the second set, **Aniruddha's**, is solely of gold, and is as follows:—

(V. 90.)—**Achyuta** every day wears four bracelets, also a pair of *tâlapaṭṭas*, (*and*) a *kṛittidâra* with a golden handle (?).[136]

(V. 91.)—A *maṅgâlihâ* (?) of silver was given accompanied by five *kañchôlas*[137]; also four plates of brass for holding the *naivêdya*;—

(V. 92.)—three *suvarṇâṇḍas* (?), (*as*) decorations for the attendants of the god. And

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131 The *brahmôttara* would appear to be the sanctuary of the temple, usually called *garbha-gṛiha*, or below, v. 95 *garbha-vêśman*.

132 I cannot quote any authority for this translation of the word पादकुल.

133 I am unable to give the exact meaning of करस्कन्धकवाटपीटं.

134 For प्रतिष्ठिता: one would have expected प्रतिष्ठापिता: See above v. 30. प्रतिष्ठित is used in the same causal sense in v. 49 of the inscription mentioned above, note 116.

135 $(3 \times 1\frac{1}{2}) + (18 \times 1) + \frac{3}{4} + (2 \times \frac{1}{2}) = 24\frac{1}{4}$, whereas the sum distributed was $24\frac{1}{2}$. See *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 307. note 30.

136 तालपट्ट is probably the same as तालपत्त्र, an ear-ornament; the other term I do not understand.

137 मङ्गालिहा (?) appears to be an upper garment, कञ्चोल = कञ्चुल 'a bodice' or 'waistcoat.' The first line of the following verse I do not understand. *Suvarnâṇḍa* is used for *brahmâṇḍa* above, v. 28.

above was fixed a lotus of gold made into an umbrella for the Lord.

(V. 93.)—And the silver image of Aniruddha will always be bathed, after it has been placed on a copper plate, with (*water from*) a vessel of the same material.[138]

(V. 94.)—There is one image of Vâmana, a second small one of Achyuta, and another made of *râjâvarta*-stone; the two first are made of bell-metal.

(V. 95.)—They all three are worshipped assiduously in the sanctuary. There two braziers of copper were given for lights.

(V. 96.)—The prince gave two copper basins (*and*) two copper cups for bathing, and also a pair of copper vessels for the *argha*-oblation.

(V. 97.)—Seven bells were given, together with incense-burners, accompanied by vessels for waving lights; besides seven conch-shells also, (*and*) four copper pots.

(V. 98.)—The prince gave a *vâḍhaḍhâ* of brass (*and*) two *kâhalâs*,[139] a chowrie and a pair of staves made of bell-metal and crystal (?).

(V. 99.)—He gave two large kettles of copper (*and*) two copper pitchers, also five copper pails and a *châṭu*[140] of the same material.

(V. 100.)—This completes the list of implements for the god.

(V. 101.)—For stone-cutters (?),[141] carpenters and so forth, for engineers, carmen and others, and for excavating and building reservoirs, wells, tanks, and so forth,—

(V. 102.)—the king gave the tenth part (*of the revenue*) in his whole dominion. And he likewise gave the twentieth part to Aniruddha; by that the hall for the charitable distribution of food &c. is kept up.

(V. 103.)—May this temple of prince Padma, spotless like crystal, be imperishable like the world of Vishṇu (*which he has*) acquired through (*his*) religious merits!

(Vs. 104 & 105.)—This faultless eulogy has been composed by the chief of the twice-born, the descendant of Bharadvâja, grandson of the chief of poets Râma, (*and*) son of the poet Gôvinda, the poet Maṇikaṇṭha, whose intellect is polished by (*the study of*) the *Mîmâṁsâ* and *Nyâya* (*and*) who delights in eloquent sayings.

(V. 106.)—Yaśôdêva-Digambarârka who enjoys the friendship of the sage (*Sûri*) Maṇikaṇṭha in which Pratâpa-Laṅkêśvaravâch shares, and who is a poet in all languages, has written the letters.

(V. 107.)—When eleven hundred years had passed, and when (*besides*) forty-nine years had gone since Vikrama,—

(V. 108.)—in the fiftieth (*year*), in the month Âśvina, in the dark half, this splendid eulogy was composed by Maṇikaṇṭha by order of the king; or, in figures, 1150, on the fifth of the dark (*half*) of Âśvina.

(V. 109.)—Ôm! There is nothing wonderful in this, that again and again in every battle the various hosts of the hostile armies flew like moths into the blazing fire of the prowess of that lord of the earth, since he, (*himself*) equal to Indra, had (*for his minister*) the wise Gaura, who endowed with intelligence (*and*) almost omniscient had surpassed the preceptor of the ornaments of the solar race by his policy.

(V. 110.)—Is it strange that Mahîpâla ruled the whole earth, when he had for his councillor the wise Gaura, who resembles the councillor of the gods?

(V. 111.)—This eulogy has been engraved at the temple of the glorious Padmanâtha in excellent letters by the artisan Padma, son of Dêvasvâmin,—

(V. 112.)—and also by Siṁhavâja and by the artisan Mâhula. May the letters (*here*) engraved serve their purpose!

FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

III.—*The Black-Headed Man.*

There was once a young lion who was very strong and withal very valiant, and so defied everybody.

One day his mother said to him—"It is all very fine for you to be proud of your great strength, and to try your might on all you meet, for you know that we are lords of the

[138] The dictionaries give गडु, गडुक and गड्डुक, not गड्डु

[139] A drum and two trumpets (?).

[140] A spoon (?).

[141] For शिलाकुट्ट the dictionaries give only the meaning 'a stone-cutter's chisel.'

forest and every creature owns our sway, but you do not seem to be aware that there is one being in this world who is more than a match for us, and can bid us defiance. He walks on two legs, and is known as the 'Black-Headed Man.' Beware of his wiles and stratagems, if you value your life."

"Very well," mused the young lord of the forest, "I should like very much to see what he is like. He must be a mighty and powerful creature if he can hold his own against me. I shall go and seek him out."

Having thus determined, the young lion wandered about roaring for several days, till one morning he chanced to enter a part of the forest that was rarely frequented by his kind. Just then a carpenter, with his bag of tools on his shoulders, and a white turban on his head, happened to pass by. The young lion skipped with delight at sight of him and cried out—"Surely this must be the being my mother has told me to beware of: for does he not go on two legs? Now for it!"

Just then, however, he happened to look at the carpenter's head, and to his great disappointment found it was white and not black, as he had been led to believe. Nevertheless he thought he would go to him and ask him whether he knew where the 'Black-Headed Man' was to be found, and if so, whether he would direct him in his search for that being.

He accordingly called out to the carpenter in a loud voice—"Hey, friend! stop! I wish to speak to you!" The poor man had no alternative but to obey, and the lion, going up to him said, "Can you tell me where I can find the 'Black-Headed Man,' for I wish very much to form his acquaintance and to try my hand on him?"

The poor man's knees knocked together with fright as he heard this and he gave himself up for lost, when suddenly an idea entered his mind like a flash of lightning, and summoning up courage, he thus spoke to the valiant son of the lord of the forest:—

"You wish to see the 'Black-Headed Man?' Well, your curiosity shall be gratified, for I happen to know where to find him; so come along with me and I shall show him to you."

The lion agreed to this, and the two walked on together for some time till they came to a large tree. Near this tree the carpenter stopped, and said to his companion:—

"If your Highness would condescend to wait here for a while, I shall show you what the 'Black-Headed Man' is like."

He then set himself to work with his tools and began to cut a large hole through the trunk of the tree. When this was finished he fashioned a plank and fixed it at the top of the hole in such a way that it could slide up and down at pleasure, like the door of a mouse-trap. When all was ready, he requested the lion, who was eagerly watching his movements all the while, to come and put his head into the hole and look straight before him till he got a sight of the 'Black-Headed Man.'

The lion, rejoiced at the prospect of seeing the being he so much wished to meet, eagerly put his head through the hole, and in a trice the carpenter, who had already climbed the tree, let the trap-door slip down from above right on to the lion's neck, and pressed it so tight that he nearly squeezed the beast to death. He then got down and went to the other side of the tree, and uncovering his head, showed it to the dying lion, saying:—

"Your servant, the 'Black-Headed Man,' whom you wished so much to see, stands before you; pray, what would you with him?"

The poor lion, however, was by this time past replying, and the carpenter shouldering his bag of tools, walked home at leisure, glad to have escaped, by this stratagem, from the jaws of a savage beast!

THE BRITISH NATIONAL ANTHEM TRANSLATED INTO SANSKRIT.

BY PROF. A. WEBER.

TEXT.

I.

God save our gracious Queen!
Long live our noble Queen!
God save the Queen!
Send her victorious,
Happy and glorious,
Long to reign over us!
God save the Queen!

II.

O Lord, our God, arise,
Scatter her enemies,
And make them fall!
Bless thou the brave that fight,
Sworn to defend her right,
Bending, we own thy might,
God save us all!

III.

Thy choicest gifts in store
Still on Victoria pour,
Health, Peace and Fame.
Young faces year by year
Rising her heart to cheer,
Glad voices far and near
Blessing her name.

IV.

Saved from each traitor's arm—
Thou, Lord, her shield from harm
Ever hast been.
Angels around her way
Watch, while by night and day
Millions with fervour pray,
God save the Queen!

TRANSLATION.

१

ईशा ऽव राज्ञीं नः
समृद्ध्यायुर्युताम्
ईशा ऽवैनाम् ।
देव्यस्यै जयिन्यै
श्रीयशोभगिन्यै
चिरं नः शासितुम्
ईशा ऽवैनाम् ॥

२

ईश हे प्रोदिहि
शत्रून् विशातय
पातय तान् ।
रक्ष नः सुयोधान्
धर्मप्रपालकान्
तुभ्यं नमोनतान्
ईशा ऽवा ऽस्मान् ॥

३

वररत्नानि त्वम्
शश्वत् तां भाजय
श्रीयशसी ।
सुप्रजास्त्वेन च
हृदयानन्दिना
सुचिरं नन्दतात्
वीरप्रसूः ॥

४

द्रोहिणां कैतवात्
ईशैनां शर्मणा
रक्षसि स्म ।
त्वद्दूतास्तत्कृते
जाग्रन्त्य् अहोरात्रे
कोट्यः प्रार्थयन्ते
ईशा ऽवैनाम् ॥

NOTE BY CAPTAIN R. C. TEMPLE.

As an appendix to the above I give here a rendering of the National Anthem into Pañjâbî by Râm Dâs Chhibhar[1] of Lâhor, with a translation of the same. The vernacular version is not a translation of the Anthem, but is a poetical adaptation of it, and is intended to be sung to the well-known national Pañjâbî tune of *Hár Phûlâṅ dî* (Flower Garland).

TEXT.

हार फुलां दी सुर उते ।

दयावान कैसर दी तूं रक्षा[2] कर सदा क्रिपाल[3]
चिरकाल करे राज एह विक्टोरिया हे दयाल

१

रहे सदा एह अनंद विंगा हो ना इस दा वाल
चिर करे राज एह सदा जै पर्ताप नाल
फुले फले वांग कवल फुल दे सदा हो निहाल
दयावान कैसर दी तूं रक्षा कर सदा क्रिपाल

२

सदा हार एस दे दोषियां नूं दीनानाथ दे
मनसूबे बुरे एस दे वैरियां दे आप तोड़ दे
साडीयां आसां तेरे उपर नाथ सानूं बचां ले
दयावान कैसर दी तूं रक्षा कर सदा क्रिपाल

३

सार वस्त तूं भंडार विचों दान एह नूं कर
सुरज जेहा तेज एस दा होवे सारी भूमी पर
चिरकाल करे राज आयू एस दी वडी कर
दयावान कैसर दी तूं रक्षा कर सदा क्रिपाल

४

नियां करे साडा सदा हो कानून दी सहाये
एस दे सिष्ट छच हेठ हर इक अनंद पाये
निक्का वडा दिलों मनों पिया एह गीत गाये
दयावान कैसर दी तूं रक्षा कर सदा क्रिपाल

५

राज्ञ वैरी कोलों एस नूं तूं बचा लै सदा काल
जद होवे कोई भै सामने एस दे हे दयाल
उस वेले हथ देके रखें एस नूं दया नाल
दयावान कैसर दी तूं रक्षा कर सदा क्रिपाल

६

हर वेले दिगपाल रक्षा एस दी पए करें
अटल पर्ताप एस दा वेख पए दुती भैड़े सड़ें
दिन रात लख करोड़ हाथ जोड़ बिनै करें
दयावान कैसर दी तूं रक्षा कर सदा क्रिपाल

[1] A class of Brâhmaṇs from the Jhêlam District. This writer has also produced a rhymed Hindustânî version of the National Anthem.

[2] रक्षा is pronounced *rakhyâ*.

[3] क्रिपाल is pronounced *kirpâl*.

Su Plate p 116

TRANSLATION.

To the tune of the "Flower Garland."

O God of grace! protect Thou ever the gracious Empress,
Long may Victoria reign, O God of grace!

I.

May she ever reign happy; may her serenity be never disturbed.*
Long may she reign and ever with victory and splendour.
May she blossom and bloom like a lotus-flower and ever prosper.
O God of grace! protect Thou ever the gracious Empress!

II.

O God of the helpless! defeat Thou ever her enemies,
Do Thou frustrate the evil politics of her enemies.
Our hopes are in Thee, O Lord, preserve Thou us.
O God of grace! protect Thou ever the gracious Empress!

III.

Bestow on her the best gift of Thy treasure.
May her glory be as the sun throughout the world.
Long may she reign: prolong her days.
O God of grace! protect Thou ever the gracious Empress!

IV.

May she ever do justice over us, and be protector of the law.
May everyone be happy under her excellent protection.
Let great and small with heart and soul upraise this song—
O God of grace! protect Thou ever the gracious Empress!

V.

Do Thou protect her ever from her royal enemies.
Should any terror arise upon her, O God of grace!
Then give her Thy hand and protect her with Thy grace.
O God of grace! protect thou ever the gracious Empress!

VI.

May the God of the Earth[5] protect her always.
Seeing her boundless glory, may her secret enemies die of envy.
Day and night may millions bless (*her*) with joined hands[6]
O God of grace! protect Thou ever the gracious Empress!

In the Plate attached will be found the music of "*Hâr Phulân dî.*" It is given as a specimen of a Pañjâbî tune, arranged, as closely as possible, according to the European method.

* The original is idiomatic here: *lit.*, "may her hair be never crooked."

[5] *lit.*, "the (tutelary) elephants of the (four) quarters (of the earth)."

[6] *i.e.* in prayer.

AN ENGLISH-GIPSY INDEX.

COMPILED BY MRS. GRIERSON; WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY G. A. GRIERSON, B.C.S.

(*Continued from p.* 19).

BITE, to,—Dandâva, (Eng); dantâva, dantèlâva, dantarâva, (Tch.); dĕndalâva, (M.)

BITTER,—Kerkô, (Tch.); gh'avrê, (As. Tch.); amâro, kĕrkô, (M.); kerko, (M. 7)

BITTERNESS,—Kerkipê, (Tch.)

BLACK,—Dum, dumo, kaulo, (Eng.); kalô, (com.) kaledêr, (Tch); gh'ali, gh'eili, (As. Tch.); kalô, melalô, (M.); kalo, (M. 7)

BLACK, to become, Kaliovâva, (Tch.)

BLACKEN, to—Kaliarâva, (Tch.)

BLACKBERRY,—Kalo-durril (kaulo in orig.), (Eng.)

BLACKBIRD,—Kalo-chiriclo, (kaulo in orig.), (Eng.)

BLACKISH,—Kalorô, kaliarkicanô, (Tch.)

BLACKNESS,—Kalibê, (Tch.)

BLACKSMITH,—Kaulo-mengro, (Eng.); mastêr, shastirêskoro, (Tch.)

BLACK-THORN,—Kaulo-kori, (Eng.)

BLANKET,—Koppur, sovaharri, (Eng.)

BLEACHER,—Toibnâskoro, (Tch.)

BLEAR-EYED,—Khaleakêskoro, khaloniko, (Tch.)

BLEAR-EYED, to become—Khâliovâva, (Tch.)

BLEEDING,—Rattvalô, (Tch.)

BLESS, to,—Blagoslovisarâva, (M.)

BLIND,—Korredo, (Eng); korô, koricanô, tam, (Tch); kori, (As. Tch.); kerô, korĕ, (M); koro, (M 7); tam, (M. 8)

BLIND, to become—Kòriovâva, (Tch.); korañovâva, (M.)

BLINDLY,—Koriandôs, (Tch)

BLINDNESS,—Koribê, (Tch.)

BLISTERS,—Bugnes, bugnior, (Eng.)

BLOOD,—Ratti, (Eng); ratt, (Tch.); lur, (As. Tch.); rat, (M., M. 8)

BLOODY,—Ratalô, (M)

BLOODY, to become,—Rattvâliovâva, (Tch.)

BLOW,—Maribê, (Tch.); dab, (M., M. 7)

BLOW OF THE FISTS,—Rupedinî, (Tch.)

BLOW ON THE MOUTH,—Munjî, (Eng.)

BLOW, to,—Pudâva, (Eng.); Pùrdâva, pûdâva, phûdâva, fùdâva, (Tch.); phurdâva, (M; M. 8)

BLUE,—Nilê, nili, (As. Tch.)
BLUSH to,—Lajâva, (Tch.)
BLUSH, to cause to,—Lajavâva, (Tch.)
BLUSHING, to be,—Lajâniovâva. (Tch.)
BOAR, wild, young,—Balishî. (M.)
BOARD,—Phal. sanidi. (M. 8)
BOARDS,—Skĕnduri, (M.)
BOAT,—Lûntre, (M.)
BODY,—Trupo, (Eng.); trûpu, (M.)
BOIL, to,—Tavâva, (Tch.); kiravâva, (M., M. 7) thavâva, (M. 8)
BOILED, to be,—Tâvghiovâva, (Tch.)
BOILED,—Kerrit, (Eng.)
BOILER,—Pirry, (Eng.)
BOLT,—Mandâra, (Tch.)
BOLTING-CLOTH,—Porizĕn, reshèto, (Tch.)
BONE,—Kokal, (pl.) kokalor (Eng.); kòkkalo, (Tch.); kharik, (As. Tch.); kôkalo, (M., M. 7)
BOOK,—Lil, (Eng.); namali, (Tch.); lil. (M.)
BOOT,—(pl.) Skraunior, (Eng.); (pl.) chekmi, (As. Tch.); (pl.) shkorne. (M. 8)
BOOTY,—Kappi, luripen, (Eng.)
BOOTY, to get,—Lelâva kappi, (Eng.)
BORDER,—Nâkri, (Tch.); mârjina, (M.)
BORE A HOLE, to,—Kheviarâva, (Tch.)
BORED, to be (passive of above)—Kheviârghiovâva, (Tch.)
BORN,—Beano, (Eng.)
BORN, to be,—Nĕshtiâva, nĕshtisard'ovâva, (M.)
BOSOM, see Breast.
BOTH,—Li, li-duy, zheni, dùyzheni, (M.)
BOTTLE,—Vellin, (Eng.); bûkla, (Tch.), agalù; shîpu, shĕpu, shĕp. (dim.) shĕpushôru, (M.)
BOUGH,—kryângĕ, kryànga, (M.)
BOUGHT, to be,—Kinghiovâva, (Tch.)
BOUND, (past part.)—Pandlo, (Eng.); phandad'ov, panda'ov, (M.)
BOW, to, (v. tr.)—Band'arâva, ĕnkinisard'ovâva, (M.)
BOW ONESELF, to,—Band'ovâva, (M.)
BOWELS,—Vênor, vennor, wendror, (Eng.); bukô, (Tch.)
BOX,—Mufta, muktar, mukto, (Eng.); ladinîcha, sendûki; khrabisha, (Tch.); lâda, (M.)
BOX, little,—Ladîcĕ, lĕdica, (M.)
BOX ON THE EAR,—Pishòt, (Tch.), korik, kuradinî, (As. Tch.)
BOXER,—Kuromengro, (Eng.)
BOY,—Chal, raklo, (Eng.); mursh. (dim.) murshorô, raklô, (dim.) raklorô, chavo. (Tch.); gor, kur, (As. Tch.); raklô, raklorô, (M.), raklo, (M. 8)
BRACELET,—Korô, (Tch.)
BRAIN,—gotî, godî, gudî, (Tch.)
BRAN,—Seli, (M. 8)
BRANCH,—Rukeskey kost, (Eng.)
BRANDISH, to,—Melincasarâva, vĕnturiâva, (M.)
BRANDY,—Tatti-pani, tatti-pauni, (Eng.); panialî, (Tch.); rakushka, (As. Tch.)
BRASS,—Khaljî. (M.)
BRAVE,—Murshno, murshicanô, (Tch.); vod'alô, (M.)
BRAVERY,—Murshnipê, (Tch.)
BRAZEN,—Kharkunô, (M.)
BREAD,—Morro, (Eng.); manro, (Span. Gip.); manro, gheum, (Hun. Gip.); manrô, cham, bokalì, marnô, marô, mandô, marly (Tch.); mĕna, (As. Tch.); malâv, (Tch. Tok.); morroshka, (Rus. Gip.); manrô, manrĕ, melîye, (M.); bokoli, cham, (M. 7); manro, (M. 8)
BREAK, to,—Poggrâva, (Eng.); pangâva, (Tch.); phad'ovâva (v. intr.), phagâva (v. tr.), (M.); pharâva, phagâva, (M. 8)
BREAK, to cause to,—Pangharâva, (Tch.)
BREAK OPEN, to,—Pornisard'ovâva, (M.)
BREAST, woman's—Chuchî, chichî, (M., M. 7)
BREAST,—Bark, (fem.) birk, (pl.) pikkis, pikkaris, (Eng.); kolin, brek, gutch, (Tch.); sin, (As. Tch.); bĕrk, kolîn, (M.); brek, kolin, (M. 7)
BREATH,—Âburu, (M.)
BREECHES,—Rokunyes, (Eng.); roklia (Hun. Gip.)
BRICK,—Kĕrĕmidĕ, (M.)
BRIDE,—Borî, (dim.) bororî, tellis-borî, (Tch.); vahri, (As. Tch.); miryâsa, (M.); bori, (M. 7)
BRIDEGROOM,—Mîrelo, mîrilo, tĕrnô, ternô, (M.)
BRIDGE,—Pudge, (Eng.); purt, (Tch.); phurd, pôdu, (M.); phurt, (M. 8)
BRIDLE,—Sollibari, salivaris, (Eng.); sulivârî, shuvar, (dim.) shuvarorô, ushvâr, (Tch.); rasmog, (As. Tch.); sulivari, (M. 8)
BRING, to—Anâva, riggurâva, (Eng.); anâva, ghelâva, (Tch.); anava, ĕngĕrâva, (M.); anâva, (M. 7)
BRING, to cause to—Anghiarâva, anghiâkerâva, (Tch.)
BRING FORTH, to—biâva, benava, (Tch.); kĕrâva, karâva, (M.); lotâva, (M. 8)
BRING TO MIND, to—Rigâva in yi, (Eng.)
BRING UP, to—Bharyarâva, (M.)
BROAD,—Bughlô, (Tch.) dŏlgo, (M.)
BROKEN,—Poggado, (Eng.); parô, (Tch.); phagô, (M.)
BROKEN, to be,—Pânghiovâva, pângliovâva, (Tch.)
BROKEN-WINDED,—Bavano, (Eng.)
BROKEN-WINDED-HORSE,—Poggado-bavol-engro, (Eng.)
BROKEN VICTUALS,—Poggado habben, (Eng.)
BROOM,—Mĕcla, shulàvka, shuvàl, (Tch.)
BROTH,—Simmeno, zimmen, zumi, (Eng.)
BROTHER,—Pal, prala, (Eng.); pral, plal, pralorô, (Tch.), pral, (M.); phral, (M. 8)

BROTHER-IN-LAW,—Salô, (Tch.); kumnâto, kumnât, (M.)
BROTHER IN VILLAINY,—Pal, (Eng.)
BROUGHT FORTH, to be—Bênghiovâva, bendovâva, (Tch.)
BRUSH, to.—Shulavâva, (M. 8)
BUCK,—Bûzos. (Tch.); câpu, (M.); buzno, (M. 7)
BUFFALO,—Vaîna, vayûna, (Tch.); bihol, (M.)
BUG,—Likhevi jiv, (As. Tch.)
BUILD, to,—Tardâva, tardrâva, (Eng.); kĕrâva, karâva, zidiâva, (M.)
BUILDING, place for.—Than. (M.)
BULGARIAN,—Das. (Tch. M. 7)
BULL,—Guveno, (Eng.); sakâri, (Tch.)
BUNCH,—Drĕs, (M.)
BUNDLE,—Kâlavo. (Tch.); drĕs, (M.)
BURDEN,—Katûya. (Tch.)
BURGLARY,—Rardiskey kair poggring, (Eng)
BURIED,—Pûshed, pûsheno, (Eng.); prakhomê, (M.)
BURN, to,—Hachâva, (Eng.); tabarâva, tabiarâva, (Tch.); tapiâva, tapiovâva, (Psp. M); phabarâva, phabard'ovâva, phabovâva, (M.); khacharâva. (M. 7); phabâva, thabâva, (M. 8)
BURNED, to be,—Tâbiovâva, tâpiovâva, (Tch.)
BURNING, a,—Hatchipen, (Eng); omblal. (M. 8)
BURST, to,—Murdâliovâva, (Tch.); pharyovâva, plezniâva, (M)
BURY, to—Prakhoâva, prakhosarâva, (M); khandâva. (M. 7); parovâva. prakhoâva. (M. 8)
BUSHEL,—Medlisin, (Eng.)
BUSHES,—Poyâna, (M.)
BUSINESS,—Butì. putî, bukì, (dim.) buturì, (Tch)
BUT,—Ay, dârĕ, (M)
BUTCHER,—Maas-engro, maaso-mengro, (Eng.); masêskoro, (Tch.)
BUTTER,—Kil, (Eng); gur, (As Tch); kiil. (Tch. Tok.); chikŏn, (M.)
BUTTERFLY,—Pĕpĕrûga, (M.)
BUTTON,—Krafni, (Eng)
BUTTON-MAKER,—Krafni-mengro, (Eng)
BUY, to,—Kinâva, (Eng); kinâva, (Tch); lavkinim, (As. Tch.); t'inâva, (M); kinâva. (M 7)
BUY OFF, to.—Kinâva aley, (Eng.)
BUYER,—Kinabêskoro, (Tch.)
BY,—Pa, (Eng.); pashâ, pashĕ, (M.)

C.

CABBAGE,—Shok, (pl.) shôkkor, (Eng.): shakh. (Tch.); shah, (Psp M.); chaja. (Span Gip.); shakh, (M., M. 8)
CAKE,—Manrikley, marikli, merrikley, (Eng.); manriklô, (Tch.); kolâchi, kolachêy, kolochêy, (M.)
CAKE, honey,—Bokelî, bokulì, bokulè, bukoălî. (M.)
CALABASH,—Katûrni, kutûroni, (Tch.)
CALF,—Sakâri, (Tch); zhicêl, (M.)
CALICO,—Bot, (As Tch)
CALLING, interjection of—Mə, (M.)
CALL, to.—Chândava, chârdava, voîzava, (Tch): (imperat.) sis le ker, (As Tch); akarar. (Span. Gip.); akharâva, khĕrâva, (M.)
CAN,—Brad'i, (M); bradi, (M 7); takhtay, (M. 8)
CANDLE,—Mûmli, (Eng.); mumelî, (M): dud. (M 7)
CANDLESTICK,—Mûmli-mengro, (Eng)
CANE,—Ran, (Tch.)
CANNIBAL,—Pĕgĕi, (M.)
CAP,—Hûfa, (Eng) kûchma, kûzhma, stad'î. (M)
CAPITAL, to make a,—Lelâva kappi. (Eng.)
CAPTAIN,—Kapitâno, kapitânu, kĕpitânu, (M.
CARD.—Lil, (M.)
CARE,—Grîzhĕ, (M.)
CARE, to take,—Gerâva, rakâva, (Eng.); lovizâva, (Tch.); grizhiâva. (M.)
CARPET,—Sovaharri, (Eng); pasternî, (Tch.)
CARRIAGE,—Vordòn. (Tch.)
CARRIERS,—Karêûsha, (M)
CARROTS,—Spinyor. (Eng.); gh'ezer, (As. Tch)
CARRY, to,—Riggurâva, (Eng.); anâva, (Tch), kĕrâva, kĕrĕsarâva, pheravâva, tradâva, ĕngĕrâva, (M.); lejâva. (M. 8)
CART,—Vardo, wardo, (Eng.); kĕrûca, (M.)
CARTER,—Wardo-mesero. (Eng)
CART-WRIGHT,—Wardo-mesero. (Eng.)
CARVE, to,—Cholâva. (Tch.)
CASK,—Durulì, (M.)
CAST, to,—Wustâva, chivâva, chuvâva, (Eng.)
CASTLE,—Aŭlîn, (M.)
CAT,—Matchko, (fem) matchka, (Eng.), mâchka, mûrchka, pishika, pisika, pismâra [illegible], (dim.) chichaiorî, chichos, (Tch); pisik, (As Tch); mĕci, mĕcĕ, (M.); [illegible] (M); mechka, (M. 8)
CAT, condition of a.—Chichaibè. (Tch.)
CATCH, to,—Astarâva, khutiiâva, [illegible] (M.)
CAVE,—Magherâs, (Tch.) : burdèy, (M)
CEILING,—Grinda, (M)
CELLAR,—Pivnica. (M.)
CEMETERY,—Mulleno kêr. (Eng.)
CHAFF,—Plevye, (M.)
CHAIN,—Werriga, (Eng); janjîr, (Tch); [illegible] lâncu, sâster, sastrì, sâstri, (M); [illegible] (M. 8)
CHAINED,—Janjiralô, (Tch)
CHAIR,—Besh-engri, skammen, (Eng.); skammi (M. 8)
CHAIR-MAKER—Skammen-mengro, (Eng.)
CHAMBER,—Kĕmĕrûca, kĕmârĕ. kĕmâra, (M)

CHANDLER,—Mumli-mengro, (Eng.); momeliêngoro, (Tch.)
CHANGE, to,—Parâva, parrâva, (Eng.); paruvâva, (Tch.); parud'ovâva, (M.)
CHANGED, to be,—Parûvghiovava, (Tch.)
CHANGE OF CLOTHES,—Paruibê, (Tch.)
CHAPLET,—Minriclô, (Tch.)
CHARCOAL,—Wangar, wongar, (Eng.); angâr, (Tch.); angar, (M. 7)
CHATTERER, Chibalô. (Tch.)
CHEAT, to,—Khokhavâva, (Tch.); khokhâva, (M.)
CHEATED, to be,—Khokhâvghiovâva, (Tch.)
CHEEK,—Cham, (Tch.); cham, (M. 7)
CHEESE,—Kael, kaes, kas, (Eng.); kerâl, chelalô, (Tch.); pendir, (As. Tch.); parnelî, (M.) keral, (M. 7)
CHEESE-SELLER,—Keralêngoro, (Tch.)
CHERRY,—Kerâs, (Tch.); cherêsh, (M.); keras, (M. 7)
CHEST,—Mufta, muktar, mukto, (Eng.); sekrîy, (dim.) sekriyêsh, (M.); mosto, (M. 8)
CHEW, to,—Chamkerâva, châmukerâva, (Tch.)
CHEWED,—Chamurdicanô, (Tch.)
CHICK-PEA,—Rivitê, (Tch.)
CHICKEN,—Chavrî, (Tch.); puyshôr, (M.)
CHILD,—Chavo, chi, (fem.) chavi, tikno, (Eng.); raklo, chavô, chaô, (dim.) chavorô, cho, (Tch.); chag'u, (As. Tch.); raklorô, shaorô, shaurô, shavô, shaô, (M.); chavo, (M. 7)
CHILD-BIRTH,—Ben. (Tch.)
CHILD, to become with,—Kabnîovava, (Tch.)
CHILD, with,—Kabnî, kamnî, bharô, pharô, thulô, tulô, (Tch.); khabni, (M. 7)
CHIMNEY.—Kâhla, (M.)
CHIPS,—Pal'orâ, (M.)
CHOKE, to,—Tasâva, (M. 8)
CHOOSE, to,—Alosarâva, (M.)
CHOP, to,—Shinâva, shingarâva, (M.)
CHRISTIAN, after the manner of a,—Bollimengreskoenaes, (Eng.)
CHRISTMAS.—Bolleskoe divvus. (Eng.); khristunê, (Tch.)
CHURCH,—Kongri, (Eng.); kangherî, karghîri, kanghîri, kanglì, (Tch.); kelisê, (As. Tch.); kangĕrî, kangarì, kĕngĕri (M.); kangeri, (M. 7)
CHURCH-SINGER,—Dâskalu, (M.); (fem. his wife) diyechîca, (M.)
CHURN,—Budâlka. (Tch.)
CIDER,—Chute-pavi, pauvi-pâni, (Eng.)
CINDERS,—Prahos, (Tch.); char, (As. Tch.)
CIRCUMCISE,—Chindarâva, (Tch.)
CITIZEN,—Gav-engro, (Eng.)
CITY,—Foros, vauros, (Eng.)
CLEAN,—Iuziou, roujiou, (Eng.); shuchô, shuzô. (Tch.); kurât, (M.); sucho, uzho (M. 8)
CLEAN, to,—Kanaskerâva, kanakerâva, shuchakerâva, shuzakerâva, koshâva, kosâva, ghoshâva, goshâva (Tch.)
CLEAN, to cause to,—Koshliarâva, (Tch.)
CLEANLINESS,—Shuchipê, shuzipê, (Tch.)
CLEAR,—Lîmpede, (M.)
CLEAR WEATHER,—Pinripê, (Tch.)
CLEAVE, to,—Paravâva, (Tch.)
CLERGYMAN,—Rashengro, rashi, (Eng.)
CLEVER,—Yokki, (Eng.); t'it'itòri, (M.)
CLIMB UP, to,—Ĕnkliâva, (M.)
CLINK, to—Bashavâva, (M.)
CLOAK,—Plashta, (Eng.); plata, (Span. Gip.); mantâo, (M.)
CLOCK,—Chasôrniku, klôpoto, klôpotu, (M.)
CLOISTER,—Mĕnĕstire, (M.)
CLOSE,—Akurât, kurât, (M.)
CLOTH,—Diklo, panno, (Eng.); yâba, pokhtân, (Tch.); diklo, (M. 7); than (M. 8)
CLOTH, a.—Kosnû, koznô, koznû, (M.)
CLOTH-MAKER OR SELLER,—Pokhtanêskoro, (Tch.)
CLOTH TENT,—Parind, (Tch.)
CLOTHES,—Pâta, (Psp. M.); strâye, strâyi, (M.); yismata, (M. 7); see COAT.
CLOUD,—Nûĕru, (M.)
CLOVE OF GARLIC,—Shiralô, (Tch.)
CLOVEN, to be,—Pâriovava, parâvghiovana, (Tch.)
CLUB,—Bulâva, (M.)
COACHMAN,—Vizitêu, (M.)
COAL,—Wongar, wangar, (Eng.); langar, (Borrow in Psp. M.); angâr, (Tch.); angâr, (M.)
COAT,—Choka, (Eng.); (pl.) sirkârfia, uryaibê, uryoibê, yismata, (Tch.); thalîk, cùha, (M.); see CLOTHES.
COCK,—Bosno, boshno, (Eng.); bashnô, basnô, (Tch.); bazhnô, kokosh, (M.)
COFFEE,—Kafês, kavês, kaliardô, (Tch.); kâva, (M.)
COFFIN,—Mulleni muktar, mullodustie mukto, (Eng.); sekrîy, (M.)
COLD, (*adj.*)—Shilleno, shillerô, shillo, (Eng.); shilalô, (Tch.); silali, (As. Tch.)
COLD, (*sub.*)—Shillipen, (Eng.); shil, (Tch.); sii, (As. Tch.); shil, (M. 8)
COLD, to become,—Sûdriovava, shilâliovava, (Tch.)
COLLECT MONEY, to.—Kĕsuiâva, kĕsuisarâva, (M.)
COLT,—Kurô, kurî, kfurô, khurô, (Tch.)
COLUMN.—Belì, bilì, (M.)
COMB,—Kongli, kongro, (Eng.); ghanglî, konglî, (Tch.), nanâri, (M., M. 8)
COMB, to,—Ghandava, ghantâva, ghrantâva, khrantâva (Tch.); gandâva, (M. 7)
COMB-MAKER,—Ganglinêngoro, (Tch.)
COME, (imperat.)—Av, (Eng.); êla, av, (Tch.)
COME, to.—Avâva (Eng.); avâva, (Tch.); ba, pa, (As. Tch.); avâva, (M., M. 7)
COME OUT, to.—Ĕnkliâva, (M.)

CRY OUT, to.—Korâva, (Eng.); bashâva, chingaráva, (M.); bashâva, chandâva, (M. 7); vichinâva, vikizâva, (M. 8)
CUCKOO,—Koring chiriclo, (Eng.)
CUCUMBER,—Kastravîcha, panialê sudrê, (Tch.)
CUDGEL,—Druk, drûku, buzdugânu, chumâgĕ, chumĕgûcĕ, chumĕgûca, (M.)
CUP,—Koru, koro, tas, (Eng.); balî, takhtâi, pal, pel, Tch.); koro, (Span. Gip.); pahâro, pâharu, (M.); khoro, (M. 7)
CUP AND SAUCER,—Dou dass, dui das, dui tas, (Eng.)
CURE, to,—Kairâva misto, (Eng.); sastarâva, (Tch.)
CURED, to be,—Sâstiovava, (Tch.); sagh le ker, (As. Tch.)
CURRANT,—Dùriya durril, (Eng.)
CURRENCY,—Luvvo, (Eng.)
CURRYCOMB,—Zgrêbla, zgryâbla, (M.)
CURSE,—Solâja, (Span. Gip.); arman, (M. 7)
CURSE, to,—Armân dâva, (Tch.); kushâva, (M.)
CURSED,—Uzhilo, (M.)
CUSHION,—Perina, shĕrând, (M.); see PILLOW.
CUT,—Chinipen, (Eng.); chinipê, (Tch.)
CUT, I—Chinêm, (Tch. Tokat.)
CUT, to,—Chinâva, (Eng.); chinâva, (Tch.); chin, (As. Tch.); secheriâva, shinâva, shingarâva, (M.); chinâva, khulavâva, (M. 7)
CUT, to be,—Chînghiovava, chîndovava, (Tch.)
CUT, to cause to,—Chinavâva, (Tch.)
CUT AWAY, to,—Shabâva, (Eng.)
CUT OUT, to,—Kroyiâva, kroyisarâva, (M.); cholâva, (M. 7. *Cf.* Psp. M. *s.v.*), to cut with a knife.
CUTLER,—Churi-mengro, (Eng.)

D

DAILY,—Divvuskoe, divveskoe, (Eng.)
DAMPNESS,—Chi, (Tch.)
DANCE,—Khôros, (Tch.); nicheri, (As. Tch.)
DANCE, to,—Kilâva, (Eng.); kĕlâva, (M.); khelâva, (M. 7)
DANCER,—Killi-mengro, (Eng.)
DARE, to,—Kutizisarâva, (M.); tromâva, (M. 8)
DARK,—Temno, (Eng.)
DARKNESS,—Tunériko, (M.)
DARK, it is,—Biavĕliovel, (Tch.)
DARLING, { of the father,—Khâltodad, (M.) / of the mother,—Khâltoydiy, (M.) }
DARNEL,—Keshelâri, (Tch.)
DAUGHTER,—Chavi, chi, (Eng.); raklî, châi, chêi, (dim.) chaiori (Tch.); raklî, shey, shîy, (M.) lavti, (As. Tch.); jaghi (Tch. Tokat)
DAUGHTER, of or belonging to a,—Châkoro, (Tch.)
DAUGHTER-IN-LAW,—Burî, (M.)
DAILY,—Divveskoe, divvuskoe, (Eng.)
DAMSEL,—Chavali, (Eng.)
DAWN,—Disioibê, (Tch.); zôre, (M.)
DAY,—Divvus, (Eng.); divês (Tch., Psp. M., M. 7); ghivês (Psp. M.); des, d'es (M.)
DAY-AND-NIGHT,—Dòbe, (M.)
DAY, during the,—Disê, (Tch.)
DAY, to become,—Dîsiovâva, (Tch.)
DAY-LABOURER,—Divesêskoro, (Tch.)
DEAD, *adj.*,—Mullo, (Eng.); mulô, molô, (Tch.); mulô, mulurô, (M.); murdal, (M. 8)
DEAD MAN,—Mullo, (Eng.)
DEAF,—Kasukô, kasukôv, kashukô, (Tch., Psp. M., M. 7)
DEAFEN, to,—Zalisarâva, (M.)
DEAF, to become,—Kashûkiovâva, (Tch.); gh'ari, (As. Tch.)
DEAR,—(beloved) Drâgo, drâgu; (expensive) kuch, (M., M. 8)
DEATH,—Merripen, (Eng.); meribê, (Tch.); meripî, môrte, moarte, (M.); molò, meripî, (Psp. M.); merî, murê, (As. Tch.)
DEATH OF ANIMALS,—Murdaribê, (Tch.)
DEBT,—Chik, (Tch.)
DEBT, IN,—Pizarris, pizaurus, (Eng.); chikalô, (Tch.)
DEBTOR,—Pizarri-mengro, (Eng.)
DECEIVE, to,—Khokhavâva, (Tch.)
DECEIVED, to be,—Khokhâvghiovâva, khokhâvniovâva, (Tch.)
DECLARE, to,—Pukkerâva, (Eng.)
DEED,—Kerrimus, (Eng.)
DEED, good,—Mishtipî (M.)
DEEP,—Khor, (Tch., Psp. M.); adénko, adĕnku, (M.); khor, khanduk, (M. 7)
DEER,—Stannyi, stannyo, (Eng.)
DEFEND, to,—Branisarâva, (M.)
DEFEND ONESELF, to,—Branisard'ovâva, (M.)
DELUGE,—Potôpu, (M.)
DEPART, to,—Nashâva, (Psp. M.)
DEPARTURE,—Nashipê, (Tch.); apshîtu, (M.)
DEPTH,—Fûndu, (M.)
DERIDE, to,—Khokhavâva, (Tch., M. 7)
DERISION,—Prasaibê, (Tch.)
DESCEND, to,—Ughlhâva, (Tch.); huliâva, (M.)
DESCEND, to cause to,—Ughliavâva, ughlia kerâva, (Tch.)
DESIRE,—Manghishê, (As. Tch.)
DESIRE, to,—Kamâva, (Eng.)
DESTROY, to,—Nashâva, (Eng.); musarâva, phagâva, rĕsĕpiâva, (M.)
DESTROYED,—Nashado, (Eng.)
DEVIL,—Beng, bengui, (Eng.); benk, beng, (dim.) bengorò, (Tch.); sheitân (As. Tch.); bênk, (Psp. M.); beng, (M., M. 7)
DEVILISH,—Bengeskoe, benglo, bangalo, (Eng.); bengalô, benghialô, benghulanô, (Tch.)
DEVILISH TRICK,—Benghipê, (Tch.)
DEW,—Drosin, (M. 7)

DIAMOND,—Dude-bar, (Eng.); adyamânto, (M.)
DIR, to,—Merâva, (Eng., Tch., Psp. M., M., M. 8)
DIG, to,—Khatâva, (Psp. M.)
DIRECT, to,—Orthoâva, (M.)
DIRECT ONESELF, to,—Gĕtosard'ovâva, (M.)
DIRT,—Chik, hin, (Eng.); chique, (Span. Gip.); kelî, keliâ, mel, melalipê, (Tch.); mel, (Psp. M.); glôdu, kul, (M.); chik, (M. 7); mel, (M. 8)
DIRT, lump of,—Buburûzo, (M.)
DIRTY,—Chiklo, (Eng.); melalô, (Tch., Psp. M.); mahrimî, zmĕrdavo, (M.)
DIRTY, to,—Meliarâva, (Tch.)
DIRTY, to become,—Chikâliovâva, melâliovâva, (Tch.); melâliovâva, (Psp. M.)
DIRTY FELLOWS,—Hindity mengrê, hindity mescrê, (Eng.)
DISCIPLE,—Puy, pûyo, pûyu, (M.)
DISCOURSE,—Sborâ, sbôros, (Tch.)
DISAPPEAR, to,—Khasard'ovâva, (M.)
DISH,—Châro, (Eng.); dûzi, (As. Tch.); charô, kledîn, polûmesko, (M.)
DISHONOUR, to.—Kushâva, (M.)
DISPUTE,—Lav-chingaripen, (Eng.)
DISTAFF.—(pl.) Kâyre, (M.)
DISTANCE,—Duripê, (Tch.)
DISTANT.—Dürghe, dur, (comp.) duredêr, (Tch.); buhlô, (M.)
DISTORT, to.—Band'ovâva, (M.)
DISTRIBUTE, to,—Keltusarâva, keltusard'ovâval, (M.)
DITCH,—Khûva, gûpa, (Tch.)
DIVE, to,—Kufundiâva, (M.)
DIVINE,—Develiskoe, (Eng.)
DO, to,—Kerâva, kairâva, (Eng.); kerâva, gherâva, (Tch.); kerâmi, (As. Tch.); dâva, kĕrâva, karâva, (M.)
DO, to cause to—Kerghiâ kerâva, (Tch.)
DOG,—Juggal, jukkal, (pl.) jukkalor, chukkal, (Eng.); chuquel, (Span. Gip.); chukê, jukêl, (f.) chuklî, rikonô, rukonô, (Tch.); boyjî (As. Tch.); zhukel, zhukôl, (dim.) zhuklorô, zhukl'orô, cenko, (M.); jukel, (M. 7); rukono, (M. 8)
DOGWOOD,—Jukkaelsti kosht, (Eng.)
DONKEY.—Mailla, (Eng.)
DOOR,—Wuddur, (Eng.); burda, (Span. Gip.); dar, dal, vudâr, (Tch. Psp. M.); udâr, vudâr, pôrta, poarta, (dim.) portica, (M.)
DOOR, of or belonging to,—Vudriâkoro, (Tch.)
DOORKEEPER,—Wudder-mescro, (Eng.)
DOORKNOCKER,—Khartalâmi, (Tch.)
DOVE,—Holub, (M.); tovade, (M. 8)
DOWN.—Aley, (Eng.); telê, felê, (Psp. M.)
DOUGH,—Astrâki, khomér, (Tch.); k̦humâr, k̦homêr, (M., M. 7.

DRAGON,—Balaûru, balâuru, balaûrĕ, (M.)
DRAW, to,—Tardâva, tardrâva, (Eng.); chivâva, chidâva, (Tch.); tradâva, cĕrdâva, kĕrĕsarâva, pheravâva, (M.); cidâva, (M. 7)
DRAWERS (for wearing),—Sostê, (M.)
DRAWN, to be,—Chidîniovâva, (Tch.)
DRAWER,—Shufl'âda, (M.)
DREAM,—Sunnô, (Tch., Psp. M.); sônu, sonû, (M.)
DRESS,—Rivipen, (Eng.); goneles, (Span. Gip.)
DRESS, to,—Uryâva, oryâva, (Tch.); uryavâva, (Psp. M.); (to adorn) pucuiâva, pucuisarâva; (to clothe) uryavâva, (M.)
DRESSED,—Riddo, (Eng.); vriardao, (Span. Gip.)
DRIED, to be,—Shûkiovâva, (Tch.)
DRINK, to,—Peâva, (Eng.); piâva, (Tch. Psp. M., M., M. 8)
DRINK, to give to,—Piavâva, (Tch.)
DRINKING VESSEL,—Bâli, pal, pel, (Tch.)
DRIVE to,—Kĕrâva, (M.)
DRIVE AWAY, to.—Lipsisarâva, (M.)
DROP, to,—Chulavâva, (M. 7)
DROP,—Gûta, (M.)
DROVER.—Govedâr, (Tch.)
DROWN, to,—Tasavâva, (M.)
DROWNED, to be,—Tasyovâva, (M.)
DRUM.—Dōba, (M.)
DRUNK, (intoxicated),—Pios, matto, (Eng.); mattô, mattô mâmini, matto gargûshi, mattô korô, matticanô, (Tch.); zerakhôshi, (As. Tch.); mattò, (Psp. M.); matô, mat'ârno, (M.); mato, (M. 8)
DRUNK, to make,—Mattiarâva, (Tch.); mat'arâva, (M.)
DRUNK, to become,—Mattiovâva, (Tch.); mâttiovâva, (Psp. M.); mat'ovâva, (M.)
DRUNKARD,—Pea-mengro, piya-mengro, matto-mengro, (Eng.)
DRUNKENNESS,—Mattipen, (Eng.); mattipê, mattioibê, (Tch.)
DRY,—Trusno, (Eng.); shukô, (Tch., Psp. M., M., M. 8); shukêî, (As. Tch.)
DRY, to (trans.),—Shukiarâva, shukerâva, (Tch., Psp. M.); shut'arâva, (M.)
DRY, to become,—Shûkiovâva, (Tch., Psp. M.); shut'ovâva, (M.)
DRYNESS,—Shukibê, (Tch.)
DUCATS,—Polia, (Tch.); gâlbĕnu, (M.); poli, (M. 8)
DUCK,—Racheta, retza, (pl.) pappins, pappior, patnies, (Eng.); râca, (M., M. 8)
DULL.—Delivanô, dilivanô, d'ilivanô, (M.)
DUMB,—Lalôri, lavôri, lalôro, lalarô harolô, (Tch.); laloro, (M. 8)
DUMB, to become.—Lalôriovâva, (Tch.)
DUNG,—Ful, (Eng.); konôi, bunîsta, gonôi, goshô, goshnô, (Tch.); sipindî, (As. Tch.); goshnô, (Psp. M.); gun'oy (M.);

DUNG OF BIRDS,—Chichinî, (Tch.)
DUNG, to,—Chichinîa kerâva, (Tch.)
DUST,—Prakhos, (M. 8)
DUSTER,—Kîrpa, ekîrpa, (Tch.)
DWARFISH,—khurdô, (Psp. M.)
DWELL, to,—Lodâva, (Tch., M. 8); beshâva, (M.)

E

EACH,—Kâde, (Tch.); fiesavô, (M.); sako, (M. 8)
EAGLE,—Pazhûrĕ, (M.)
EAR,—Kaun, kan, (pl.) kenyor, (Eng.); kann, (Tch.); kan, khan, (M.); kan, (M. 7)
EARLIER,—Anglalunô, anglunô, angledunô, anglelutnô, (Tch.); anglâl, dintunô, înt'e, may înt'e, (M.)
EARLY,—Sorlo, (Eng.); râno, (Tch., Psp. M., M. 8); sĕgo, sĕgu, sĕgû, sêgĕ, (M.)
EAR-RING,—Cherchêlu, (M.); cheni, (M. 7)
EARTH,—Pôv, puvvo, chik, (Eng.); phuv, pfuv, puv, pu. poshîk, (Tch.); puv, phuv, pfuv, (Psp. M.); phu, (M.); phuv, posh, (M. 8)
EARTHY,—Puviâkoro, poshikâkoro, (Tch.)
EASTER,—Patranghî, patrankî, patraghî, (Tch.); patrangi, (M. 8)
EASY,—Ushôru, (M.)
EAT, to,—Hâva, hawâva, halâva, (Eng.); khâva, (Tch., Psp. M.); khâva, (M., M. 7)
EGG,—Yoro, (Eng.); vandô, (Tch); ani, (As. Tch.); anu, (Tch. Tokat); vanrô, (Psp. M.); anrô, (M.); vando, (M. 8)
EGG-PLANT,—Baljan, bajan, (As. Tch.)
EIGHT,—Ohtô, (Tch., Psp. M.); okhto, (Tch., M. 8)
EIGHTEEN,—Deshko, (Eng.); desh-i-ohtô, (Psp. M.)
EIGHTY,—Ogdônta (Tch.); ohtôvarderi, (Psp. M.)
ELBOW,—Kunî, kunîk, (Tch); kuy, (M.); kuni, (M. 8)
ELEVEN,—Desh ta yeck, (Eng); desh-u-yek, (Tch.); desh-i-yek, (Psp. M.)
EMACIATED,—Bi-masêskoro, (Tch.); shuko, (Psp. M.)
EMBARRASSMENT,—Tasâs, (Tch.)
EMBITTER, to,—Musarâva, (M.)
EMBROIDER, to,—Suvâva, (M.)
EMBROIDERING FRAME, an,—Derdêfu. (M.)
EMPEROR,—Ĕmparâto, ĕmparâtu, (M., M. 8)
EMPRESS,—Ĕmparatyâsa, (M.)
EMPTINESS,—Pustîye, (M.)
EMPTY,—Chuchô, (Tch. M. 8); pustîyu, (M.)
EMPTY, to,—Chucharâva, (Tch.)
EMPTY, to become,—Chuchiovâva, (Tch.)
ENCLOSURE,—Bâri, pâri, (Tch.)
END, to,—Fĕrshoâva, (M.)
ENDURE, to,—Rĕbdiâva, rĕbdisarâva, (M.)
ENEMY,—Dushman, (M. 7)
ENOUGH,—Dusta, dosta, (Eng.); destul, destûl', dôsta, (M.); dosta, (M. 7)
ENRAGED,—Kholinâkoro, koliniâkoro, (Tch.)
ENRAGED, to become,—Kizdizâva, (Tch.)
ENRICH ONESELF, to,—Baravâliovâva, (Tch.)
ENTER, to,—Shuvâva, (M.)
ENTIRELY,—Dintrêg, pe dintrêg, (M.)
ENTRAILS,—Vênor, vennor, (Eng.); bukô, (Tch., M. 7)
EQUAL,—Simen, (Eng.)
ERASER, (sub.)—Mashâ, (Tch.)
ESCAPE, to,—Shabâva, (Eng.); nashâva, skĕpisarâva, skĕpisard'ovâva, (M.)
ETERNALLY,—Sikovar, (Eng.); sekovar, (Hun. Gip.)
EVENING,—Tasarla, sarla, (Eng); biavelî, (Tch., M. 7)
EVER, for,—Vechi, (M.)
EVER MORE,—Sikovar, ever-komi, (Eng.); sekovar, (Hun. Gip.)
EVERY,—Sore, soro, (Eng.); sekom, (M.)
EVIL,—Dosch, dosh, wafodu, wafudo, vassavo, vassavy, (Eng.); zhunganimôs, (M.)
EXACTLY,—Huey, (As. Tch.)
EXCHANGE, to,—Parâva, parrâva, porrâva, (Eng.); paruvâva, (Tch., M. 8)
EXCOMMUNICATED,—Afurisimî, (M.)
EXCOMMUNICATION,—Kalipê, (Psp. M.)
EXCREMENT,—Ful kful, kul, khendô, (Tch.); gus, (As. Tch.); khin, khul, (M. 7); see DIRT.
EXERCISE, to (a horse)—Kĕlâva, (M.)
EXIST, to,—Jibâva, (Eng.)
EXPENSIVE,—Kuch, (M.)
EXPERT,—Yokki, (Eng.)
EXPIRE, to,—Oghì, dâva, (Tch.)
EXTEND, to,—Bughliarâva, (Tch.)
EXTENDED, to be,—Bûghliovava, (Tch.)
EXTINGUISH, to,—Murdarâva, (Tch); mudarâva, (M.)
EXTINGUISHED,—Murdâl, (Tch, M. 8)
EXTINGUISHED, to be,—Mudard'ovâva, (M.)
EXTINGUISHER,—Vrehtûla, (Psp M.)
EYE,—Yak, (pl.) yakor, (Eng.); yak, (Tch, Psp. M); aki, (As. Tch.); yak, (M.); yakh, (M. 7)
EYEBROW,—Pov, (Tch., Psp. M.); gh'ash, (As. Tch); sprinchêne, (M.)
EYEGLASS,—Okyânu, (M)
EYELASH,—Chamchâli, (Tch.); zhêne, (M.)

F

FACE,—Chikât, mûi, (Tch.); muy, (M.)
FAGGOT,—Trushni, (Eng.)
FAIR, (sub.)—Weggaulus, welgorus, welgaulus, (Eng.); (yearly) yarmarôk, (M.)
FAIRY-TALE,—Paramisi, (M. 8)
FAITH,—Pakiibê, pakiabê, pakoibê, (Tch.)
FAITHFUL,—Pakianô, (Tch.)
FALCON,—Fìraghos, (Tch.)

FALL, to,—Perâva, (Eng.); perâva, (Tch., Psp. M., M. 8); petrar, (Span. Gip.); khut'âva, perâva, skĕzâva, (M.)
FALL, cause to,—Peravâva, (Tch.)
FALL, to let,—Mekâva, (M.)
FALL DOWN, to,—Perâva tuley. (Eng.)
FALSE,—Malleko, bango, fashono, (Eng.)
FALSEHOOD,—Hokkano, (Eng.); khokhamnibê, (Tch.); elki, (As. Tch.)
FAMISHED,—Bokalô, (Tch.)
FAMISHED, to become,—Bokâliovava, khabezânâva, (Tch.)
FAMOUS,—Shundô, sundô, (Tch.)
FAR,—Dur, durro, (Eng.); dur, (M., M. 7); buglo, (M. 7)
FAR, from,—Durâl, (M.)
FARM,—Giv-engro puv, (Eng.)
FARMER,—Giv-engro, (Eng.)
FARMHOUSE,—Giv-engro-ker, (Eng.)
FARMYARD,—Pusên, (Tch.)
FARRIER.—Nalchâskoro, (Tch.)
FARTHING,—Lolli, (Eng.)
FASHIONED,—Fashono, (Eng.)
FASTENING,—Fortâcie, (M.)
FAT, (adj.)—Tulo, (Eng.); tulô, (Tch.); parvardô, (Psp. M.); thulô, tulô, (M.)
FAT, (sub.)—Tulipen, (Eng.); kil, (Tch.); khil, chiken, (M. 7)
FAT, to be,—Kilâvghiovâva, (Tch.)
FAT, to become,—Tûliovâva, (Tch.); kilaliovâva, (Tch.)
FATHER,—dad, dado, (Eng.); dat, dad, (dim.) dadorô, (Tch.); dât, (Psp. M.); dad, dado, (Rus. Gip.); babò, (As. Tch.); dad, tâtĕ, (M.); dad, (M. 7)
FATHER-IN-LAW,—Mamicholô, sashtrô, sasrô (Tch.); shastrô. sastrô, (Psp. M.); sâstro, (M.); khanamik, (M. 7); sashtro, (M. 8)
FATIGUE,—Kinioibê, (Tch.)
FATIGUED,—Khinô, (Tch.)
FATIGUED, to become,—Khîniovâva, chîndovâva, (Tch.)
FATTEN, to,—Kilâvâva, (Tch.)
FEAR,—Dar, (Tch., Psp. M., M., M. 7)
FEAR, to,—Darâva, trashâva, (Tch.); bihêmi, (Ist pers. sing.), (As. Tch.); darâva, (Psp. M., M.); ĕngroziâva, (M.); trashâva, (M. 8)
FEAST, a,—Akhênghi, (Tch.)

MISCELLANEA.

A NOTE ON THE KASMIRI PORTABLE BRAZIER

In his paper on the Kaśmîrî portable brazier, the Rev. Mr. Knowles says[1] that "it has been suggested that the Kaśmîrîs learnt the use of the *kângar* from the Italians in the retinue of the Mughal Emperors, who frequently visited the valley during the summer months A.D. 1587-1753." The subjoined stanza from Mankha's *Śrîkaṇṭhacharita*[2] (iii. 29) seems to prove that braziers were in general use as early as the twelfth century:—

हिमागमे यत्र गृहेषु योषितां
ज्वलद्बहुच्छिद्रसखी हसन्तिका ।
विभाति जेतुं मदनेन शूलिनं
धृता ततिर्वह्निमयीव चक्षुषाम् ॥

"There (*viz.* in Pravarapura or Śrinagar) at the approach of winter, the brazier (*hasantikâ*), which possesses many blazing holes, is flashing in the *zenânas* like a row of eyes of fire, which Love has adopted in order to conquer Śiva (*who had burnt up Love by his only eye of fire*)."

According to the St. Petersburg Dictionary, the word *hasantikâ* occurs also in Kalhaṇa's *Râjataraṅgiṇî* (iii. 171), where the sleeping-room of Vikramâditya of Ujjayinî is called *lasad-dîpta-hasantika* or "shining with the blazing brazier."

E. HULTZSCH.

Vienna, 16*th November* 1885.

PRATAP CHANDRA RAI'S MAHABHARATA.

We are glad to observe that H. H. the Râjâ of Farîdkôt has granted Rs. 500 towards Bâbû Pratâp Chandra Râi's excellent and colossal undertaking, the translation of the *Mahâbhârata*. We trust that this by no means isolated instance of H. H.'s munificence towards Indian literature will lead others of his rank to similarly aid this very important publication.

BOOK NOTICES.

INDIAN ARCHITECTURE OF TO-DAY, by F. S. GROWSE, C.I.E., B.C.S., Allahabad: N. W. P. and Oudh. Government Press.

This is an instalment of a work extending the author's monograph entitled *Bulandshahr, or Sketches of an Indian District*, already noticed in this *Journal*, Vol. XIV. p. 208, and inculcates the same lessons with the same freedom of speech. Many of the plates have already appeared in the

[1] *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 266.

[2] This work was discovered by Professor Bühler; see his *Kaśmîr Report*, p. 50. A birchbark MS. of the text and of Jônarâja's commentary, which I bought in Kaśmîr, bears the date (Saptarshi)-Saṁvat 24 and Śrî-Śâkaḥ 1570, *i.e.* A.D. 1648.

former monograph and in the *Journal of Indian Art*.

The book is another proof of the heartiness with which the author has entered into the very laudable object of improving architecturally the towns and districts he may be sent to administer, and (may we say it?) with which he also enters into official disputes. His success in the former is beyond doubt and has led, as we have previously observed, to really useful results in inducing the Governments of India to study something besides economy of construction in their public buildings. If Mr. Growse in the end succeeds in making the Indian official mind see that men, being human, love what they think to be beautiful, and that this love of the beautiful is worth consideration, as well as R. A. P., he will be well repaid for all his disappointments and those heart-burnings, which he makes no attempt to conceal. We think we are safe in holding that there are abundant signs abroad of his eventual success in this object.

THE BOOK OF THE THOUSAND NIGHTS AND A NIGHT, by RICHARD F. BURTON, Vols. I to V. Kamashastra Society, for private subscribers only.

In making his work follow so quickly upon Mr. John Payne's *Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night* (Villon Society, for private subscribers only) Captain Burton has deliberately placed his labours before the public in the face of a powerful rival, but we do not think that he has for this reason anything to fear. It is no flattery to say that where the language, literature and social structure of the Arabs is concerned Captain Burton's attainments stand unrivalled; his opportunities, as he has used them, have been greater than those of any other living writer, and his command of English has been proved in other labours and on other subjects to be unusually extensive. He therefore undertakes the stupendous task—for it is nothing else—of a proper rendering of the *Arabian Nights* into English, with an equipment for the work that need fear no rivalry—not even that of Mr Payne.

The former work was confessedly a book of pure literature, and the notes were consequently of the most meagre description, the author trusting to his dissertation published in the ninth and last volume to explain the history and nature of this wonderful work of imagination. Captain Burton aims at much more—he not only undertakes to render the text adequately, but to explain every allusion to history, literature, custom and belief. His notes are admirable, and come with a force and authority on the matters treated of that is, as we have above stated unrivalled, and—with all due deference to Mr. Payne's reasons for making his work a purely literary one—throw the older book completely into the background. Explanatory notes to a book of this kind are in fact so imperatively necessary that it is difficult to see why any considerations should be allowed to outweigh the arguments in their favour.

There are many difficulties in the way of a proper presentation of the *Arabian Nights* in an English garb. It must be a "plain and literal translation," and it must give the spirit, the manner and the matter of the original. These done in the case of a master-piece of language like the *Kitâb Alf Laila wa Laila* are matters of no small difficulty: and when again it is remembered that the translation is to be made from a book created by writers whose method of expression is utterly foreign to that of Englishmen, and filled with references of all sorts to matters unknown to English instincts, the difficulties become almost insuperable. To say, therefore, that a translation made under these circumstances is successful is in itself high praise. It seems to us that it cannot but be admitted that Mr. Payne's rendering is, viewed thus, a success: we think that Captain Burton's rendering is a still greater success, without reference to his invaluable notes. As 'un-English' features of the original may be mentioned the rhymed prose so dear to the Oriental and so abominable to the English ear, and the monorhymes of the verses, —which last are especially difficult to deal with. Another source of trouble is what Captain Burton calls the *turpiloquium* of the Arabs—that calling a spade a spade—which has obliged him in putting his "plain" rendering before the English public to clearly explain that it is not *virginibus puerisque*, and to assert in unmistakable terms that nothing could be more repugnant to his feelings than the idea of his pages being placed in any other hands than the class *viz.* men and students, for whose special use they have been prepared. The plain speaking, indeed, of the *Arabian Nights* is to the modern English people simply insufferable, but it is so characteristic of all Oriental social life, that if the book is to be placed before its readers in any but a false light the grossness of expression must be literally given.

We here give a specimen—wonderfully characteristic of Arabic rhymed prose—which will give an idea of Captain Burton's method and also to some extent of his one defect *viz.*, his love of rare and consequently little understood words and allusions—which has led a reviewer of another work to say that it had been not "Englished" but "Burtoned" by the translator.

"Thereupon sat a lady bright of blee, with brow beaming brilliancy, the dream of philosophy, whose eyes were fraught with Babel's gramarye, and her eyebrows were arched as for archery; her breath breathed ambergris and perfumery, and her lips were sugar to taste and carnelian to see. Her stature was straight as the letter *alif* and her face shamed the noon-sun's radiancy and she was even as a galaxy or a dome with golden marquetry, or a bride displayed in choicest finery, or a noble maid of Araby."

In the above, "blee" and "gramarye" may be held to be due to the exigencies of *saj'a*, but we have "pinacothek of the brain," a "Pantagruelist of the Wilderness," "Mabinogionic archaism," and so on in the preface, or foreword as Captain Burton prefers to call it. We would here mention that the "Babel" the "letter *alif*," and the confusion of metaphor in the above quotation are all duly explained in footnotes.

We will now give a specimen of a versified rendering, taken at random from the second volume, p. 143, which will exhibit the author's success in reproducing the manner and rhythm of the Arabic, and also afford us an opportunity of making a comparison with Mr. Payne's efforts in the same direction. Mr Payne's verses are to be found in Vol. II. p. 67 of his work.

CAPTAIN BURTON.

Time hath for his wont to upraise and debase* Nor is lasting condition for human race:
In this world each thing hath appointed turn* Nor may man transgress his determined place:
How long these perils and woes? Ah woe* For a life all woeful in parlous case!
Allah bless not the days which have laid me low* I' the world, with disgrace after so much grace!
My wish is baffled, my hopes cast down,* And distance forbids me to greet his face:
O thou who passeth that dear one's door,* Say for me, these tears shall flow evermore!

MR. PAYNE.

The tides of fate 'twixt good and ill shift ever to and fro, And no estate of life for men endureth evermo'.
All things that to the world belong have each their destined end, And to all men a turn is set, which none may overgo.
How long must I oppression bear and peril and distress? Ah, how I loathe this life of mine that nought but these can show!
May God not prosper them, these days, wherein I am oppressed. Of Fate, these cruel days that add abjection to my woe!
My purposes are brought to nought, my loves are reft in twain By exile's rigour, and my hopes are one and all laid low.
O ye, who pass the dwelling by, wherein my dear ones are, Bear them the news of me and say, my tears for ever flow.

The eternal subject of transliteration has forced itself to the front, as usual, both in Capt. Burton's and Mr Payne's prefaces. The latter has determined to avoid all accents or other tricks of typography in his pages as being repugnant to the taste of readers of works of imagination. This has led him—as it always does—into great messes, *e.g. roc, khalif, cadi* and other impossibilities in Arabic orthography and pronunciation. His proper names too are often positively atrocious, *e.g.* Agib-ben-Khesib, Noureddin, Bedreddin, *et hoc genus omne*. The former has avoided this pitfall by a judicious use of accents and apostrophes, and has produced, in consequence, a truer representation of the Arabic words and names. In the presence of so great a scholar as Captain Burton one must always speak even of his vagaries with respect, but we should like to know why when he writes *kalandar, rukh, Ja'afar, jinn, Nu'umán, astaghfaru'llah*, and so on, he should also write Núr al-dín, Badr al-dín, Shaykh, Laylah, Hosayn, Al-Zayni Ibn al-Saddí, Al-Safdí, and such like.

DICTIONARY OF KASMIRI PROVERBS AND SAYINGS by the Rev. J. HINTON KNOWLES, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., etc. Bombay Education Society's Press. London Trübner & Co.

This collection of some 1,500 proverbs and sayings of the Kâśmîrîs is admirable of its kind, and paves the way, let us hope, for many a really useful work in the future on that little known land and its people. Visitors to it are to be counted by the thousand, but accurate and practicable information regarding it is very difficult to procure, as any one who has been in want of such is painfully aware.

The book has been constructed on the lines of Dr. Fallon's *Dictionary of Hindûstânî Proverbs*, now three parts published, and aims at giving the original a readable rendering, and where necessary a full explanation. Proverbs in Kaśmîr, as elsewhere, frequently allude to household folktales and these are given at length in every case, forming a most valuable feature of the work. The defect of the book, besides its too frequently shaky English, is that many of the allusions to legends and so on, which are in fact common to all India, are treated as if peculiar to Kasmîr, no hint being given of their real origin, or presence, in Sanskrit or Prâkrit literature; but this is not a very serious matter, and can be readily remedied

in the second edition, which we hope to see some day, for the work is well worthy of one.

The book throughout shows that care and attention to details which is in itself a proof that the general accuracy of the author may be taken on trust. It is accompanied by a preface of a novel and refreshingly *naive* description.

BIHAR PEASANT LIFE, by G. A. GRIERSON, B.C.S. London: Trübner & Co.

The best answer which the many honest and laborious European servants, that the Government of India may well be proud of possessing, can give to the arguments of those who would represent them from interested or political motives as being ignorant of the natives of India, lies in such books as this. It is not a solitary example, but merely one out of very many, the solidity, the accuracy, the thoroughness of which is more than an honour to the Indian Civil Service. As long as the gentlemen that compose it can number among them those capable of producing volumes like *Bihâr Peasant Life,* they need never fear any quantity of misrepresentation and attacks such as Messrs. Blount, Seymour Keay, Digby, and others have lately thought proper to make in England.

The work before us is a large octavo book of 464 and clv. pp., the last part dealing with the index only (!), and is full of the most carefully compiled information of every kind regarding the peasant life of Bihâr; and yet Mr Grierson modestly puts it forward "as a Catalogue of the names used by the Bihâr peasant for the things surrounding him in his daily life," and hopes "it may serve as a solid foundation for more elaborate disquisition on the Bihâr *raiyat* and his surroundings." If any superstructure is ever raised on such a foundation as this, we for our part can only hope that it will be worthy of it. In his preface Mr. Grierson explains the care taken to render its pages accurate, but this is sufficiently visible from a perusal of the work itself: every page contains the vernacular name for everything mentioned in Nâgarî and Roman characters, while the extended index is in itself a practically complete vocabulary of Bihârî husbandry in all its aspects.

Care and thought is visible in the very arrangement of the book. It is divided into Divisions, Sub-divisions and Chapters. The Divisions are:—(1) The Implements and Appliances used in Agriculture and Rural Manufactures;—(2) Domestic Appliances and Utensils;—(3) Soils;—(4) General Agricultural Operations;—(5) Agricultural products and their Enemies;—(6) Agricultural Times and Seasons;—(7) Cattle and other Domestic Animals;—(8) Labour, Advances, Wages and Perquisites;—(9) Land tenures;—(10) The Native House;—(11) Food;—(12) Ceremonies and Superstitions of Rural Life;—(13) Trade, Money. Dealings and Accounts;—and (14) Weights and Measures. The above list exhibits the comprehensiveness of the volume and the following specimen of Subdivisions and Chapters will show its thoroughness,—Division I. Implements and Appliances used in Agriculture and Rural Manufactures. Sub-division VI.:—Appliances used in the conveyance of goods and passengers. Chapter (i) the country cart, (ii) the large complete country cart. (iii) the little country cart, (iv) the bullock carriage. (v) the pony carriage. (vi) the country boat, (vii) the litter. The actual treatment of each subject is, of course, very much as Mr. Grierson himself says of it, that of a "discursive catalogue." For instance, the chapter on litters consists of nine numbered paragraphs describing and naming the ordinary kinds of litters, the pole common to all, the parts of the litter itself, its feet, its frame-work, its curtains, special kinds of litters, and their special constructive parts. The whole chapter gives a complete groundwork on which to base a sound description of the Indian litter in all its varieties, and we could hardly direct a literary visitor to India, in search of "local colour" for his inevitable book of travels, to a better source for the true article. The more serious purpose of the book before us is, however, to supply the Indian Official and Student with trustworthy information of a kind so important to him. and this purpose it admirably fulfils.

The illustrations are numerous and very welcome. In matters unfamiliar and special, an ounce of seeing is worth a pound of description any day: a fact long since recognized in the modern dictionaries. The illustrations are lithographs or woodcuts from photographs, and are the production, as we now see them, of the Calcutta School of Art. The author considers them excellent reproductions of the photographs,—an opinion we cannot endorse.—and lays what fault there is in them on the originals, many of which were taken under great difficulties. The fact is, however, that, as lithographs and cuts, the illustrations are often indistinct and blotchy, and their defects are all the more to be deplored as nowadays the art of photolithography and photogravure have been brought to such perfection in Europe and the results from them are so accurate and pleasing.

On the whole we are enabled to heartily congratulate Mr. Grierson on his work, and the Bengal Government on finding an officer willing to undertake so great a task and able to accomplish it with such success.

DISCURSIVE CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ASIATIC SYMBOLISM.

BY H. G. M. MURRAY-AYNSLEY.

Introduction.

AN almost new world of interest is opened out to us if we endeavour to enter into the lives of former races who have peopled the earth, and to study what is left to us in their monuments; and it is still more interesting and instructive to trace the origin of the symbols and customs which still survive in Europe, and try to guess from them (perhaps with tolerable certainty) whence came the Modern European civilization, to mark its gradual progress and development, and to note the changes which time and altered conditions have produced in religion, customs, arts, and architecture.

I have to some extent brought together in the following papers the results of laborious researches made by various students, but I hope also that some of the ideas and features of my work will be found to be new ones. The chief object of these papers is simply to make a collection of facts bearing upon the subject of customs and symbols. I propose also to give some drawings illustrative of the different symbols, with the idea of assisting others (who may not be able to wander so far as I have done) to prosecute further researches into the most interesting, but to a great extent unsolved, problem of the origin of certain peoples and races in Europe and elsewhere.

The several points on which I intend to touch are:—(1) Sun and Cup (or Moon) symbols. (2) Sun-worship. (3) The *Svastika*, or emblem of Fire. (4) Stones worshipped in India, and their counterparts in Scandinavia and other parts of Europe. (5) The Land of Departed Souls. (6) The Trees which have been held sacred in the East and in Europe. (7) Snake-worship. (8) Amulets and Charms. (9) The Evil Eye. (10) The Wild Huntsman of Northern Europe and his possible Asiatic origin. (11) Eastern Architecture compared with certain old churches and houses in Norway. (12) Asiatic Symbolism in Spain.

If we find the same customs, arts, and practices existing amongst peoples living on widely separated continents, we may reasonably conclude, either that such customs or practices had a common origin, or that (if they are such as would naturally suggest themselves to primitive races) they belong to distinct stocks of aboriginal peoples. The arts and customs of the so-called Stone Age in Scandinavia, of the natives of New Zealand, and of certain parts of Africa, would come under this latter category; for their development in arts and manufactures never enabled them to do more than supply the absolute needs of their existence: but, as regards the more civilized races of Central Asia and Europe, it seems very possible that their manners and customs have proceeded from a common source.

The date of the commencement of the Stone Age is of course conjectural, and has been put at from 3,000 to 5,000 years ago. The race which lived in it is, I think, now represented in Europe by the Finns, the Lapps, and the Eskimos, because implements have been in use almost down to our own times in the countries inhabited by the two latter peoples very similar in form to those which have been discovered in graves and bogs in Scandinavia, and classed as belonging to the Stone Age. The peoples who used stone implements and were ignorant of the use of metals in the North of Europe, were of what are styled the non-Aryan races; they were probably also stone-worshippers. But the so-called Śaiva-stones of India are held in reverence by non-Aryan peoples to this day, and when they find them to hand, they use the celts of their pre-historic forefathers for the same purpose. It seems to me, therefore, highly probable that aboriginal races existed contemporaneously both in Asia and in Europe, for it is hardly credible that, with such appliances as the peoples of the Stone Age possessed, they could have wandered from one continent to the other and (supposing them to have come from the same stock as the Śaiva worshippers of Asia) have made their way to Scandinavia through Siberia and Russia, cutting a path through the dense forests which are supposed to have then existed in those regions. Non-Aryan stone-worship is probably nearly as old as the Aryan worship of the Sun and the Planets and Fire.

To this day, both in Asia and in Europe, the non-Aryan races are those which have attained to, and seem capable of, only the lowest type of civilization; and they can never be confounded with the Aryan races, whose appearance and type of features differ essentially from theirs. They have kept themselves apart from the Aryans and appear to possess a much smaller share of self-respect and natural intelligence. Judging from the remains of pre-historic art in the Museums in Denmark, Norway and Sweden, it seems that two great waves of Aryan peoples, and conquerors of non-Aryans, made their way into Scandinavia from Central Asia at different and widely separated intervals:—the advent of the first of these, the workers in bronze, has been put at 1000 B.C. They are believed to have belonged to what we now style the Keltic race. I presume them to have come from the highlands of Central Asia by a northern route, passing through Siberia and Russia; for in the latter country ornaments have been found similar in character to those which have been discovered in graves in Scandinavia and there classed as belonging to the Bronze Age. Scandinavia, I imagine, they found on their arrival already occupied by the non-Aryans of the Stone Age, who retired or disappeared before them. In like manner the workers in bronze were, I think, displaced in Scandinavia by a second Aryan race who introduced weapons of iron, the country naturally remaining in the possession of the strongest,—in the hands of those who were provided with the best weapons, and had attained the highest degree of civilization.

The people of the Bronze Age were acquainted with gold; and some of their goldsmiths' work, both in design and in execution, far surpasses anything we now produce.[1] Gold was largely used by them in the manufacture of articles for personal adornment, for cups for sacrificial or funeral purposes, and also for barter,—coils of gold about the thickness of an ordinary cedar pencil have been found in Scandinavia, and from their appearance it has been conjectured that they were carried on the person, and a small piece cut off as required. Silver does not appear there till the Iron Age, when it was used for bracelets, brooches, chains, etc.

We must not fall into the error of imagining that these three periods of stone, bronze and iron, were contemporaneous in the various countries of Europe. Thus, Scandinavia did not receive Christianity till the eleventh century, and it may also have been far behindhand in emerging from its primitive customs. The Bronze and the Iron Ages, again, would appear to have overlapped each other in Scandinavia, for implements and weapons of both bronze and iron have been found together in those Northern lands. It is my impression from what I saw in the Museums, that bronze articles or fragments have never been found there in connection with stone celts; whereas in some of the dolmens, or tombs of the pre-historic people who inhabited Brittany, stone implements and pieces of bronze have been found side by side, and pieces of the same metal have also been discovered amongst the deposits of human ashes, which have not unfrequently been laid bare on excavating round the bases of the *menhirs*, or huge unhewn slabs of stone, which the aboriginal inhabitants of that province placed upright in great numbers.[2] In Brittany, too, the Iron Age was quite distinct from the Bronze Age. The people of the Iron Age in Sweden and Norway are best known to us under the name of the Goths. They are thought to have appeared in those countries about the year 100 A.D., and may have been a portion of a second wave of immigration from Eastern lands. They belong to the last stages of pre-historic times.

At this distance of time and from what I have above said, it would at first sight appear impossible that the non-Aryan peoples of Northern Europe should have any resemblance in type or features to non-Aryans in Asia. But I can quote from personal experience one instance at least, in which this is the case, *viz.* the Eskimos and the people of Spiti; and what renders it possible, in spite of the improbabilities of the case, that the resemblance is not an accidental one, is, that the Eskimos and the inhabitants of the Spiti Valley, which is in

[1] [It would be desirable to have this statement proved by illustrations.—ED.]

[2] A bronze bracelet was found some years ago in Guernsey on excavating the dolmen called Dehus. It is the opinion of some archæologists that in this case, as also in Brittany, there had been a second and later interment in the same grave—the first during the Stone Age and the second in the Keltic, or Bronze Age.

the Himâlayas, have both of them remained almost, if not absolutely, pure races, owing to their natural surroundings having isolated them from the rest of the world. The Spiti Valley is about 150 miles in length, connecting the extreme upper part of the Valley of the Satluj with the Lâhaul Valley. At one end of it is the Hangrang Pass, over 14,000 feet above sea level, and at the other is the Bârâ Lâchâ, which must be crossed in order to enter Lâhaul, and is 16,000 feet in height; therefore during many months in the year, no one can enter or leave Spiti. As might be expected, its inhabitants are a rude hardy race of mountaineers; their language is a dialect of Tibetan and their religion is Buddhism. In the autumn of 1881, I and a companion spent about four weeks in this valley, during which I had ample opportunities of observing the people, for occasionally upwards of fifty natives of both sexes accompanied us on our marches as coolies, and our arrival in a village was a signal for the whole population to turn out,—a European face being as rare a sight as a white crow. The women of Spiti are almost without exception very short in stature, but they are broad in proportion to their height and very muscular, as was evidenced by their carrying heavy loads up the mountains, and singing in chorus the whole time. Though they are not as dark in complexion as the natives of India, they have faces of a sallowish tint tending to olive, dark hair, remarkably high cheek bones, small and slightly oblique eyes. The general contour of the face is extremely irregular; the forehead broad, but flat. Their headgear is a sort of pork-pie hat made of a dark cloth; their dress is a coat of dark blue or brown cloth, reaching down below the knees, and confined at the waist with a rope or sash. On their feet they wear high boots, or leggings, made of a woollen material, the foot being protected by leather or partially dressed skins. Now, when visiting the Ethnological Museum in Copenhagen in 1883, I was much struck by seeing in a glass-case a life-sized statue in wood or plaster, which professed to represent the first Eskimo woman ever brought to Denmark, about sixty years ago. From the position of their country and its climatic conditions the Eskimos are an equally isolated race as the people of the Spiti Valley, and strange to say, this statue bears a wonderful likeness in every respect to the type of the women from the remote and rarely visited Asiatic Valley which I have been describing. When I saw the figure I could not help exclaiming, "That is a woman from Spiti, but she is dressed in skins instead of having cloth garments." Supposing, too, any of the natives of Spiti to have wandered thus far, Greenland would be a climate which would suit them; for I well remember how on leaving Spiti, when we got down to Darchâ in the Lâhaul Valley, our whole staff of coolies (whom we had hoped to take with us a couple of marches more) bolted away to their own country at 3 A. M., saying,—though we were at an altitude of 12,500 feet,—that it was so hot, that they could not bear to remain an hour longer!

Whilst we are on the subject of the great similarity in dress and appearance between peoples inhabiting different continents, it may not be out of place to remark that the above is not a solitary example as far as the dress is concerned. The whole attire of the women in the Kullû Valley in the Himâlayas consists of a long woollen scarf or shawl, a portion of which forms the petticoat, and is held in position by a girdle, whilst the remainder is so arranged as to cover the whole bust, leaving the arms free. This garment is fastened on each side of the chest by a brass brooch of the Runic form. It is a curious fact, but surely hardly an accidental circumstance, that in Africa, the women belonging to the nomad desert tribes of the Sahara clothe themselves precisely in the same fashion; except that the one garment of these latter is of calico, and the two brooches, equally of the Runic form, are made of a debased kind of silver. Again, a kind of cloth of the natural brown and white sheep's wool, is occasionally made at the present day in Kaśmîr, which has a geometric pattern woven into it. On being asked for some specimens of it, the natives told me that only a small quantity of it was made, as it was very troublesome to weave. Curious to relate, fragments of woollen material with the same design woven in, have been found in ancient graves in Scandinavia, and are supposed to date from the Bronze Age.[3] An exactly similar material is still woven by the peasants

[3] See Fig. 125 in the *South Kensington Handbook for Scandinavian Arts*, by Dr Hans Hildebrand.

on the File Fjield in Norway for their own use only; the design is the same, but the warp and the woof are red and white instead of being brown and white.

Regarding this difference in colour I would say that it will be found an almost invariable rule, that primitive peoples, as soon as they learn the use of colours, adopt what were till lately considered the three primitive colours, *viz.* red, blue, and yellow,[4] in their dress and ornaments. The people of the Spiti Valley and of Ladâk, know only of red cornelian, coral, turquoise, and amber, as ornamental gems, and the dress of the women in the former country reproduces the three colours of these only; though some of the richer women in Ladâk introduce small squares of green cloth alternately with red ones on the square piece of sheep-skin with which they cover their shoulders both in summer and winter. Again, the same combination of red, blue, and yellow is seen on old Norwegian peasant embroidery, the colours and patterns of which recall that now executed by the peasant women in Albania. These last say that they use no set designs, producing their patterns, it would appear, out of their own inner consciousness. It is singular that the handiwork of these two races should be so much alike, for they can hardly have come into contact with each other for centuries, even supposing that they belonged originally to the same stock, and had the same (Asiatic?) progenitors.

I.

Sun and Cup (or Moon) Symbols.

Sun and Cup (or Moon) Markings and Fire Symbols are so intimately connected with each other, that it is difficult to separate them. I propose to devote the two following papers to Sun Symbols, and to customs connected with solar worship, in which we occasionally find the element of fire represented. The *Svastika*, which is more especially a Fire-emblem, will be treated separately.

There are signs of Sun-worship having prevalence in all parts of the world at all times and among races of widely different origin. The verse called *Gâyatrî*[5] was esteemed by the ancient Hindûs to be the holiest verse in the *Vêdas*. It is addressed to the Sun, and its translation in an abridged form, as given by Prof. H. H. Wilson,[6] runs thus:—"Let us meditate on the sacred light of the Divine Sun, that it may illuminate our minds." In the first or Vedic era of the history of India, Sun-worship occupied no inconsiderable place in the religion of the Hindûs, and an old Marâthî Brâhmaṇ from Pûṇâ once told me that the Śaivas worship the sun daily even now.

The All-covering Varuṇa (Ouranos or god of the Heavenly Regions of the Greeks) was originally among the Persians the god of the clouds, of the celestial sea, and of the heavens above it; and, when this branch of the Aryans reached Southern India, he there became the god of the earthly sea, which they then saw for the first time. The Sun, whilst it was still regarded as a wheel, a store of gold, an eagle, a falcon, a horse, &c. &c., was also styled the eye of Varuṇa.[7] In the north of Asia, Mithra was associated with Varuṇa. Mithra was the god of daylight, and he and Varuṇa were fabled to sit together on a golden throne, and journey at evening in a brazen car: thus, from the Horse-Sun and the Wheel-Sun was naturally developed the Chariot and the Divine Charioteer.

Euripidês gives the Sun a winged car; and on coins from Eleusis, Dêmêtêr is represented riding in such a car drawn by two serpents. The serpent, as we shall see later on, was an element in Sun-worship, and was used in connection with the Mithraic mysteries.

The ancient Mexicans were Sun-worshippers, and when they fought a battle they endeavoured to take all their captives alive to reserve them for solemn sacrifices to the Sun at certain festivals. These people would seem also to

[4] Quite recently, certain scientific men have decided that this is erroneous, they maintain that *red*, *green*, and *violet* are the primary colours.

[5] [The *Gâyatrî* or *Sâvitrî* occurs in the *Rig-Vêda*, iii. 62, 10. The words are:—*tat savitur varêṇyaṁ bhargô dêvasya dhîmahi dhiyô yô naḥ prachôdayât*. There is a variety of rendering. Colebrooke gives (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. V, p. 351) "Earth, sky, heaven Let us meditate on (*these and on*) the most excellent light and power of the generous sportive and resplendent sun (*praying that*) it may guide our intellects." Wilson (*Rig-Vêda*, Vol. III. p. 110) varied the version in the text afterwards to, "We meditate on that desirable light of the divine Savitri (*i. e.* the Sun) who influences our pious rites." Benfey more accurately renders, "May we receive the glorious brightness of this, the generator, of the god who shall prosper our works." Most Sanskritists have moreover tried their hands at it. It was more than probably originally meant as a mere invocation of the Sun.—ED.]

[6] *Vishṇu-Purâṇa*, Vol. II. pp. 250 and 255.

[7] To the Germans and Anglo-Saxons, the Sun was the eye of Woden.

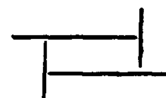
have connected the Serpent with the Sun, for on such occasions the victim's neck was encircled by a collar of wood in the form of a snake. When he was slain, his heart was offered first to the Sun, and afterwards plucked out and cast down before an idol.

The two greatest and most ancient Râjpût races in India were denominated Sûryavaṁśa and Chandravaṁśa, or children of the Sun and Moon, for in Hindustân this latter orb was a male deity. Sir William Jones, in the *Asiatic Researches*, alludes to the universal adoration of the solar orb, and says that the first dynasties of the Peruvian kings were dignified, exactly like those in India, by the name of the Sun and the Moon.

In the present day, at Hindû marriages in Kumâun in the Central Himâlayas, it is customary for the *Purôhit* (family priest), "to worship the fire and read the marital vows, which are repeated by the bride and bridegroom separately, and by which each agrees to live with the other in harmony, making the Fire and the Sun their witnesses."[3]

The Kôls of Sambalpûr in the Central Provinces are Sun-worshippers; so also are the Kurkûs of the Mahâdêô Hills, more than 400 miles to the north-west of that place. The Khônds, an aboriginal race, classed as Drâvidians, combine faith in the Sun and Mother Earth.

From the earliest times, turning to the East in worship has been customary. In India, many temples have been built with the object of causing the rising sun to throw its first rays upon the entrance, and thus illumine the god or the stone which was in the innermost shrine, and at other times in almost total darkness.

In Maisûr, and in the Salem district, are some remarkable kistvaens or tombs, supposed to be those of a pre-historic race. They are, I believe, called round-headed slab-stone monuments. Attention was first drawn to them by Col. Welch in the early part of this century, but they were overlooked and almost forgotten till Lt.-Col. Bramfill, of the Trigonometrical Survey, re-discovered them a few years ago. Each tomb is surrounded by round-headed slabs of gneiss, some of which are as much as 14 feet in height. What may be termed the tomb proper, consists of an ordinary kistvaen made of six slabs of gneiss. One forms the roof, another the flooring, and the other four the sides of the tomb. It invariably faces the East, and the slab on that side always has a hole in it. In most cases the aperture is about 15 inches in diameter, but in some instances it is not more than two inches across. The stones which compose the tomb are arranged thus: 

It seems not impossible that this arrangement may have had some connection with the *Svastika*. The Eastern position given to the door of the Hindû temple, and the Eastern aspect of the entrance to these tombs was possibly in the former case intended to signify that from the sun came light, warmth, and fertility, and in the latter to typify that as the sun rose (was new-born) each day, so the soul received a new birth. All savage and semi-civilized races seem to have an idea that when the body dies there is some kind of future existence for the spirit of man.

Lastly, the modern Christians perpetuate this custom of orientation in the position they give to their Churches, and in turning to the East in Church when they recite the Creed, or general assent to the articles of the Christian faith. In European common life also, when passing the wine, or dealing a pack of cards, it is constantly said, that this should be done "the way of the sun": and some persons deem it most unlucky if through inadvertence the bottle be sent round the other way (or from right to left).

Taking it all in all, it may be broadly laid down that Sun, Moon, and Fire Symbols are more numerous in Europe in northern lands than in southern ones. In the inclement regions of the north, light and warmth would be considered the greatest of blessings. Sun and Cup Symbols first appear in Scandinavia on objects which have been classed as belonging to the Later Stone Age. At this period (as far as is known hitherto) they were of two kinds only, *viz.* the ring cross ⊕ for the Sun, and the cup-shaped hollow ◯ for the Moon: both generally recognised emblems of warmth and fertilizing power. The former

[3] *Pañjâb Notes and Queries*, Vol. II. note 244.

have been found in extraordinary numbers in the so-called bog and grave finds both in Norway and in Denmark. (See Plate I. figs. 1 to 16).

The late Kamer Herr Worsaee, head of the Archæological Department in Denmark, who gave much attention to this subject, came to the conclusion that the single ring cross was the Sun-god himself, and the *Svastika* (the three-armed cross, the *triquetra* or *triskele*) another of the principal gods of the Northern triad; and finally, that the stars ✳ ✳ became emblems of the Sun itself, or of the large heavenly bodies.

Plate I. fig. 17 is a design taken from a vase of coarse pottery in the Museum at Copenhagen belonging to what has been called in Scandinavia the Later Bronze Age. In the centre is a wheel (the chariot-wheel of the Sun ?) and below it is a quaint two-headed mythical animal, which may have been intended to represent the Sun-snake (or lightning ?), which from its zig-zag serpentine form might naturally be likened to a snake, and thus become associated with both fire and solar worship). When I come to speak more particularly of the *Svastika* I shall endeavour to show that one form of the Fire-Symbol is but a degenerate kind of serpent.

On ornaments belonging to the Later Bronze Age, we find the wheel-cross ⊕ considered to be an emblem of the chariot which, according to most ancient beliefs throughout Asia and Europe, the Sun was supposed to drive through the sky. Now, both in Holland and Denmark it is no unusual circumstance to see a waggon-wheel on the roof of a stable or other building, placed there with the object of inducing a stork to build its nest upon it. No doubt the red legs of this bird caused it to be regarded as a fire-fowl; it comes with the spring and departs before the winter; it is the bringer of warmth and of fine weather. In Hesse also, the waggon-wheel is thus used: any building on which it is placed being deemed safe from fire, provided a stork builds its nest upon it. We have then here the wheel as an emblem of the Sun, and the stork as that of Fire.

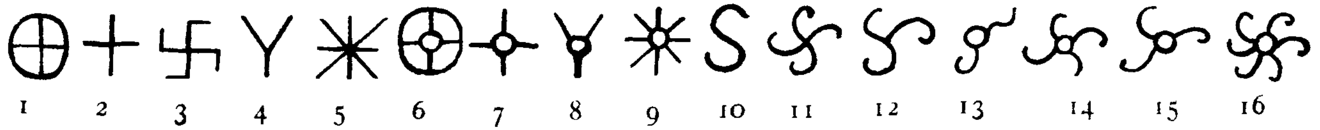
In Asia, the wheel is associated with Buddha, and is an emblem which occurs frequently on Buddhist coins, and in Buddhist architecture. In Buddhist writings, Buddha is spoken of as turning the wheel of the law—or preaching. Plate I. fig. 33 is a representation of a Buddhist wheel in my possession. I found it near a ruined mane in Lâhaul. It is a stone disc about ten inches in diameter by one inch in thickness. Tibetan characters occupy the spaces between the spokes of the wheel; but, as the stone is rather worn, it is not easy to reproduce the letters very accurately. However, it is clear that the inscription is the well-known formula, "*Oṁ mane padme huṁ.*"

Sun and Moon emblems. and the *Svastika* in the various forms which it assumed, continued to be used abundantly in Denmark and Norway on ornaments and objects in common use, during the Later Bronze Age, and the Earlier and Middle Iron Ages. The same symbols occur also during the Later Iron Age or Viking Period. Curiously enough, in the new Runic Alphabet, which was there adopted at this time, "the letter S, which recalls one of the old Sun-Symbols, was called Sol or Sun."[9]

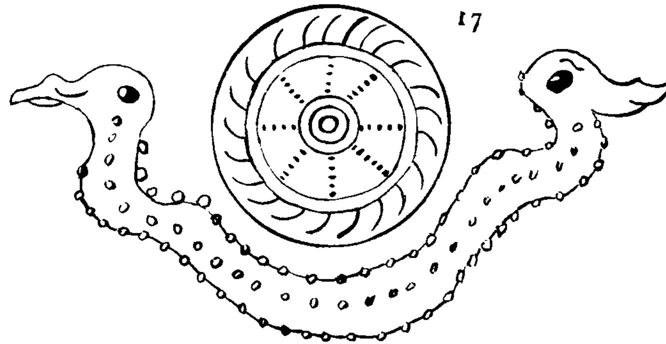
Plate I. fig. 35 represents a small cruciform tube of terra cotta, which was found in the cemetery belonging to the ancient salt mines at Hallstadt in Austria. The Sun-Symbol engraved upon it appears to be a combination of the symbols in figs. 18 and 19 of the same Plate from Denmark. Fig. 34 is a copy of a silver brooch, classed as belonging to the Later Iron Age, in the Historical Museum at Stockholm. It is remarkably interesting, for on it are marks which are generally recognized as Sun and Cup-Symbols, and they encircle the *Svastika*, or emblem of fire. Fig. 36 is a brooch belonging to the Later Bronze Age (as regards Scandinavia, be it observed, in all cases). Sun and Cup Symbols are also prominent in this example, and I have therefore selected it as a typical one. I have other similar brooches, one of which was found in an ancient grave near Bregenz, on the Lake of Constance. The fact of this purely Norwegian type of brooch being found so far south, assists in confirming an idea which has long existed, that the three Swiss cantons of Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwalden were colonized by people from Scandinavia,

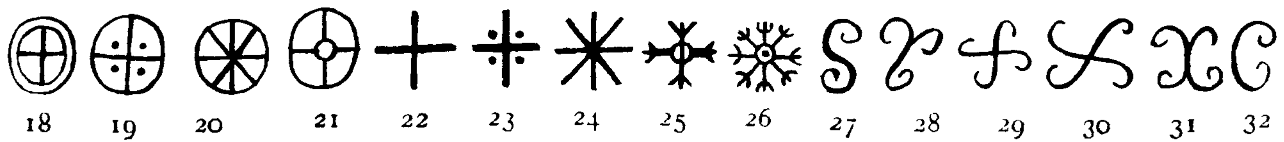
[9] *Danish Arts*, by Kamer Herr Worsaee.

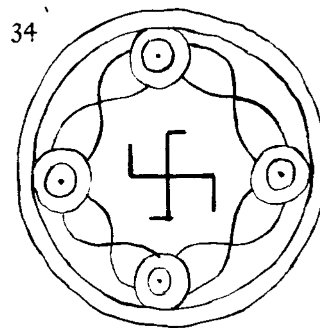
SUN AND FIRE SYMBOLS FROM DENMARK, OF THE EARLIER BRONZE AGE.

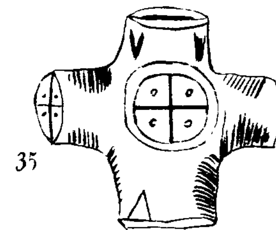


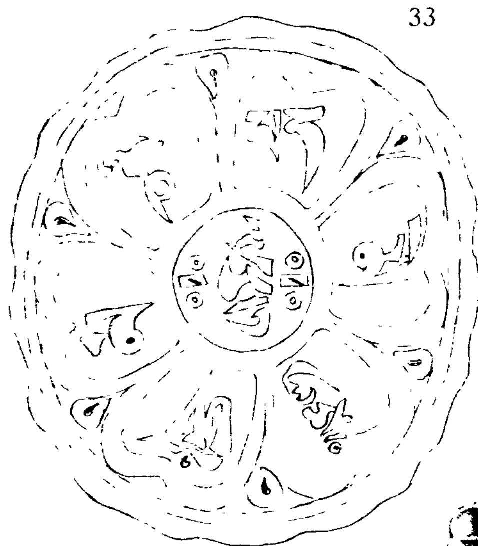
OF THE LATER BRONZE AGE.

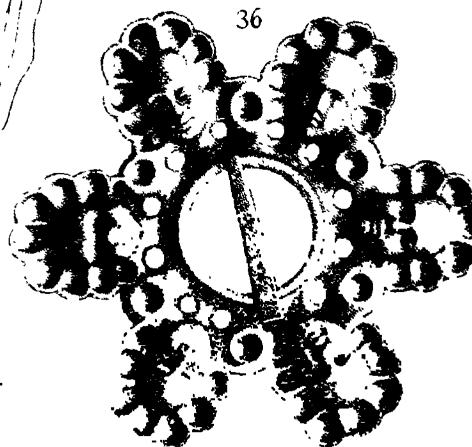


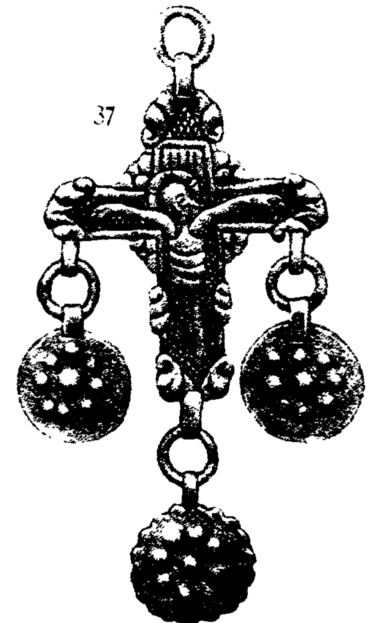




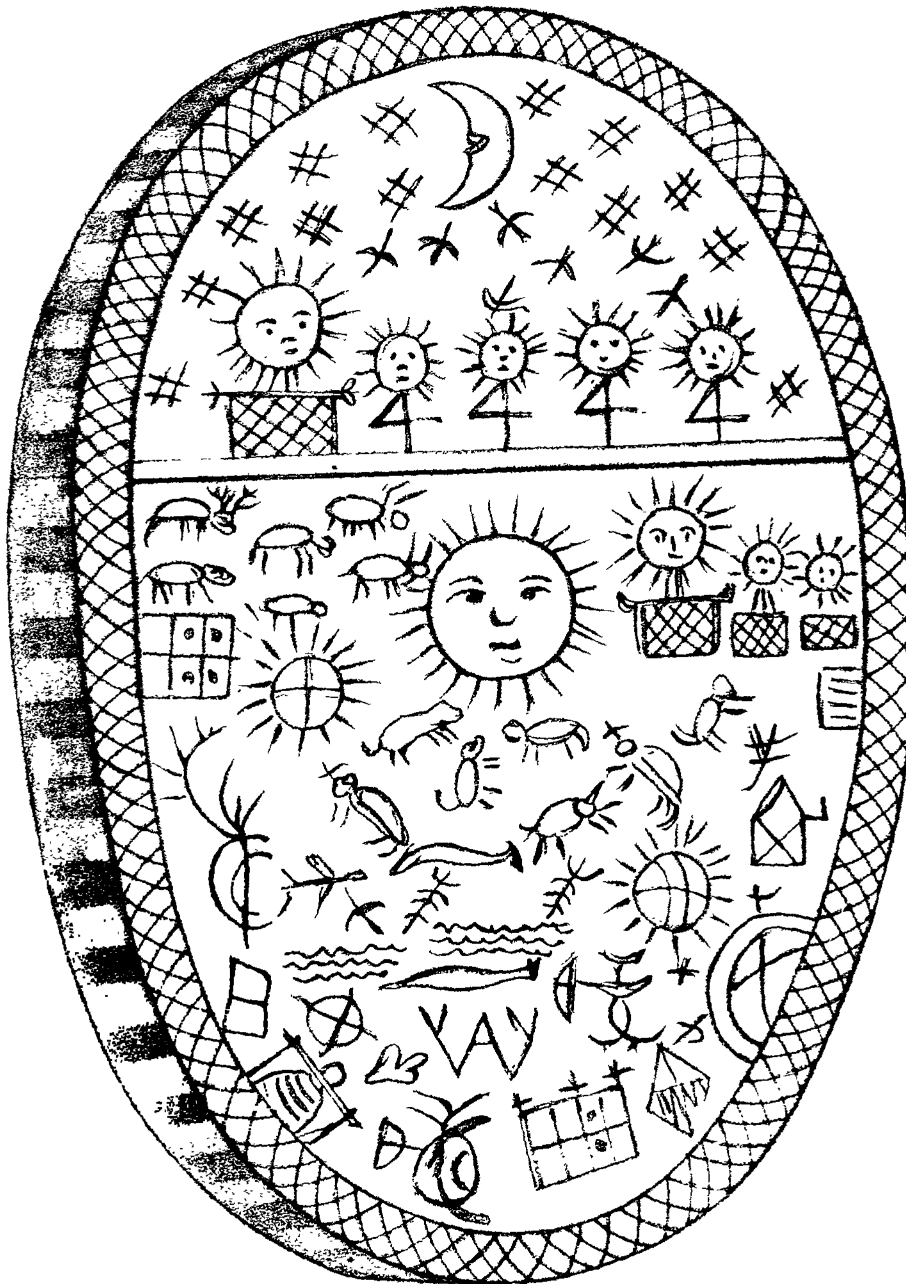








BUDDHIST WHEEL FROM THE LÂHAUL VALLEY IN THE PANJÂB.
Scale .2



WIZARD'S DRUM FROM LAPLAND. *Scale .25*

who wandered thither in consequence of a famine in their own country. The inhabitants of a valley near Brientz in Canton Berne, have to this day a tradition that their ancestors came from Scandinavia. Fig. 37 is a drawing of a crucifix bought at Bergen, in Norway, and a similar one which I saw in a museum, is classed as being of the XIth Century,—*i.e.* when Christianity was first introduced into those parts. It is of a peculiar type, and it will be observed that three nails only have been used in fastening the body of the Saviour to the cross, for the feet are crossed over each other, and one nail pierces both. Sun-Symbols are pendant from it, which seems to show that in those early times the people were permitted by their teachers to combine their former worship with their new faith (as in Russia).

I have above given a few examples of Sun-symbolism in Scandinavia, bringing it down to about 1000 A.D., but such Symbols exist there also in Museums on objects classed as belonging to the Middle Ages. In the Museum at Bergen are some apparently mythical small animals of that period which appear to have been children's toys, having Sun marks ⊙ on their bodies; and on an old Norwegian bridal crown, stated to have come from the Sogne Fjord district and referred to the same time there are Sun and Moon Symbols alternately with pendant Suns, while Cup-marks finish off its upper edge.

Plate II. is a representation of a wizard's drum from Lapland, now in the Norwegian Museum in Stockholm. Though the Laplanders are professedly Lutheran Christians, they still retain great faith in augury and divination. They are very superstitious, and if on going abroad in the morning they meet an unlucky omen, they return home and do not stir again the whole day. They are said also to still pray to their ancient idols for the increase and safety of their herds. Their magicians make use of drums to form prognostications. Small brass rings are placed on different parts of its surface, which, when the drum is beaten with a small hammer, dance upon the signs represented on it, and according to the course taken by them the sorcerer, after going through certain manœuvres, essays to foretell events. The Sun, Moon, and certain of the Planets are clearly definable upon the drum represented in the plate: the other Symbols are not so plain, but some little animals like rats appear to be worshipping the heavenly bodies.

Cup-marks exist on some of the megalithic monuments in Brittany. Plate III. fig. 3 is a *menhir* from that province, which is one of a line of monoliths (*alignements* as they are there called). The "lines" are sometimes composed of as many as ten parallel rows of such stones, and they may occasionally be traced for two or three miles. They usually, if not invariably, terminate in a dolmen (prehistoric tomb made of unhewn stones), or in a hill containing several dolmens. Antiquarians seem to be agreed in regarding them as the tombs of chiefs. The *menhirs* may have served as an avenue to indicate the road to the tomb, or have been looked upon as sentinels guarding the approach to it, for beneath many of them fragments of burnt and of imperfectly calcined human bones have been found. Plate III. fig. 1 is a cupmarked stone, now in the Museum at Vannes in the Morbihan (actual size), found at Kerun, near Arradon, a place about two miles from Vannes. The nine Cup-marks upon it, which appear to be arranged upon a fixed plan may have had some special reference to the Nine Planets still worshipped at Benares under the name of the *Nav-grah* or *Nava-Graha*.

In the first part of *Pre-historic Stone Monuments of the British Isles*, by the Rev. W. C. Lukis,[10] embracing those of Cornwall only, mention is made of a stone monument near St. Keverne, now locally called "The Three Brothers of Grugith." To use Mr. Lukis' own words,—"This monument is remarkable on account of its construction. A massive stone of irregular shape, 8 feet by 5 feet, is supported on two stones. One of these is 8 feet 6 inches long, and nearly 5 feet broad, and appears to be a rock *in situ*, and to have been selected on account of its suitableness; the other is a slab 7 feet 9 inches broad, and 18 inches thick, set up on edge, 2 feet 6 inches from, and parallel to the former. The remains of a mound are still visible." This monument is given on Plate IV. fig 1. As regards the present paper the

[10] Published by the Society of Antiquaries—London, May, 1885.

chief interest attached to it is in the Cup-marks upon the stones, which are nine in number; 8 on the cap-stone and one on the rock. In this respect they coincide with the stone in the Vannes Museum above mentioned, but their arrangement is different. Plate IV. fig. 2, is a cup-marked stone by the roadside in the Forest Parish in Guernsey. Six Cup-marks only are above ground, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that more exist below, though it is not easy to ascertain this, as the monolith borders on a hard metalled road. Fig. 3 is a drawing of a Dolmen called La Garenne, on L'Ancresse Common, Guernsey. Here again, we have nine Cup-marks apparently intended for the Sun and Moon and the other seven Planets (according to the Hindû reckoning). As above said it is more than probable, from the regularity with which they are placed, that some meaning was attached to them.

The under surfaces of the Cap-stones of some of the dolmens in Brittany have in a few cases numerous Cup-marks incised upon them. Plate III. fig. 2 is a reduced drawing of the Cap-stone of a chamber, or small dolmen formed of unhewn stones at Baker Hill, Ross-shire, N. B. The incised marks upon it recall both Sun and Moon Symbols. As a rule such signs seem to be rare in the British Isles, but at New Grange, Drogheda, Ireland, is the following supposed Sun-Symbol . Curiously enough in the Museum at Grenoble, Department Isère, in France, amongst the collection of Gallo-Roman antiquities found in that neighbourhood, is a highly finished ornament made of bronze. At one end is a lion's head and fore-paws. The action of the animal is very spirited, and it appears to be springing forwards from right to left. Behind the lion, but facing the other way, is the bust of a woman partially veiled in the Greek style. Beyond this again, is a horse led by a man who is dressed in the short tunic worn by slaves, and on the horse's flank is precisely the same Symbol as on the stone at New Grange. The horse is standing on a kind of pedestal, on which is the inscription STRATILATES in Roman characters.

It is a curious fact, and one perhaps not generally known, that certain women in Albania tattoo their arms and foreheads with the Sun-Symbols common in the Later Bronze Age in Scandinavia. When in Corfu in 1883 I observe Plate I. fig. 4 in the centre of the forehead of more than one Albanian woman (one of the caste-marks in India is very similar in form to this), and also figs. 23, 25, and 26 tattooed on the arms and wrists of some of these people. They had been allowed to take up their abode on the island about six years previously, after many of their villages had been burnt by the Turks, and many of the inhabitants massacred.

Fig. 1 of this plate has been found in Savoy and also in Wales. The cross with Cup-marks round it on a sepulchral urn in Wales; and the cross with supposed Sun-and-Moon Symbols on a fragment of pottery at Villanova in Italy.

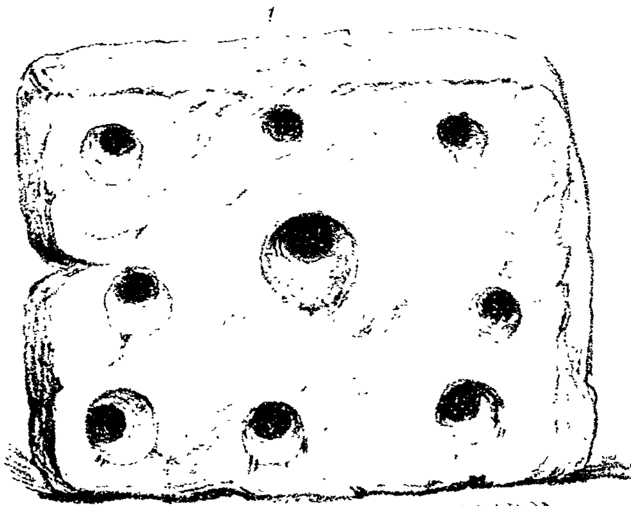
Fig. 23 is at the bottom of a small silver drinking cup in my possession, which has the exact form of the Scottish quaigh, and has been evidently a measure for a dram of spirits. It was purchased in Norway. I have a silver spoon also, bought in Bergen, which has on the handle these markings . It is said to be of a type which belongs to that part of Norway styled the Nordland, a district north of Trondjhem (or Drontheim) and extending beyond the Lafotten Islands.[11]

Le Retour du Soleil.

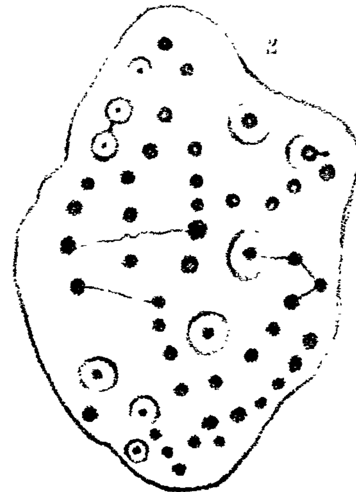
I had intended the following account of the festival of *Le Retour du Soleil*, said to have been performed at Les Andrieux, to form part of the preceding notes on Sun-worship, but I have received a letter from a French friend in Dauphiné, throwing doubts on the authenticity of the festival herein described as a relic of antiquity. I translated the account in 1882 from a rather curious (and I believe now rare) *History of the High Alps* by Baron Ladoucette, a former Prefect of this *Department*, under the First Empire, who says that he himself witnessed the *fête*. His book was published about the latter part of the first quarter of the present century. The letter I received was in answer to one which I sent to Grenoble, with the object of endeavouring, if possible, to ascertain whether *Le Retour du Soleil* was still kept up at Les Andrieux.

My informant wrote—"An individual named Farnaud, who was a Councillor of the Prefecture

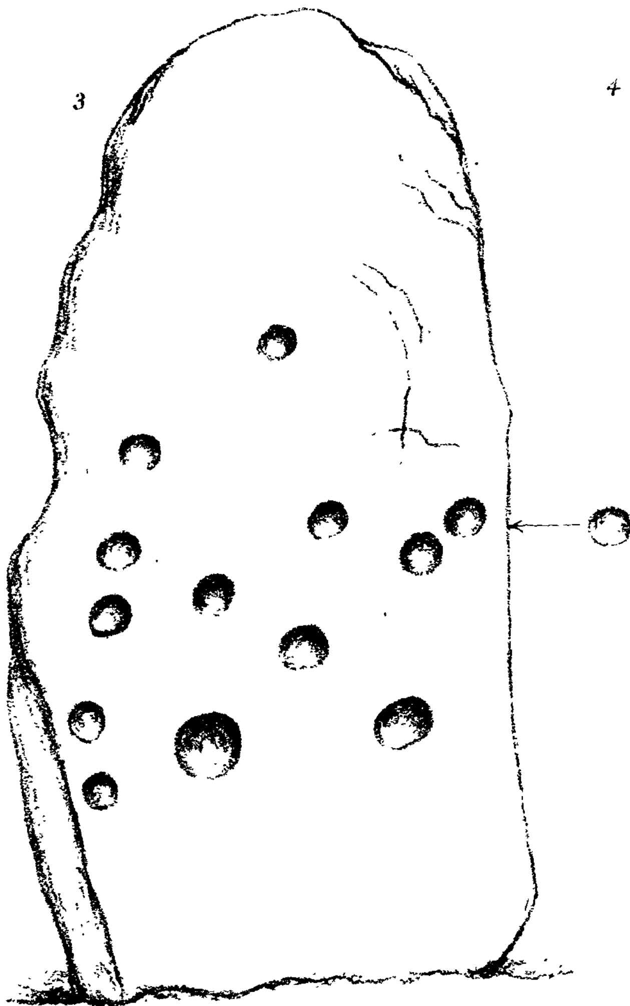
[11] Plate III. fig. 4 will be explained in a subsequent paper.



PIERRE BLANCHE AT KERUN ARRADON, NEAR VANNES



FROM A DOLMEN AT BAKER HILL. ROSSHIRE. N.B.

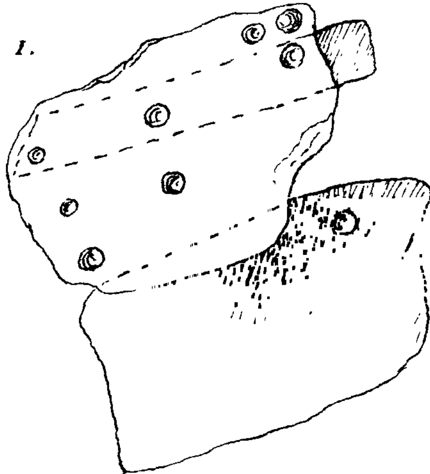


MENHIR FROM BRITTANY.



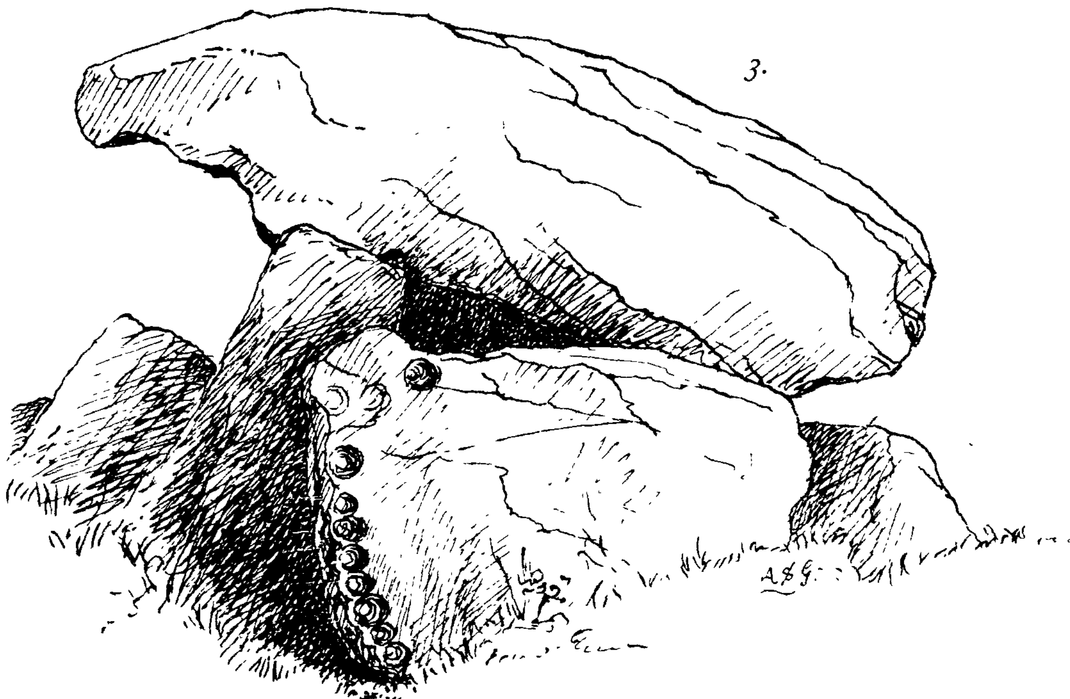
MITHRA, WITH SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC, FROM THE MUSEUM AT ARLES.

THREE BROTHERS OF GRUGITH AT ST. KEVERNE, CORNWALL.



STONE IN THE FOREST PARISH, GUERNSEY.





LA GARENNE ON L'ANCRESSE COMMON, GUERNSEY.

under the Baron Ladoucette, left memoirs behind him, which have caused some persons to doubt the genuineness of Baron Ladoucette's account"; and he added, "M. Farnaud possibly did this in order to gain for himself the reputation of a *bel esprit.*" In his memoirs the Councillor states that it was he who imagined and caused this festival to be performed, and did so in order to impose upon the credulity of Baron Ladoucette, who, he knew, was then compiling his work. This version of what was, if committed, a cruel practical joke, has been accepted by two antiquaries of Dauphiné, M.M. Chaper and J. Roman; the latter, however, qualifies his acceptance by adding that the oldest inhabitants of Les Andrieux are convinced that their ancestors always celebrated this *fête*, and that of those with whom he spoke many were alive in the time of M. Farnaud, and would in consequence have been perfectly competent to state whether this ceremony only took its rise under his administration. Elisée Reclus, in his *Universal Geography*, speaks of this festival as a very ancient one.

Baron Ladoucette's story is as follows:—

"On the banks of the River Severaise, in that portion of the High Alps which was formerly called the Godemar valley, is a little hamlet called Les Andrieux.

During the space of one hundred days in winter the inhabitants of this valley are deprived of the light of the sun. It is only on the 10th of February that this orb is seen by them again, therefore on this particular day, as soon as the dawn appears, four shepherds go round the village and announce that the festival is about to commence, by sounding pipes and trumpets. They then go to the house of the oldest inhabitant in the place, who under the title of *Le Vénérable* has to preside at the ceremony of saluting the return of the sun.

At 10 A.M. all the inhabitants, each provided with an omelette, assemble on the *Place* of the village. A deputation, preceded by the shepherds, then goes to fetch *Le Vénérable*, and accompany him to the place of meeting. On his arrival he is received with acclamations. *Le Vénérable* then places himself in their midst, and announces to them the object of this festival, and then, each holding his plate of omelette they form a chain and dance a *ferandole* round him.[12]

As soon as the dance is at an end *Le Vénérable* gives the signal for departure, and preceded by the shepherds, all follow him to the stone bridge which is at the entrance to the village.[13] On reaching this spot, each lays down his omelette on the parapet of the bridge, and then all go into a meadow close by, where *ferandoles* are again danced till the sun appears. As soon as this moment arrives each person goes a[...] takes up his omelette which he offers to the sun, and *Le Vénérable*, bare-headed, holds his own up also [...] soon as the solar rays [...] illumine the whole [...] turn [...] accompanying *Le* [...] is implied [...] the latter's house. They then [...] homes, where they eat their respec[tive] [...] This festival [...] whole day, and sometimes extends into the night."

नुभुक्, [...] यानन्दमयो ज्ञानभु [...] अज्ञानभुक् [...] 124.

THE NRISIMHATAPANIYA-UPANISHAD.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL G. A. JACOB, BOMBAY STAFF CORPS.

It is impossible to collate the existing printed texts of the Upanishads with the manuscripts which of late years have come to light, without seeing how much yet remains to be done in this department of Sanskṛit literature. In the footnotes to his translation of some of the Upanishads, Professor Max Müller has suggested many improved readings of the texts: but as the *Nṛisiṁhatápaní* has not yet been taken in hand by him, I venture to lay before the public some of my own notes on the various readings of this Upanishad. In addition to the text and commentaries published by Professor Ramamaya Tarkaratna, in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series, in the year 1871, I have used the following MSS. belonging to the Deccan College:—

A. One of the set No. 10 of 1882-83. It is a fairly good copy of the text, though not properly corrected. It was purchased in Gujarát.

B. No. 1 of 1882-83. It lacks the first 3 *khaṇḍas* of the first Upanishad, and has not been corrected. Still it is a valuable manuscript of the text, and has been of great use to me. This also is from Gujarát.

C. No. 145 of 1879-80. A beautifully written

[12] An intelligent bookseller at Grenoble, when I asked him what sort of dance the *ferandole* was, said, that any joyous movement executed by peasants in the open air was styled a *ferandole* in that part of the country.

[13] A correspondent from Grenoble tells me, that this bridge, now in ruins, still preserves the name of *Pont de l'Omelette*.

and very accurate copy of Śaṁkara's commentary on the *Pûrvatâpanî*.

D. Nârâyaṇa's *Dîpikâ* on the six Upanishads. A part of the set forming No. 233 of 1882-83. It was obtained in Gujarât.

E. No. 116 of 1879-80. Śaṁkarânanda's valuable commentary on the *Uttaratâpanî*. It is in the same handwriting as C. and, for the most part, as accurate.

G. One of the set of 59 Upanishads called No. 133 of 1880-81. It was copied at Ahmadâbâd in A.D. 1700, and is generally accurate.

A short account of this Upanishad is given on page 167 of Weber's *History of Indian Literature*. That scholar there says—"The first part treats of the Anushṭubh-formula sacred to Nṛisiṁha, the *mantrarâjanârasiṁha ânushṭubha*, with which the most wondrous tricks are played. . . . . The contents of the second part are of a more speculative character: but in respect of mystic trifling [illegible]es not yield to the first part." I fully [illegible] it as [illegible] this statement as regards the contents endorse [illegible]tâpanî,—but consider the *Uttara-* [illegible] of the *Pûrva*[illegible] every way superior to it. In-*tâpanî* to be in my mind deeply interesting as deed it is to [illegible] of the *Mâyâ* [illegible] a Vedic exposition [illegible] the [illegible] school of which Śaṁkara is [illegible] a-tative professes to derive [illegible] the Upanishads as the fountai[illegible] [illegible]tar as I can see from a careful [illegible] the originals, the *Mâyâvâda* is not directly taught in the Upanishads of the first three Vêdas, and is deduced from them by a forced interpretation. Here, on the other hand, we find that doctrine unmistakably enunciated, and even a distinction drawn between *Mâyâ* and *Avidyâ*,—an idea which one associates with the later Vedantic treatises.

Professor Weber mentions Gauḍapâda as a commentator on the *Nṛisiṁhatâpanî*; but though I have heard of his commentary in this country, I have not yet met with it.

The printed commentary attached to the *Uttaratâpanî* is not universally accepted as the work of Śaṁkara, and, in my opinion, there is strong internal evidence against his authorship. My belief is further strengthened by the following fact:—When studying the *Mâṇḍûkya* and Gauḍapâda's *Kârikâs* thereon, I referred several times to Nârâyaṇa's *Dîpikâ* in the hope of obtaining further light, but found, to my astonishment, that his work consisted almost exclusively of extracts from Śaṁkara's *Bhâshya* interwoven with portions of Ânandagiri's notes. With this phenomenon before me I compared his *Dîpikâ* on the first half of the *Praśna*, and on the whole of the *Muṇḍaka*, with Śaṁkara's *scholia* on those tracts. In the former, and in the first *Muṇḍaka*, I met with numerous citations from Śaṁkara, intermingled with original matter,—but, in the second and third *Muṇḍakas* there was scarcely a line that was Nârâyaṇa's own! A few weeks ago I read the *Nṛisiṁhatâpanî*, and made a copy of Nârâyaṇa's *Dîpikâ* thereon for my own use. There again I found long excerpts from Śaṁkara's *Bhâshya* on the *Pûrvatâpanî*; whilst it differed entirely from the so-called *Sâṁkarabhâshya* on the *Uttaratâpanî*. I then carefully compared the *Dîpikâ* on the *Śvêtâśvatara* with what is supposed to be Śaṁkarâchârya's *Bhâshya* on that tract, and found no similarity whatever between them. In the colophons to his *Dîpikâs* on the *Mâṇḍûkya, Praśna, Muṇḍaka*, and *Nṛisiṁhapûrvatâpanî* Upanishads, where these plagiarisms occur, Nârâyaṇa styles himself [illegible] *śaṁkarôkty-upajîvin* (which is perhaps his way of acknowledging his indebtedness); whereas, at the end of those on the *Nṛisiṁhôttaratâpanî*, the *Śvêtâśvatara*, *Mahânârâyaṇa*, and the minor *Âtharvaṇa* Upanishads, he describes himself as *śruti-mâtr-ôpajîvin*. The theory, then, which I have formed in view of the foregoing facts is that, whenever Nârâyaṇa wrote a commentary on an Upanishad on which a *Bhâshya* by Śaṁkara already existed, he made free use of it; but that, when such did not exist, he wrote independently, as he was well able to do. The fact, therefore, that his *Dîpikâ* on the *Nṛisiṁhôttaratâpanî* has nothing in common with that which some attribute to Śaṁkara, is, to my mind, strong presumptive evidence against the authorship of the latter. The same reasoning applies to the *Śvêtâśvatara*: and I cannot understand how it can be maintained that the *Bhâshya* bearing Śaṁkara's name is really from his pen—so different is it in style from what we know to be really his.

The library of the Deccan College possesses *Dîpikâs* by Nârâyaṇa on the *Kaṭha* and *Kêna* Upanishads also,—but, as they are on loan in England, I cannot ascertain whether they support my view or not.

It appears from Saṁkara's *scholium* on i. 5 that there are two distinct *śâkhâs* of this Upanishad, namely the *Bhṛigu* and *Âṅgirasa*; but he does not say to which his text belongs. The missing information is, however, supplied by Nârâyaṇa, who says—योगिध्येयमिति । अत्र योगिवदासीनमिति शाखान्तरे पाठः । भृगुशाखायां तु नायं पाठो द्विशाखेयमुपनिषत् ॥

The following list contains the most important of the readings which differ from those of the printed text, the pages of which are quoted to facilitate reference. There are many others which affect the sense, but they are withheld as being too numerous for this paper.

PURVATAPANI (5 UPANISHADS).

p. 8 (i. 1). D. seems to read प्रतीक्ष्य for प्रतीष्य, and has प्रतीक्ष्या as a variant (छान्दसो दीर्घः). G. reads प्रतीष्या. Instead of तदुपनमति, A., G. have तदुपनमिति and they are supported by D. which says—फलमाहैपैनं तदुपनमिति यत्कामो भवतीति । उप एनं तत् उ पनं इति पदच्छेदः । पनं पन्नं छान्दसो वर्णलोपः । यत्कामो भवत्येवंवित्तद्वस्त्वेनमेवंविदमुपपन्नमुपस्थित भवतीति ज्ञेयं ॥

p. 11 (i. 2). A. G. insert देवैः after सर्वैः. D.'s explanation of परमव्योम्निकं is noteworthy:—परमव्योम्नि परमाकाशे उद्देश्ये निमित्ते वा सति कं सुखरूपं।

p. 14 (i. 3). A. G. omit प्रजापतिः and so does D. which says सहेति । स ब्रह्मा उवाच । Instead of लक्ष्मीं यजु. C. has यजुर्लक्ष्मीं as on p. 69.

p. 16 (i. 4). Instead of अन्तरादित्यो A.B. D. G. read अन्तरादित्ये. The syllable हं in नृसिंहं should clearly be omitted, as in C. and printed commentary. It is accounted for further on. A. B. and G. include it however.

p. 29 (i. 5). For मोक्षद्वारं, B. C. D. read मुख्यद्वारं which is the reading also quoted by Saṁkara on p. 27, line 3 from bottom.

p. 35 (ii. 1). Here, as well as on p. 146, I believe the reading सोऽथर्वणैर्मन्त्रैः is wrong, and that B. correctly reads in both places साथर्वणैर्मन्त्रैः In the expressions सऋग्भिः, सयजुर्भिः and ससामभिः here and on page 145, the स is equivalent to सह as explained in the printed commentary on p. 146, and the same holds good here also. In the present instance D. explains it thus—आथर्वणैर्मन्त्रैरुपलक्षितत्वादथर्ववेदः ।, and as regards the same expression on p. 146, E. (Saṁkarânanda) says—आथर्वणा मंत्राः षट्कर्मप्रधाना अथर्वणा दृष्टास्तैस्तैः सहवर्त्तमानो मन्त्रब्राह्मणात्मको अथर्ववेदः । G. however, has सोऽथर्वणैः in both places.

p. 40 (ii. 4). Instead of उपहंतुं (which is evidently a misprint for उपहर्तुं) B. and D. read उपहन्तुं as in *Rigvêda* 2, 33, 11. C. has उपहंतुं. In this quotation, the word सिंह has been substituted for रुद्र. All five MSS. read निवपन्तु instead of निवयन्तु.

p. 46 (ii. 4). In the quotation from *Mahânârâyaṇa-Upanishad* (*Taittiriya-Âraṇyaka* 10, 10, 7) B. C. D. omit the words यस्मादन्यं न परं किञ्चनास्ति, and they do not appear in the *Âraṇyaka* either.

p. 52 (ii. 4). In the quotation from *Rigvêda* 1. 154, 2, A. B. D. G. read गिरिष्ठाः instead of गिरिष्ठः, and together with C. they have अधिक्षियन्ति instead of अधिक्षिपन्ति.

p. 57 (ii. 4). B. inserts स्वमहिम्ना after यस्मात्. In the quotation from *Rigvêda* 10, 121, 2, यो मृत्युमृत्युः has been substituted for यस्य मृत्युः which is given by Nârâyaṇa as a variant.

p. 59 (ii. 4). The *avagraha* should be inserted before ब्रह्मवादिनश्च, that being the reading preferred by Śaṁkara and Nârâyaṇa, though they give the other as an alternative. A. D. and G. have उक्थ्यं instead of उक्थं.

p. 72 (iv. 1). Instead of आनन्दमयो ह्यानन्दभुक्, as in the *Mâṇḍûkya*, A. and B. read आनन्दमयो ज्ञानभुक्. It is evident that the *avagraha* is implied however, and Nârâyaṇa explains अज्ञानभुक् both here and in the same passage on p 124. In the latter place, however, A B. and E. follow the *Mâṇḍûkya*. Nârâyaṇa says—अज्ञानभुक् । न किञ्चिदहमवेदिषमित्युत्थितस्योल्लेखात् । माण्डूक्ये त्वानन्दभुगिति पाठस्तत्र सुखमहमस्वाप्समित्युल्लेखः ॥ G. has आनंदभुक्.

The following remark of Saṁkara's on the differences between the *Mâṇḍûkya* and this Upanishad is worthy of notice—उभयत्रापि बहुतरपाठसाम्येऽपि क्वचित्पाठभेदोऽपि दृश्यते । तुरीयमात्रानिरूपणावसरे एषोऽन्तर्याम्येष ईशान एष प्रभुरिति माण्डूक्ये पाठः । तापनीये तु एषोऽन्तर्याम्येष योनिरितीशानप्रभुपदद्वयं विहाय पाठः ॥ In our printed texts of the two Upanishads, however, there is no such difference as that here indicated; and I do not remember having anywhere met with the reading एष ईशान एष प्रभुः in a MS of the *Mâṇḍûkya*. This shows us, however, that as regards the settling of the text we have not yet attained to finality.

p. 82 (iv. 2). Nârâyaṇa's etymology of कालकर्णी is curious. He says कालमिव कालकं दूरं गतमृणं यया सा कालकर्णी । A. B. D. G. read सुवः instead of स्व., before कालकर्णी.

p. 86 (iv. 3). B. D. insert as the 12th Mantra that given in the footnote,—and they both, in common with A., omit the 3rd Mantra on page 87. A. makes up its 32 by inserting that given in the footnote on page 87. G conforms to the printed text.

p. 88 (iv. 3). A. and B. read स्तुतो for ततो, and स्वमात्मानं for स्वात्मानं. B. also adds स सर्वं पश्यति after the words स देवं पश्यति.

p. 93 (v. i.). Instead of सुदर्शनं B. D. read सुबद्धं. The latter says अरैर्वा इति। अरैः कृत्वेतचक्रं सुबद्धं दृढं भवति।

p. 98 (v. 2). Instead of गुरुतो लब्धं, the reading of A. is गुरुणा लब्धं, and of B. गुरुणोपलब्धं. Nârâyaṇa's explanation is गुरुणा दत्तं सल्लब्धं which seems to agree with A. G. is the same as the printed text. The stop after बध्नीयात् should come after the next word सः. Nârâyaṇa says स उपासको बध्नीयादित्यन्वयः।

p. 102 (v. 4). In A. B. C. and D. मृत्युं comes first in the list, and पाप्मानं second. B. omits all the rest except सर्वहत्यां. A. omits स संसारं तरति, and it is not noticed by Śaṁkara or Nârâyaṇa. G. is the same as the printed text.

p. 104 (v. 8). A. B C. read उक्थ्येन instead of उक्थेन, and before the last clause B. inserts सोऽश्वमेधेन यजते.

p. 106 (v. 10). The word अध्यायक has no support from any of my MSS. It occurs three times. In the first instance A. B C. G. have अध्यापक; in the second, A. has अध्यायींक (for अध्यायिक?), G. अध्यायीं and B. and C. again अध्यापक. The third instance is not referred to by C.—but A. and G. read अध्यापक and B. अध्यायिक. This last seems to be Nârâyaṇa's reading, for he says अध्याय्येवाध्यायिकः। Both A. and B. insert एकेन before मन्त्रराजजापकेन, and, in common with G., omit प्रभवति after यत्र न दुःखं.

UTTARATAPANI (1 UPANISHAD).

The MSS. on this part are the same as on the former part, except that Śaṁkarânanda's Commentary (E.) takes the place of Śaṁkara's (C).

The invocatory verses are omitted by B. and E.

p 126 (1). After अलक्षणं, B. D. add अलिङ्गं, and all the MSS. insert चतुर्थं after अद्वैतं. D. and E. omit एव altogether, in the sentence स एवात्मा स एव विज्ञेयः, and B. agrees with them in the second instance. A. and G. include both.

p 129 (2). The *avagraha* must be inserted in both cases before जाग्रतं. The correct reading is अजाग्रतं.

p. 135 (2). The reading कालाग्निः सूर्योऽस्त्रैः is impossible. I believe B. E. and G. to have the correct reading, namely, कालाग्निसूर्यो ऽस्त्रैः, which Śaṁkarânanda thus explains:—कालाग्निसूर्यः। कालः सर्वविनाशकारी स एवाग्निः पातालतलमारभ्य जगद्दिवन्तं दहन्स एव सूर्यः कालाग्निसूर्यः। अस्त्रैः किरणैर्व्याप्नोत्ययं सर्वात्मबोधेनेति शेषः॥ It is well known that both eye and ear are fertile sources of mistakes, and I believe that the reading of A. and D. is an instance of the latter kind. In the body of A. the reading is कालाग्निसूर्योऽश्र्यीः which has been altered in the margin to कालाग्निसूर्यस्त्रयीः but सूर्यैः must be a mistake for सूर्यः. D. thus explains—त्रयीरिति। त्रयीर्लोकत्रयीर्लोकत्रयीमित्यर्थः। बहुवचनं सर्वावयवव्याप्त्यर्थं। त्रयीरूपं जगदिदं कालाग्निरूपः सूर्य ओत आ उतवान्। अन्तकाले व्याप्तवानेवं सर्वमयमात्मा व्याप्तवानित्यर्थः॥ The former reading is unquestionably the better and more probable one, but it is easy to see how the latter arose from it.

p. 136 (2). B. and E. omit दर्शयति, whilst A. and D. insert यदि सर्वमिदं before it. A. inserts हि सर्वं, and B सर्वं, before स्वात्मानमेव करोति.

p. 146 (3). In regard to सोऽथर्वणे see notes on p. 35 (ii. 1.).

p. 147 (3). Instead of असुनियमे, Nârâyaṇa reads and explains असौ नियमे. He says, इमं लोकमसौ पुमान्नियमे सति यथा चक्षुषेव रूपं श्रवणेनैव शब्दोऽनुभूयते न जातु चक्षुषा शब्दं शृणोतीत्येवं रूपे सत्यनुभूय ... यद्वा ... इममात्मानं नरसिंहमसौ साधको नियमे वागादिसंयमे सत्यनुभूय... A. D. read सूत्रा for दृष्ट्वा, and the latter gives असुप्रपञ्चहीनः as an alternative reading to सुप्रपञ्चहीनः, and explains thus—असूनां प्राणानां प्रपञ्चेन श्वासोच्छ्वासलक्षणेन हीनः कृतप्राणायाम इत्यर्थः।

p. 169 (3). The word महास्थूले must unquestionably be eliminated. It occurs in G. only. The passage is explained by Śaṁkarânanda thus:— गुणैर्ब्रह्मविष्णुरुद्ररूपैरैक्यं तादात्म्यं संपाद्य बुद्ध्या सम्यगवगत्याध्यात्मिकमाधिदैविकेन रूपेण तादात्म्यं प्राप्तमित्यनुबुद्ध्येत्यर्थः। अनन्तरं महास्थूलमाधिदैविकं चतुर्भेदभिन्नं वैराजरूपं महच्च तत्स्थूलञ्च महास्थूलं महासूक्ष्मे आधिदैविके चतुर्भेदे हिरण्यगर्भे महति सूक्ष्मे महासूक्ष्मं उक्तं हिरण्यगर्भं महाकारणे आकाशादिभूतभौतिकप्रपञ्चजनक ईश्वरे महति कारणे महाकारणे च-

कारः संहृत्येति पदस्य पूर्वत्रापि संबंधार्थः संहृत्य बुद्ध्या संहृत्य संहारं कृत्वा ।. Nârâyaṇa's explanation is of the same tenor.

p. 176 (4). It is equally certain that नृसिंहः is an interpolation, and should be eliminated. B. omits it, and so do D. and E. Nârâyaṇa's comment is as follows :—एष उ एव नु (नृ ?) । एष एव नरसिंह एवानुष्टुबर्थात्मा भवति । 'देवतागुरुमंत्राणां भावयेदैक्यमात्मनेति' स्मृतेरैक्यभावनफलमैक्यप्राप्तिः । तदेवोपपादयत्येष हि सर्वत्र सर्वदा सर्वात्मेति । देशतः कालतो वस्तुतश्च परिच्छेदोस्य नास्तीत्यर्थः । The first part of Saṁkarânanda's note on this passage is too corrupt to be intelligible—then comes the following :—अथवा एष उ एव चेष इति पाठः । तस्मिन्पक्षे यस्य ह्यनुष्टुबात्मत्वेन बुद्ध्यारूढं (?) सन् पुमानप्येष एव । तत्र हेतुः । हि सर्वत्र सर्वदा सर्वात्मा । ननामुपपाद्य सिंहतामाहैष शब्दार्थः । I should add that A. and G. omit नृ and retain नृसिंहः, but such a reading as एष उ एव एष हि नृसिंहः seems improbable.

p. 179 (4). D. has गुणाढ्यान् instead of गुणर्द्धान्, and all the MSS. have हत्वा not हृत्वा. There is a curious variety of readings in the case of वश्यां. A. has वश्यां, B. नस्यां which is perhaps intended for तस्यां, D. वत्स्यां with वश्यां as a variant, E. वेश्यां (!) and G. यस्यां. Here is Nârâyaṇa's comment :— वेत्स्यां वत्साहीं वत्ससंबंधयोग्यां मातरमिन्द्रियजननीं । वश्यामिति पाठे वशंगतां नृसिंहाराधनाद्वशवर्त्तिनीं ॥

p. 183 (5). Before the words आत्मैव नृसिंहो देवः A. B. D. insert तस्मादात्मानमेवैवं जानीयात्. Nârâyaṇa connects the words ब्रह्म भवति with य एवं वेद on the next page, in which case there should be no stop after भवति.

p. 192 (5). D. explains सर्वप्रियमास्पदं instead of सर्वेंमास्पदं. The reading of A. सर्वेत्रमां प्रियमास्पदं, is corrupt.

p. 194 (6). Both D. and E. read and explain तुरीयातुरीयं in the third line, instead of तुरीयतुरीयं. The former's explanation is—मायामयुक्तसंख्यया तुरीयत्वेपि वस्तुवृत्त्या अतुरीयं सख्याया मिथ्यात्वात् ॥ whilst E. says—तुरीयातुरीयं तुरीया प्रणवस्यार्द्धमात्रात्मत्वस्तुरीयावस्थात्मिका तस्यास्तुरीयो भेदो विकल्परूपस्तमात्मानं ॥ G. has तुरीयातुरीयं here, and twice in the immediate context.

The reading अपक्ककषायं as an epithet of आत्मानं is manifestly impossible. B. D. E. read अपक्वकषाय इमं which is no doubt correct. D. explains thus :—यस्मात्पूर्वमेवं वृत्तं तस्मादयाप्यपक्वकषायो ऽपरिक्षीणरागादिः पुनानिममेवात्मानं यो दुर्ज्ञेयत्वेन प्रसिद्धस्तं नृसिंहानुष्टुभैव सरलेन परमोपायेन जानीयात् ॥ A. has अपक्वकषायं इमं which looks as if the *anusvâra* was accidental. G. is the same as printed text.

p. 198 (6). D. gives समाधानेभ्यः as an alternative reading to समाधनेभ्य. and, with A. and G. reads निरागाः for निरागाराः.

p. 200 (6). All the MSS. read ओङ्कारे परे ब्रह्मणि and not ओङ्कारपरे ब्रह्मणि.

p. 201 (6). B. E. read शृङ्गंस्वशृङ्गं at the beginning of the verse, and the latter explains thus :—शृङ्गेषु प्रणवमात्रारूपेषु संसारवृषभविषाणेषु अशृङ्गं शृङ्गरहितमविकल्पं तुरीयं संयोज्य ॥ G. has शृङ्गं च शृङ्गं.

p. 203 (7). Instead of उत्पथवारिकत्वात्, A. D. G. read उत्पथचारिकत्वात्, and B. E. उत्पथवारकत्वात्, which I prefer. E. explains thus :—उत्पथवारकत्वादुन्मार्गस्य कामक्रोधादेर्निवारकत्वात् ॥ In the last line B. D. E. G. have उकारेण instead of ओङ्कारेण. The latter is certainly wrong.

p. 205 (7). The reading मकारार्थेनार्थेन is not supported by any of my MSS.; and these again all differ from one another! A has मकारार्द्धेर्यैनानेनात्मना which is probably intended for मकारार्द्धेनार्थेनानेनात्मना, -B. has मकारार्द्धेनानात्मना which may be a mistake for मकारार्द्धेनानेनात्मना,—D. has मकारार्थेना मना,—E. मकारार्थेनानेनात्मना,—and G. मकारार्द्धेनार्थेनात्मना. I believe that E. is right. Compare the similar phrase मकारार्थेन परेण ब्रह्मणा on p. 213 (7).

p. 207 (7). The reading एवमेव सच्चिदानन्दो अथ वचनेन &c. is quite wrong. A. B. E. G. read एवमेव चिदानन्दाव्यवचनेन which is no doubt correct.

p. 216 (8). A. D. G. have एवात, B. E. नैवात.

p. 221 (8). A. B. G. read यस्मात् for ह्यस्मात्; A. D. G. आत्मा and B. तदा मा instead of आत्म्यं। and A. B. E. G. ह्यनुज्ञा for ह्यनुजानाति.

p. 226 (9). प्राज्ञैः the reading of the printed text, and of G., is supported by Nârâyaṇa, who explains it by पण्डितैः; but A. B. and E. have प्राज्ञ in common with the printed commentary.

p. 227 (9). A. D. G. have द्रष्टा in the place of दृष्टा.

p. 230 (9). B. E. G. read सबीजान् instead of स्वबीजान्.

p. 231 (9). A. D. read जीवेशावभासेन which the latter thus explains :—कानिचिज्जीवावभासेन कानिचिदीशावभासेन ब्रह्मविष्णुरुद्रादीनीशावभासेन मन्वादीनि जीवावभासेन करोति ॥

p. 232 (9). All five MSS. read गुणभिन्ना, not गुणाभिन्ना.

p. 233 (9). A. B. G. have आत्मन्येव but the two commentaries agree with printed text and explain आत्मन एव.

p. 238 (9). A. B. D. G. read असदन्यत् instead of सदन्यत्. and B. D. अयोनि instead of अयोनिः. The following is Nârâyaṇa's explanation of this passage:— हे देवाः पश्यत । इहाप्यात्मन्यपि सन्मात्रं सत्तामात्रं नाधिकं किञ्चिदस्ति । अपिशब्दोऽन्तर्भावे । ननु तथापि सत्ता जातिरस्ति तदाश्रयत्वे चाधाराधेयभावः स्यादित आहासदन्यत् । असतोऽन्यद्सदन्यदेव सत्र तु सत्त्वं जातिरित्यर्थः । इत्थमनेन प्रकारेण सत्यं पुरस्तात्सिद्धं । कीदृशमयोनि उत्पत्तिरहितं ॥

p. 242 (9). D. explains किं तन्निरात्मकमात्मनः। but B. E. read किं तन्नित्यमात्मा । A. and G. agree with printed text.

p. 243 (9). D. explains द्रष्टा अद्रष्टुः । His words are द्रष्टा पुमानद्रष्टुर्जडस्य । दृश्याभावे वास्तव द्रष्टृत्वमपि नास्तीत्यत्राप्युत्प्रेक्षैव ॥ A. B. G. read निरवद्य for निरविद्य:

p. 244 (9). All the MSS. but G. read ब्रूतैष दृष्टोऽदृष्टो वेति । A. E. read अनन्यः for the नान्यः of the text.

p. 246 (9). Instead of स्वप्रकाशः the MSS. have स्वप्रकाशे, and all agree in rejecting न after किमद्वयेन. Nârâyaṇa says—किमद्वयेनेति । अद्वयो ऽस्माभिर्न दृष्ट इति भवद्भिरुक्तो योऽद्वयः किं तेन । कुतो यतो द्वितीयमेव न किन्तु यूयमेव स्थ ॥

p. 250 (9). Instead of अव्यक्तव्यं, D. has अव्यक्तं and E. अवक्तव्यं. The reading of B. अवव्यक्तं, may be a mistake for अव्यक्तं.

p. 252 (9). A. B. G. read ज्ञातो ज्ञातश्चेति होचुः, omitting the *avagraha* before the second word—and D. explains thus:—प्रणवावर्त्तनानन्तरं ज्ञात इति प्रश्नरूपं प्रजापतिवचः । ज्ञातश्च ज्ञात एवेति होचु ॥ E explains अज्ञातः.

p. 253 (9). A.B.D.G. read कैषानुज्ञेति and वयं ते.

GULLALA SHAH.

BY THE REV. J. HINTON KNOWLES, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

A KASMIRI TALE.

In a certain country there lived a fowler, who pursued his calling with far-famed success, and an incredible number of birds were reported to have been snared, or shot, by him every day. Some of these he set by for his own use and the rest he sold; however, being a spendthrift he did not become rich, but rather grew poorer and poorer. As fast and as much as he earned, so fast and so much did he spend. Now this was all very well for a time, and for some years affairs proceeded comparatively happily; but by degrees it became manifest the birds were getting fewer and more wary, and there was consequently an abatement in his success; and so the fowler looked sad and anxious, and wondered what he should do for a living.

While he was in this state Râjâ Hańs[1] summoned all the bird-world to a great assembly, and the few birds that remained in the fowler's country were also invited. The conference was an immense one, and all the arrangements were magnificent beyond description. Much business was done, and every bird expressed himself very pleased with all that he had seen and heard. At length the conference being concluded, the birds were dismissed to their several countries; but the little company which attended from the fowler's country, did not prepare to leave. Seeing this Râjâ Hańs inquired the reason.

"O Râjâ," replied the birds, "in our country there lives a fowler, whose aim is deadly and snares undiscoverable. Nearly all our brethren have been slain by him. In former days we were a great and mighty company, but now behold, O Râjâ, the smallness of our numbers and our strength. We pray you to have mercy on us, and deliver us out of the hand of this cruel man."

Râjâ Hańs was exceedingly grieved when he heard their sorrows, and immediately sought to relieve them. He had two chief ministers, an owl and a parrot,[2] whom he loved very much, and to whose advice he always attended. Accordingly he now called them to him, and first addressing the owl, said,

"O Owl, I am ruler over all the birds and ye

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[1] A swan or goose, cf. *rājahaṁsa*, s. v. राज in Monier Williams' *Sanskrit Dictionary*.

[2] Both the owl and the parrot occupy a prominent position in Indian Folklore. The former is generally regarded as most skilful in foretelling events, and on this account it would prove a most useful bird if men could only [illegible] understand its speech. The parrot is also quoted [illegible] a most accomplished soothsayer, as well as a cheerful companion and faithful friend.

are my ministers. A portion of my subjects are terribly troubled by a certain fowler, whose tricks and snares they are powerless to resist, and yet they do not wish to leave their country. You will make arrangements for the preservation of these my subjects."

The owl was astonished when he received this difficult command; but remembering the parrot's superior knowledge and wisdom, he replied, "O Râjâ, this your order cannot be executed by me, owing to my blindness by day. The parrot, however, with Your Highness's permission will fulfil it."

Then Râjâ Haṁs turned to the parrot and commanded him to perform the order which he had just given to the owl. The parrot at once agreed, made his obeisance, and departed. He went to the aggrieved birds, and bade them to be patient and to do nothing of their own counsel, but to be guided by him, and to believe that the Great God would interpose in their behalf. The birds with one accord consented.

When the fowler discovered that there was not a bird left in the country, he became more sorrowful than ever. His case appeared hopeless. How to provide for his wife and family he knew not, because he had never learnt any other trade and had never possessed a special friend. It was a sad sight to see his children gathering round him when he returned in the evening to ask him what sport he had had (for they were very hungry), and then to watch them one after the other going away again, on being told that nothing had come to his hand that day.

Thus affairs continued until the birds returned from the conference; when the fowler, having heard from one of his children that the birds had again appeared, went forth with net and bow to try and catch them. He spread his net in a most likely place, and looked so fierce and determined that the birds were more afraid than before, and went to the parrot, saying, "In such and such a place the fowler has spread his net. Tell us how we may escape, for we are certain that if this man fails to snare us in his net, he will shoot us with his bow."

The parrot gave them permission to hide themselves in different places and promised that he would make provision for their permanent safety. So away they all flew, and were soon out of sight. Then the parrot went and walked straight into the fowler's net and was snared, but no other bird was caught that day, and the fowler was almost frantic with despair. On reaching home his family rushed to him as usual, and inquired what luck he had had. "Nothing," he replied, "because of your bad fortune,[3] but this parrot came into my net to-day."

Saying this he took the bird out of his cloth and made as though to kill it for food, but the parrot, guessing his intention, said, "Why are you going to slay me? Do you not know that my flesh is not fit for food? And even if you could eat me, what satisfaction for your hunger could you get out of such a morsel as I am? Would it not be a wiser plan to sell me to some dealer in the *bázár* and provide yourself with provisions for many days from the price that you would obtain for me?"

The fowler acknowledged the wisdom of what the bird advised, and therefore put it into a safe place for the night, intending to rise early on the following morning and go to the *bázár* with it.

As soon as the sun was up the next day, the fowler was up too, and off to the *bázár*, proclaiming to the people that he had this parrot for sale. "Who'll buy? Who'll buy?" he cried: and many people stopped to look at the bird. They all seemed pleased with it, and many wished to have it, but on account of the small sums which they offered, the parrot refused to go with them.[4] Of course this behaviour made the fowler very angry. He had been walking about in the heat all the day and was very tired and disappointed: and when he reached home, and saw again the hunger and distress of his family, he was exasperated beyond bounds. He swore that he would kill the parrot there and then. Poor bird! It thought that its doom was now most certainly sealed. However, it again begged the fowler to have patience with it. "You will perceive that I have not any personal interest in this delay," it added. "In refusing to be sold for

[3] A large number of stories might be quoted, in which the supposition that prosperity or adversity is sometimes dependent on the *qismat* of another is mentioned.

[4] Cf. *Old Deccan Days*, p. 107, also *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, pp. 209, 210.

such small sums, as were offered for me to-day I have not been rude. Please do not think me ungrateful for the preservation of my life. If you will wait till to-morrow, and then place me in a nice cage and cover the cage with a pretty cloth, and take me here and there about the palace-grounds, some great and rich person will probably notice the cage, and ask what is inside. It may be that they will also feel sufficient interest in me to inquire my price. If so, then please leave the arrangement of this matter again to me, simply saying that I cost a great deal of money and will declare my own price."

The fowler again acknowledged the wisdom of the parrot's counsel and consented to follow it. And so on the following morning, a beautiful cage and cloth having been procured, the bird was put inside, and carried about by the fowler within the precincts of the palace grounds.

Now the king of that country had several wives, but they were all barren except one, by whom a little daughter had been born to him. This daughter grew up to be so good and beautiful that His Majesty loved her very much. He cared not to be absent from her, and there was not a request of hers, that he did not try to fulfil to the utmost of his power. One day she had expressed a wish to have a bird which could speak, and so thenceforth the king had inquired diligently for such a bird. The fowler's visit therefore was most opportune.

While the fowler was perambulating before the palace the chief *Wazír* passed by. The fowler gave him a most profound *salám*. The parrot, also, gave him a *salám*, imagining that some great personage was near. When the *Wazír* heard the *salám* from the cage he was much surprised. "How strange!" he said; "Please remove the cloth that I may see the bird, which can do this wonderful thing."

The fowler did so; and the *Wazír* was more struck with the beauty of the parrot than with its cleverness, and offered to purchase it at any price. According to the previous arrangement the parrot at once named the price: "Eighteen thousand rupees!"

"What! Eighteen thousand rupees;" said the astonished *Wazír*.

"Yes; Eighteen thousand rupees;" the parrot again replied.

"Then I cannot buy you," said the *Wazír*; "but my lord the king wishes to have a speaking bird like you. So you will please be carried to him."

The parrot consented, and so on reaching the front entrance of the palace the *Wazír* took the cage, and went inside with it. After making his obeisance he placed the cage before the king, saying that at last he thought His Majesty had obtained his long-felt desire. As soon as the cage was set before the king, the bird most distinctly said, "*Salám*." This greatly astonished the king, who anxiously inquired whence the *Wazír* had obtained such a clever and magnificent bird. "It is the very bird that I have been wanting for a long time," he added. "You must sell it to me. Ask what you like, and I will give it you."

The *Wazír* replied, "It is not mine, O king. I met a poor fowler carrying it about the palace-grounds, and knowing that Your Majesty had need of such a bird, I first tried to buy it; but finding that its price was more than I could afford, I ordered the man to bring it hither. With Your Majesty's leave I will call in the man."

The king ordered the fowler to be brought in, and when he appeared, he asked him to sell the parrot. "Tell me its price and you shall have it," he said.

"My lord," tremblingly answered the man, "I cannot tell the worth of the bird. I only know that it was bought for a large sum of money. Let the king's will be. The bird will state its own worth."

Then the king turned towards the parrot and inquired its price; whereupon the parrot answered as before, "Eighteen thousand rupees!"

"Eighteen thousand rupees!" said the king with a much astonished air. "Too much, too much. Surely you are joking with me."

He tried to bargain for a less sum, but the parrot was as resolute concerning its price as the king was resolute concerning its purchase. Accordingly eighteen thousand rupees were paid to the fowler, and the parrot was carried in its beautiful cage to the king's only and beloved daughter.

The fowler was now a rich man. What a wind-fall! Eighteen thousand rupees all in

one day! With what great joy he returned to his house, and how joyfully his family received him, when they heard the glad news. After dinner,—such a dinner as they had not eaten for a long time,—they began to discuss plans for the future.

"What shall be done with these eighteen thousand rupees?" asked the fowler. "Shall we leave the country, the scene of so much sorrow and distress to us, and go to a fairer and better land? Or shall we remain here and spend our money in trading? Increasing in wealth and in honour we should forget our past troubles. Say, O my wife and children; what shall we do?"

Thus were they engaged in conversation, when a great noise was suddenly heard in the yard; and loud above all sounded the voice of somebody shrieking out the fowler's name. A company of soldiers had arrived, who said that they had been sent by the king to summon the fowler to the palace. The poor man was terror-stricken. "My name, my name;" he cried. "The king sent for me! What does His Majesty require of me at this hour of the night? Perhaps he repents of his purchase, and wishes to take the money back again. Or it may be that the parrot has maligned my character. Ah me! Ah me!"

But all his suspicions turned out to be wrong, for the king had summoned him in consequence of a conversation, which His Majesty had just had with the parrot, wherein he had been informed of the bird's mission. He wished to order him,—now that he had plenty of money,—to abandon the cruel calling of a fowler, and to apply himself to trade and merchandise. The fowler readily consented, saying, that this was his intention and that he would send his net and other things to the palace in testimony that he would not break his word. He then left, and as soon as he had gone, the king issued a proclamation to the effect that no person should catch or kill birds throughout the whole of that kingdom, and that whosoever was discovered disobeying the Royal mandate should be severely punished. Henceforth there was peace and contentment in the bird community of that kingdom. They flourished exceedingly and their sweet songs filled the air all the day long.

Out of gratitude to the king the parrot decided to remain in the palace. He made himself so very agreeable, that every member of the Royal household fell in love with him, and especially the princess, whose whole time and thoughts the bird monopolised; so that she cared not to go to the king, her father, as aforetime, but was always talking and playing with the parrot, and saying, "O what should I do if my pretty parrot died or flew away from me? Polly, you *do* love me, don't you? and you will *never* go away, will you? O promise me truly that you will never leave me!"

Matters continuing thus the king naturally felt annoyed, for he loved his daughter exceedingly, and did not like her whole time to be spent with the parrot. One afternoon he consulted some of his friends as to the right course to pursue. He did not wish, or rather he was afraid, to have the bird slain,—but what was he to do? They advised him to order the bird to be brought to the Court, or to the garden, or wherever the king wished his daughter to come, for His Highness knew that wherever the parrot went, there the princess would go too. The king was pleased with this advice, and at once sent a servant to bring the parrot to the Court.[5] Now the parrot, "as has been already mentioned," had the faculty of knowing all that was happening in the world, and used to tell his mistress any special news. Accordingly he now explained to her the king's plan for getting his daughter to visit him again. "You had better go," continued the parrot. "Go immediately, and leave me here."

The princess did so. Half-way to the Court, she met the king's messenger, and asked him what his errand was. He replied that he had been sent by the king to bring the parrot to the palace. "Never mind," she said, "you need not go. I will make it all right with the king. Return with me. I am now going to His Majesty." As soon as the princess had left to go to her father, the parrot remembered its native place and old friends, and determined to see them once more, thinking it could

[5] cf. *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, p 211.

return before the princess came back. So it pulled out its old and broken feathers that it might look the more beautiful, threw them on the floor, and then started. It reached home safely and was heartily welcomed by its relations and friends. They were all very glad to meet again, and had a lot to tell each other after so long an absence. They seemed hardly to have commenced conversation,—so quickly did the hours pass by,—when the falling shades of evening reminded the parrot that it was time to depart; and so resisting all entreaties of its friends to stay,—if only for an hour or so longer,—it spread out its wings and flew away.

On its way back the parrot alighted in a garden, which was by the sea-shore, where grew many rare and beautiful flowers. It plucked two of the most beautiful and returned to the princess. The princess had, however, come back from the Court long before, and finding that the parrot was not there had become very anxious; and when after a little while she discovered some broken feathers lying on the ground, her grief knew no bounds. She thought that a cat had certainly entered the room and stolen her beautiful bird. After much weeping and lamentation she went to the king, told him her sad tale, and begged him to give orders that every cat found within the kingdom should be slain. Although the king cared nothing for the parrot, yet he was very desirous of pleasing his daughter, and therefore he at once ordered the immediate execution of all the cats that could be found in his country. Hundreds of cats were killed before nightfall.[6]

The poor princess, however, got very little comfort out of this revenge. She returned to her room, shut the door, and wept until she had no more power to weep and could not bear it any longer. "My pretty Poll, my pretty Poll," she kept on saying in an agony of grief. "Why did I leave you? O cruel, cruel, to have done this the very first time I was away from you!" Thus she mourned the loss of her pet companion. It was a long, long while before she closed her eyes that night: and when sleep did come, it came only for a short space. She soon awoke and then her thoughts naturally turning on her terrible bereavement: so she got off her bed, and determined to put an end to her grief by hanging herself. She contrived to fasten a piece of cord to one of the beams of the ceiling, and having made a noose, was about to put it over her head, when the parrot flew in through the window! Another moment's delay and the bird would have found his mistress a corpse. What tongue can tell, and whose pen can describe the astonishment of the one and the joy of the other, when they thus met? The princess clasped the bird to her breast, and weeping floods of tears explained how she had thought that it had been devoured by some cat, and on that account had prevailed on the king to sanction an order for the destruction of all the cats in the country; and then how she had felt so lonely and so miserable, that she had fully resolved to kill herself, because she could not live without its company. The parrot was so touched with the princess's story, that he almost forgot to ask her to hasten to the king and get him to revoke the cruel order concerning the innocent cats.

For some time after this they both remained perfectly silent,—lost in each other's joy. At length the parrot broke the silence. He told his mistress how he had felt constrained to leave her so abruptly and visit his home and people, also what he had heard from them and had seen on the way; and then he presented to her the two beautiful flowers which he had plucked from the garden by the sea. On seeing the beautiful flowers and inhaling their sweet perfume the princess fainted; she had never before seen flowers so lovely and of such delicious scent. When she came to her senses, she went and showed them to the king. His Majesty and all the courtiers were greatly surprised when they saw them. Such magnificent flowers had never been seen or conceived of by them. Such splendid perfume too: it filled the whole palace, so that the attendants and servants living in distant apartments perceived it and began to ask one another whence it was.

"How did you obtain these?" asked the king. "The parrot gave them to me," replied the princess. "He said that they were plucked from the flowering trees in the garden of the daughter of the king of the fairies, which is by

[6] cf *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, pp. 209-219, the "Story of the Hiraman," which should be read in connection with this tale.

the sea-shore. There were twelve thousand of them in the garden, and each was worth twelve thousand rupees."

"True, true," remarked the king, "such flowers as these *must* be from heaven."

Then the princess asked her father to send and get some of these flowers for her. Now this was a very difficult request. Nevertheless the king promised that he would try, and at once despatched messengers in search of them. After many days these messengers returned, saying that they were quite sure of never being able to procure the flowers. However, His Majesty was not going to abandon the search so readily. He ordered notices to be sent to the different kingdoms of the world asking if these flowers were to be met with anywhere, and promising that he would give his beautiful daughter in marriage to the person, whoever he might be, who could procure them for him. This was done, and years passed without any news of them.

Now in former days there lived in the king's country a trader, who was exceedingly wealthy, and who, on account of his immense wealth, was much honoured by the common folk. Flattery and adulation had made this trader very proud,—so proud that he would never listen to anyone,—not even to the king. This proud man died, and owing to his not having any brothers or children his whole property reverted to the crown. It was a sad day for the trader's wife when her husband died. Poor woman; she was weak and sickly and expecting soon to have a little child. She knew not what to do. However, work she must, if she did not wish to die; and so she went and hired herself to a farmer of that country.

In due time her child was born. His lot[7] was good, and he grew and waxed strong. When he was old enough to do some work the farmer sent him into the fields to tend the cattle. Day by day he found time, also, to go to school with the farmer's children, for he was a good boy and wished to be wise and great. As his mother, being under the supposition that her child had been born under an unlucky star, had not given him a name, his schoolmates called him Khariâ, because his head was covered with scabs.[8] The school-master, however, soon discovered the boy's talents, and perceiving, also, that he was diligent in his studies and ambitious, he took special notice of him and taught him all he could. He gave him presents of books too, and Khariâ soon became very clever and learned, and the envy of all the other boys.

One day it happened that as Khariâ was going on an errand for his master the farmer, he met one of the messengers of the king, who wished to get some more of the rare and beautiful flowers. "Whence came you?" he asked. "What have you come for? What is your name?"

The messenger replied by putting the king's notice into his hand. Having perused it Khariâ said, "Give me some money for the expenses of the way, and I will obtain these flowers. Go back immediately to your Royal master, and tell him to comfort his daughter with these words, until I appear. Be not afraid that I will deceive you."

The messenger was much pleased with the boy's frank and ready manner; and giving him the necessary expenses and a specially-sealed letter of the king, he hastened back to inform His Majesty of his success.

Khariâ first went and told his mother what he was going to attempt. She begged him not to be so foolish, but he would not hear her. He then went to tell his master and his teacher, and taking leave of them, started on his journey. In two or three days he reached a jungle, where a very tall and grand-looking man met him. Catching hold of the tall man's hands, he said, "*Salám*." The man returned the boy's *salám* and asked him who he was, whence he came, and whither he was going. The boy told him everything, as he had told his mother and master and teacher, and kept nothing back from him. Then the grand tall man blessed him, prayed for him, and bade him depart in quest of the flowers. But the boy would not let go his hand until he had told him in what direction to go. Seeing that the boy was in earnest, and was a worthy boy, the grand tall man disclosed to him who he was, and how by virtue of his great sanctity he could obtain for him whatever he required. "This is what I wanted from you," said Khariâ, "for I could

[7] i.e. *qismat*.

[8] *Khur* is the Kaśmîrî for the disease called scald-head (*favus*).

see that you were a very holy person and had all power. I pray you tell me whether I can get these flowers, or not; what my future lot is; and what my name is."

The grand tall man answered, "My boy, you can get these flowers; your future is good; and your name is Gullâlâ Shâh."

Saying this he placed his left hand on the boy's head, and taking a hollow gourd filled with water, he threw its contents over him, when the scabs and all other failings in the boy's appearance disappeared, so that he was now very beautiful. As soon as he had done this the man finally told him to go. And as Khariâ was leaving he again blessed him.

After many days Khariâ arrived at a certain place, and took up his abode in the house of an old widow, who lived there. He was very kind to the old woman, and used to give her food and in other ways help her. Every day he went for walks in and around the city and constantly brought back with him some little present for the widow. One morning, as he was washing himself by the riverside, near the palace of the king of that country, the princess chanced to see him, and noticing that he was tall and handsome, she sent one of her attendants to call him, which was done. Khariâ said that he would go, and was conducted to a certain spot in the palace-garden, which the princess had pointed out. For many days they met together there, and the oftener they met the fonder they became of each other. At length the princess determined to marry Khariâ, and went to her parents to obtain their consent. Of course the king and queen first wished to see and to know something of the young man, and so a message was despatched to him, commanding him to appear at the Royal Court. In a little while the king, seeing that he was good and clever, and worthy of becoming his son-in-law, married his daughter to him. It was a very grand wedding, and there was no stint of money or trouble. Every arrangement was on the most lavish scale, and everything seemed to pass off most happily. Gullâlâ Shâh, for this was the name by which he was now known, visited the *Darbâr* every day, and his words were always listened to with the greatest attention and respect. Through his efforts, also, many good and just laws were introduced and many old-established errors corrected. Thus the kingdom became the terror and avenger of all evil men, but the refuge and defender of all who wished for right.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES ON THE MAHABHASHYA.

BY PROF. F. KIELHORN; GÖTTINGEN.

1. ACHARYADESIYA.

The *Mahâbhâshya* is composed in the form of a series of dialogues. The principal interlocutors in those dialogues are the *Śishya*, the *Âchâryadêśîya*, and the *Âchârya*. The *Śishya* brings forward his doubts and asks questions; the *Âchâryadêśîya* is ready to solve those doubts and to reply to the questions raised, but *paṇḍitammanya* as he is, his answers are given hastily and without a full knowledge of all the difficulties of the matter under discussion; so that finally the *Âchârya* must step in to overrule him, and to explain the true state of the case. Sometimes we find all the three disputants introduced in parts of the *Mahâbhâshya* which contain only remarks of Patañjali; on other occasions, the views of the *Âchâryadêśîya* are contained in a *Vârttika*, and those of the *Âchârya* in original remarks of Patañjali, or *vice versâ*. Moreover, as the author of the *Mahâbhâshya* has not himself told us which of the views stated in his work are those of the *Âchâryadêśîya*, and which those of the *Âchârya*, it cannot be wondered at that commentators occasionally should differ, and that one should regard as the opinion of the *Âchârya*, what the other takes to be the opinion of the *Âchâryadêśîya*.

All this is so plain and natural, and accords so perfectly with the Hindu method of scientific discussion, that it might seem unnecessary to state it here,[1] were it not that *Âchârya* and *Âchâryadêśîya* are by some scholars still taken to denote, the former *only* Kâtyâyana, and the latter *only* Patañjali, and that accordingly the word आचार्यदेशीय is still explained to be "a term used by Kaiyaṭa to denote Patañjali."

To show how the word *Âchâryadêśîya* is

[1] See my *Kâtyâyana and Patañjali*, p. 53, note, and A. Barth in the *Revue Critique*, 1878, No. 28, p 19.

really used by Hindu commentators, I select the following from a large number of passages which I have collected from the commentaries of Bhartṛihari, Kaiyaṭa, Haradatta, and Nâgôjîbhaṭṭa.

The *Dvandva*-compound शिष्याचार्याचार्यदेशीयाः is employed by Bhartṛihari, when commenting on the *Mahâbhâshya*, I. 5, of Vol. I. p. 5 of my edition.

In the Bhâshya on P. IV. 1, 13 (Vol. II. p. 204), *where there is no Vârttika at all*, the question is asked (l. 23, अथेह कथं भवितव्यम्), what would be the correct form of a *Bahuvrîhi*-compound to express the sense of the words बहवः श्वानोऽस्याम्; the answer given (l. 24, बहुशूका...कप्) is, that the compound would be बहुशूका, and it is shown how such a form is obtained; in the following words (l. 25, to p. 205, l. 5 कपा तावन्न...तस्माद्बहुश्वा बहुशुनीति भवितव्यम्) that first answer and the reasons adduced in favour of it are rejected, and it is shown that the compound would really be बहुश्वा. In this passage Kaiyaṭa ascribes the answer बहुशूका...कप् to the *Âchâryadêśîya*, and the following words कपा तावन्न to the *Âchârya*.

In the introductory portion of the Bhâshya on P. V. 1, 19, (Vol. II. p. 343), where no *Vârttika* is yet referred to, Kaiyaṭa ascribes the words (l. 9) एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति to the *Âchâryadêśîya*, the words (l. 12) यद्येतज्ज्ञाप्यते to the *Sishya*, and the words (l. 17) यत्तावदुच्यते to the *Âchârya*.

In the introductory portion of the Bhâshya on P. V. 3, 57 (Vol. II. p. 416), where likewise no *Vârttika* is yet referred to, Kaiyaṭa ascribes the words (l. 18) यदि पुन° to the *Âchâryadêśîya*, the words (l. 20) नैवंजातीयिका to the *Âchârya*, the words (l. 24) तत्तर्हि to the *Sishya*, and the words (l. 24) न वक्तव्यम् to the *Âchârya*.

In the Bhâshya on P. VI. 1, 91 (Vol. III. p. 70), Kaiyaṭa introduces the statement (l. 22) अन्तरेण with the words "*Âchâryadêśîyaḥ paṇḍitammanyatvâd âha*," and he ascribes the words (p. 71, l. 4) अनित्यो to the *Âchârya*.

In the Bhâshya on P. I. 4, 105-108, (Vol. I. pp. 352-354) Kaiyaṭa introduces, in addition to the *Âchâryadêśîya* and *Âchârya*, the *Chôdaka* or objector; and to these three disputants he assigns some of the statements made in the *Vârttikas* and Bhâshya, as follows:

P. 352, l. 13 *Chôdaka*:—स तर्हि.
 l. 14 *Âchâryadêśîya*:— न वक्तव्यः.
 l. 16 *Chôdaka*:—अनेकशेष° (*Vârttika*).
 l. 19 *Âchâryadêśîya*:—न वा युष्म° (*Vârttika*).
P. 353, l. 5 *Âchârya*:—यत्तावदुच्यते.

Or on p. 354, where there is no *Vârttika*:
 l. 1 *Âchâryadêśîya*:—तदन्तविधिना भविष्यति.
 l. 1 *Chôdaka*:— इहापि तर्हि.
 l. 4 *Âchâryadêśîya*:—एवं तर्हि.
 l. 5 *Chôdaka*:— इहापि तर्हि.
 l. 6 *Âchârya*:—एवं तर्हि.

In the introductory portion of the Bhâshya on P. VI. 4, 62 (Vol. III. p. 206), the words (l. 1), अथ के...परत्वात् may according to Kaiyata either be taken as the statement of one disputant, and the following words (l. 2) उदात्तेभ्योऽपि as the words of the *Siddhântavâdin*; or अथ के...परत्वात् may be considered as questions and answers of the *Śishya* and *Âchâryadêśîya*, and उदात्तेभ्योऽपि as the statement of the *Âchârya*.

The last passage naturally suggests the idea, that the term *Âchârya*, when used in opposition to such terms as *Śishya*, *Chôdaka*, or *Âchâryadêśîya*, is equivalent to *Siddhântavâdin* or *Siddhântin*, and, that such is really the case, might be proved by a large number of quotations. Here it may suffice to state, that *Âchâryadêśîya* is actually opposed to *Siddhânta* by Nâgôjîbhaṭṭa on P. I. 1, 27, to *Siddhântin* by the same on P. II. 1, 69 and VI. 4, 42, and to *Siddhântavâdin* by Kaiyaṭa on P. VII. 2, 106. The natural consequence is that *Âchârya* in turn may be opposed to *Pûrvapakshin*, as has been done, *e.g*, by Nâgôjîbhaṭṭa on P. IV. 1. 10.

2. GONIKAPUTRA AND GONARDIYA.

On p. 227 of Vol. XII. of this Journal, I stated that I hoped to prove, by the help of Bhartṛihari's Commentary on the *Mahâbhâshya*, that later grammarians were wrong in identifying G ô n a r d î y a with Patañjali. Since then, Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, who even in his preface to the *Yôga Aphorisms* (published in 1883) had adhered to the view which makes Patañjali a son of Gôṇikâ and a native of Gônarda, has attempted to prove that G ô ṇ i k â p u t r a and G ô n a r d î y a in the *Mahâbhâshya* do not denote Patañjali, but are the names of grammarians quoted by him (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LII. Part I., p. 261). I shall now briefly indicate the reasons which years ago have made me arrive at the same conclusion; and I am perhaps the more justified

in once more discussing this matter, as the arguments in favour of the view advocated by Dr. Rajendralal appear even stronger than he has shown them to be.

The name Gôṇikâputra occurs only once in the *Mahâbhâshya*, at the close of the discussion on P. I. 4, 51 (Vol. I. p. 336 of my edition). After having raised the question, whether one should say नेताश्वस्य स्रुघ्नम् or नेताश्वस्य स्रुघ्नस्य, *i.e.* whether the word स्रुघ्न should here be put in the acc. or gen. case, Patañjali simply answers उभयथा गोणिकापुत्रः "Gôṇikâputra (says that) either (case is correct)." To this Nâgôjîbhaṭṭa appends the somewhat vague remark गोणिकापुत्रो भाष्यकार इत्याहुः, "they say that Gôṇikâputra is the author of the Bhâshya." It appears, however, that the statement here repeated by him had not met with general acceptance; for, on the margin of a MS. which was written in A.D. 1695, and which often furnishes valuable notes, we have the gloss गोणिकापुत्राचार्यमते उभयथा, षष्ठी भवति द्वितीयापि भवति, "in the opinion of the *Âchârya* Gôṇikâputra, &c.," a phrase which cannot be taken to refer to the *Bhâshyakâra*. We are left then to choose whichever interpretation may seem the more reasonable one; and when we find that only on p. 332 Patañjali has answered a similar question by saying उभयथापि भवितव्यम्, and has there moreover given his reasons for such answer, we shall, I think, decide in favour of the alternative that in the words उभयथा गोणिकापुत्रः he is quoting the opinion of *another* scholar.

Gônardîya occurs four times in the *Mahâbhâshya*:—

(*a*) On P. I. 1, 21 Kâtyâyana shows that rule of Pâṇini's to be necessary when we assume *âdi* to denote that which, while it is accompanied by something else (सत्यन्यस्मिन्,) has nothing before it, and *anta* that which, while it is accompanied by something else, has nothing after it; that on the other hand the rule may be dispensed with when 'beginning' and 'end' are simply taken to be what has nothing before it and what has nothing after it. After having explained Kâtyâyana's *Vârttikas*, Patañjali adds (Vol. I. p. 78):—

गोनर्दीयस्त्वाह सत्यमेतत्सति त्वन्यस्मिन्निति[1]

"but Gônardîya says, that (the definitions of *âdi* and *anta*) ought to contain (the clause) सत्यन्यस्मिन् 'while it is accompanied by something else' (and that therefore Pâṇini's rule *is* necessary)".—

(*b*) On P. I. 1, 29 Patañjali argues that that rule is necessary solely because it enables us to account for such forms as मत्कपितृक and त्वत्कपितृक. Without it, we should render the sense of the phrase अहकं पितास्य मकत्पितृक for मद् would be *Sarvanâman* even in the *Bahuvrîhi*-compound and would therefore take अकच् by P. V. 3, 71, not क by the general rule P. V. 3, 70. But Patañjali adds (Vol. I. p. 91):—

गोनर्दीय आह ।
अकच्स्वरौ तु कर्तव्यौ प्रत्यङ्गं[2] मुक्तसंशयौ ।
त्वकत्पितृकः मकत्पितृक इत्येव भवितव्यमिति ।

"Gônardîya says, that (the words termed *Sarvanâmâni*) ought without any doubt to take अकच् and to receive the accent (due to them as *Sarvanâmâni*, even in a *Bahuvrîhi*-compound) because (both अकच् and that accent present themselves before the composition takes place and) are (therefore in regard to it) *antaraṅga*; that accordingly one ought (not) to say (त्वत्कपितृक, मत्कपितृक, but) त्वकत्पितृक, मकत्पितृक, (and that Pâṇini's rule I. 1, 29 is superfluous and may be dispensed with)".—

(*c*) On P. III. 1, 92 Patañjali raises the question whether it is allowable to form a noun like कुम्भीकार to express the sense of कुम्भीकरोति in such a phrase as कुम्भींकरोति मृदम्, "he turns clay into a jar," and having, for reasons given, answered that question in the negative he proceeds (Vol. II. p. 76):—

न तर्हीदानीमिदं भवति
इच्छाम्यहं काशकटीकारमिति ।
इष्टमेवैतद्गोनर्दीयस्य ।

"Do we then not find the following, *viz.* 'I maintain (that we ought to say) काशकटीकार one who turns grass into a mat'? Gônardîya certainly does maintain (that) this *is* correct."—

(*d*) Lastly, on P. VII. 2, 101 it is stated that, in the nom. sing. neut. अतिजरसम्, the termination अम् cannot be dropped, because this very termination has caused the substitution of जरस for जर, and because there is a maxim, that that which owes its existence to something else cannot in turn cause the dis-

[1] The Kaśmîr MS. has गोनर्दीय आह सत्यमेतत्सत्यन्यस्मिन्निति.

[2] The Kaśmîr MS. has प्रत्यङ्गौ.

appearance of the latter.[3] The objection to this is that such reasoning would render impossible the forms अतिजरसम् and अतिजरसैः, (because the terminations अम् and ऐः, as they owe their presence to the preceding जर, ought not to bring about the disappearance of that जर), and would lead one to form अतिजरम् and अतिजरैः instead. And the discussion is wound up in the words (Vol. III. p. 309):—

गोनर्दीय आह । इष्टमेवैतत्संगृहीतं भवति । अतिजरम् अतिजरैरिति भवितव्यं सत्यामेतस्यां परिभाषायां संनिपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्येति ।

"Gônardîya says, that such a result is exactly what is wanted; the forms should be अतिजरम् and अतिजरैः, since there is the maxim that that which owes its existence to something else cannot in turn cause the disappearance of the latter."

Now it is true that Kaiyaṭa, when commenting on (*a*), substitutes भाष्यकारस्त्वाह for गोनर्दीयस्त्वाह, and that he understands Patañjali to propound in the passage (*b*) his own view as to the uselessness of the rule P. I. 1, 29. It is also certain that Nâgôjîbhaṭṭa believes Kaiyaṭa in his note on (*a*) to say that Gônardîya is the author of the Bhâshya, and that Hêmachandra (and Vardhamâna[4]) consider the names Gônardîya and Patañjali to denote one person. But Kaiyaṭa's words need not necessarily convey the meaning assigned to them by Nâgôjîbhaṭṭa, and probably before him by Hêmachandra, and *à priori* there is as little reason to identify Gônardîya with Patañjali as there would be of identifying Patañjali with Kuṇaravâḍava, who in the words कुणरवाडवस्त्वाह is introduced, and whose views, as opposed to those held by the *Vârttikakâra*, were probably adopted by Patañjali, on P. III. 2, 14 and VII. 3, 1 (Vol. II. p. 100 and Vol. III. p. 317). On the contrary, an examination of the statements ascribed to Gônardîya would seem to show, that in two cases at least those remarks are *quotations*, quotations from a grammatical work which was *in verse*, and the terminology of which differed from that of the *Mahâbhâshya*, while it agreed with that of *other* grammarians. And moreover, the manner in which Gônardîya is mentioned by Vâmana and referred to by Bhartṛihari, can, in my opinion, leave no doubt that those older grammarians never thought of identifying him with Patañjali.

The passages (*a*) and (*d*) may be considered to contain little of any decisive value, although I cannot altogether pass over the fact that on no less than eight occasions Patañjali has put forth his arguments in the same manner as on P. VII. 2, 101, and has employed the same phrase इष्टमेवैतत्संगृहीतम् which occurs on P. VII. 2, 101, *without* an introductory "Gônardîya says." (See Vol. I. p. 491, 495; Vol. II. p. 228, 238, 325; Vol. III. p. 159, 378, 403). More important is the passage (*c*). From the concluding words of it we learn, that it is Gônardîya who maintains that one may form काशकटीकार; and if then in the preceding line we read इच्छाम्यहं काशकटीकारमिति, "I maintain that काशकटीकार is correct Sanskrit," we are led to conclude that these are the very words in which Gônardîya had expressed his opinion, or, to put it differently, that this sentence is quoted from a work of Gônardîya, which cannot be the *Mahâbhâshya*. The words would appear to be part of a Ślôka, and that their diction accords with that of other grammatical *Kârikâs* becomes evident when we compare, *e.g.*—

Vol. I. p. 144 स्तोष्याम्यहं पादिकमौदवाहिं,
Vol. II. p. 87 अमावसोरहं ण्यतोर्निपातयाम्यवृद्धिताम्,
Vol. III. p. 183 शास्मि निवर्त्यं सुटीत्यविशेषे-
Vol. II. p. 65 ल्यप्ययमिच्छति शास्त्रकृदेषां,

and other verses quoted in the *Mahâbhâshya*. That Gônardîya *was* a writer of grammatical *Kârikâs* is proved more clearly still by the passage (*b*); and that passage is of further importance, inasmuch as the half ślôka actually furnished by it, and ascribed to Gônardîya, contains two words which are never used by Patañjali, *viz.* the word युक्तसंशय which is peculiar to the *Vârttikas*, and the word प्रत्यङ्ग (for अन्तरङ्ग) which in this technical sense is found only in a *Kârikâ* on P. VI. 4, 110, and in the Bhâshya on P. VI. 3, 138, where Patañjali repeats a statement of *other* grammarians (Vol. III. p. 177, इहान्य आचार्याश्च प्रत्यङ्गस्य प्रतिषेधमाहुः).

All this tends to prove that Gônardîya cannot be Patañjali himself, but must be a

[3] For a more accurate rendering of this maxim see *Paribhâshêndusêkhara*, LXXXV.

[4] *Gaṇaratnamahôdadhi*, p. 63.

grammarian quoted by him; and such I believe is the opinion both of Vâmana, the author of a portion of the *Kâśikâ-Vṛitti*, and of Bhartṛihari, the commentator of part of the *Mahâbhâshya* For the former, after having on P. VII. 2, 101 copied the statement that one ought to form अतिजरम् and अतिजरैः, adds इति गोनर्दीयमतम्[5] "such is the opinion of Gônardîya," a remark which would be strange if Vâmana, who repeatedly quotes the Bhâshya and the *Bhâshyakâra*, had identified Gônardîya with the *Bhâshyakâra;* and Bhartṛihari, when commenting on P. I. 1, 29,[6] and after having quoted the words गोनर्दीयस्त्वाह, raises the question किमस्याचार्यस्य दर्शनम् "what is the opinion of *this* Âchârya"?, words which clearly imply that *this* Âchârya is not Patañjali.

AN ENGLISH-GIPSY INDEX.

COMPILED BY MRS. GRIERSON, WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY G. A. GRIERSON, B.C.S.

(*Continued from p. 57.*)

FEAST, Funeral,—Prâzniku, (M.)
FEATHER,—Por, (pl.) porior, (Eng.); porî, (M., M. 8)
FEED, to—Hrĕnîava, hrĕnisarâva (to pasture), pĕshtiâva, pĕshtisarâva, (M.); see NOURISH.
FEEDING, the act of,—Popâsu, (M.)
FEEL, to,—Khakyarâva, (M. 7)
FEET,—Pîre, (Eng.); see FOOT.
FELL, to,—Shinâva, (M.)
FELLOW,—Bau, baw, chal, guero, (fem.) gueri, (Eng.)
FEMALE,—Juvĕl, juvlî, (Tch.)
FEMININE,—Juvliâkoro, juvlicanò, (Tch.)
FERN,—Fuzyanri, (Eng.)
FEW,—Khandi, khanrîk, khanlîk, (Tch.); ḳhandi, (M. 7); zalog, (M. 8)
FEW, very,—Khanroricha, (Tch.)
FEVER,—Shila, trêska, (Tch.); beri, (As. Tch.); trêsca, (Psp. M.); shûl, shĕl, (M.)
FEZ,—Stadik, (M. 8)
FIDDLE,—Bashadi, bosh, (Eng.); châtara, (M.)
FIDDLER,—Bosho-mengro, (Eng.); skripkâr, skripkâri, skripkarâsh, (M.)
FIDELITY.—Priîncĕ, (M.)
FIE!—Pif! (Tch.)
FIELD, arable,—Arĕtûra, lânu, mal, mâlo, mâlu, (M.); mal, (M. 8)
FIERY,—Yagalô, yagâkoro, (Tch.)
FIFE,—Zarbûna, duruvlî, (Tch.); l'âva, (M.); sambona, (M. 8)
FIFER,—Duruvaliàkoro, (Tch.)
FIFTEEN,—Desh ta pansch, (Eng.); desh-i-panch, (Psp. M.)
FIFTH,—Pânzhto, (M.)
FIFTY,—Penînda, (Tch., Psp. M.)
FIG,—Figis, (Eng.); khelî, (Tch., Psp. M.); ḳhelî (M. 8, add.)
FIGS, Seller of—Khelièngoro, (Tch.)
FIG-TREE,—Figis-rukh, (Eng.); khelîn, (Tch., Psp. M.)
FIGHT, a.—Kûrapen, (Eng.)
FIGHT, to.—Kûrâva, chingâva, (Eng.); marâva, (M.)
FIGHTER,—Kûromengro, chinga-guero, (Eng.)
FIGHTING,—Chingring, kûraken, (Eng.)
FIGHTING-COCK, a,—Kûroboshno, (Eng.)
FIGURE,—Kîpu, (M.)
FILBERTS,—Pailloes, (Eng.)
FILCH, to,—Kaurâva, (Eng.)
FILE,—Vernî, dekâfti, (Tch.); vernî, (Psp. M., M. 8)
FILL, to,—Perâva, (Tch., Psp. M.); berti le ker, (As. Tch.); pherâva, (M., M. 8)
FILLING,—Peribè, (Tch.)
FILTHY,—Kelalò, pakô, (Tch.)
FIND, to,—Lachâva, (Eng.); arakâva, (Tch.); arakâva, aflìâva, (M.); rakhâva, (M. 8)
FINE,—Sannô, (Tch.)
FINE, a.—Fino, (Eng.)
FINGER,—Vangus, (Eng.); angûst, angûsht, (Tch.); angûst, angrûst, (Psp. M.); angûl, anghiûl, (As. Tch.); angusht, (M. 7)
FINISH, to,—Resâva, (Psp. M.); gĕtosarâva, (M.)
FIRE,—Yag, (Eng.); yag, yak, (Tch.); eg, (As. Tch.); yak, (Psp. M.); yag, (M., M. 7)
FIREBRAND,—Omblâl, umblâl, (Tch.); amblâl, (M.)
FIRE-CAR,—Yag-vardo, (Eng.)
FIREMAN,—Yag-engro, yago-mengro, (Eng.)
FIRST,—Avkôs, avgôs, avgutnô, (Tch.); avkôs, (Psp. M.); ĕntĕy, (M.); avgo, (M. 7)
FIR-TREE,—Bradok, brad'i, (M.)
FISH,—Macho, (Eng., M. 8) machô, (dim.) machorô, (Tch.); mâcha, (As. Tch.); macho, (Psp. M.)
FISH, cured,—Chîros, (Tch.)
FISHERMAN,—Macheneskoe guero, (Eng.)
FIST,—Domûk, (Tch., Psp. M., M. 7); dumûk, (M.)

[5] Haradatta explains एष गोनर्दीयस्य पक्षः.

[6] The Berlin MS. does not contain Bhartṛihari's commentary on P. I. 1, 21.

FIT,—adj.—Hainō, (M.)
FIVE,—Panj, pansch, (Eng.); panch, panj, (Tch., panch, Psp. M., M. 8), panzh, (M.)
FLAGSTONE,—Pestera, (Tch.)
FLASK, WATER,—Bâkla, (Tch.)
FLAX,—Vus, pus, (Tch.); vus, Psp. M.; vush, (M. 8)
FLAXEN,—Vushéskoro, vushèngoro, (Tch.)
FLAY, to,—Kushâva, (M.)
FLEA,—Pishen, (Eng.); pushùm, (Tch., Psp. M., M. 8); pishòm, pishen, (M.)
FLEE, to,—Nashâva, (M.)
FLESH,—Maas, (Eng.), mas, (Tch., Psp. M., M., M. 8)
FLING, to,—Chivâva, chuvâva, (Eng.)
FLOCK,—Hĕrdiliya, hĕrdiliye, (M.)
FLOOR,—Arie, podèon, (M.)
FLORIN,—Froli, (Tch.), Kia, (M.)
FLOUR,—Waro, var, pauno, (Eng.); varò, (Tch., Psp. M.); atà, (As. Tch.); arò, (M.), vanro, (M. 8)
FLOUR-BOLTER,—Porizèn, (Tch., M. 8)
FLOURISH, to,—Enfiunzàva, (M.)
FLOW, to,—Tàvdìva, tavdiniovàva, (Tch.), bulâva, (M.)
FLOWER,—Luuzin, (Eng.), luludî, lulugì, (M.); luludi, (M. 8)
FLUTE,—Fluèru, (M.)
FLUTE-PLAYER,—Fluerâsh, (M.)
FLUVIAL,—Lenàvoro, (Tch.)
FLY,—Mosko, moshkibo, (Eng.); moshabis, (Span. Gip.); makò, dendikhàlo machi, (Tch.); pesi, (As. Tch.); makhì, (Psp. M.), mak, (M.), makàla, (M. 8)
FLY, to,—Uryava, (Tch., M., M. 8)
FLY AWAY, to,—Uryàmiovàva, (Tch.), furtì, (As. Tch.)
FLY, to cause to,—Uryanì keràva, (Tch.)
FOAL,—Kurò, kurì, khurò, khurò, (Tch.), khurò, kurò, kurì, (M.); khuro, (M. 7)
FOAL, to,—Pherdovàva, (M.)
FOAM,—Spùma, (M.)
FOG,—Negurè, (M.)
FOLLY,—Dinilipè, (Tch.)
FOLLIES,—Dinnipenes, (Eng.)
FOLLOW, to,—Slomàva, shunàva, (Eng.)
FOOD,—Habben, (Eng.); khashoi, khasoi, khabè, (Tch.); hranè, khabe, khabi, (M.)
FOOL,—Dinnelo, (Eng.); dinilò, (Psp. M.); dinilo, (M. 7); bràma, (M.)
FOOLISH,—Dinneleskoe, (Eng.)
FOOL, like a,—Dinneleskoenoes, (Eng.)
FOOT,—Pinrò, pirò, pirnò, pindò, dina, pinrorò, (Tch.); hav, (As. Tch.), pirò, pindo, pinro, pirnò, (Psp. M.); ponrò, pĕnrò, (M.); pindo, (M. 8)
FOOTPATH,—Kérâre, (M.)
FOR,—Kĕ, pe, (M.), vash, (M. 8)
FORBID, to,—Popriava, poprisaràva, (M.)
FOREHEAD,—Chikàt, (Tch., M., M. 7)
FOREIGN,—Peryùl, (Psp. M.)
FOREIGNER,—Waffo temeskoe mush, (pl.) waffo temengro, (Eng.)
FOREIGN LAND,—Waffo tem, (Eng.)
FOREST,—Wesh, (Eng.); vesh, ves, vest, veshia vosh, ves, (Tch.); vesh, (Psp. M.)
FORESTER,—Veshèskoro, (Tch.)
FORGET, to,—Bistràva, (Tch., M. 7), bisteràva, (M.)
FORGIVE, to,—Fordelàva, artâva, artavelàva, (Eng.); estomaràva, (Span. Gip.), iertisàva, (M.)
FORGIVEN,—Fordias, fordios, (Eng.)
FORGIVENESS,—Artapen, (Eng.)
FORK,—Bareli, berdi, (Tch.), furkulitsa, (M.)
FORMERLY,—Angleder, (Tch.)
FORNICATION,—Piriaibè, (Tch.)
FORNICATION, to commit,—Piriavâva, (Tch.)
FORNICATOR,—Pirianò, (Tch.)
FORTIFY, to,—Asturghiâ keràva, (Tch.)
FORTUNE,—Metipen, kappi, bokht, (Eng.), bakht, dina, bakhtorì, (Tch.), mestipen, bestipen, (Span. Gip.)
FORTUNATE, one who is,—Bakhtalò, (Tch.)
FORTUNES, to tell,—Dukkeràva, (Eng.)
FORTUNE-TELLING,—Dukkering, dukkipen, durriken, (Eng.), dārik, (M. 7)
FORTY,—Saranda, (Psp. M., M. 8)
FORWARDS,—Anglé, (Psp. M.)
FORWARDS, to go,—Rĕporàva, (M.)
FOUND, to be,—Arakhiovava, (Tch.)
FOUNDATIONS,—Temeli, (M.)
FOUNTAIN,—Chesmè, (Tch.); khani, (As. Tch.)
FOUR,—Stor, (Eng.); ishtar, shtar, star, (Tch.), ishtàr, (Psp. M.), shtar, (M., M. 8)
FOURTEEN,—Desh to store, (Eng.), desh-u-ishtàr, (Psp. M.)
FOURTH,—Shtarto, (M.)
FOX,—Wesh-ju-kel, (Eng.); hulpe, (M.)
FRAGRANCE,—Sung, (Tch.), luri, (M. 8)
FRANCE, real... ,—Dereuru, (M.)
FRANKL..—Hegedush, (M.)
FREEZE, to,—Paghosàilom (1 pres.), (Tch.); pagosàràva, (M. 8)
FRESH,—Sudrò, sudrò, sitrò, (Tch.); premmtàn, prôspĕtu, (M.); shudro, (M. 8)
FRESHNESS,—Sudripè, (Tch.)
FRESH AIR,—Rĕkoare, (M.)
FRIDAY,—Parashtuyi, parashtui, (M.), paraskevi, (M. 8)
FRIEND,—Parnavò, (Tch., Psp. M., M. 8), mare, (M. 8)
FRIENDSHIP,—Parnaibè, (Tch.)
FRIGHT,—Dar, (Tch.)

FRIGHTEN, to.—Traishâva, (Eng.) [illegible]âvâ. (Tch.)

FRIGHTENED, to be,—Daranis[illegible]âva, tra[illegible]âve, (Tch.)

FRIGHTEN HIM.—Str[illegible] M

FRINGES, of a tent,—[illegible] Tch.

FROG,—Zâmla. Tch. M. S. [illegible] (A. Tch.), zâmpa. P-p. M. [illegible] M. [illegible] M. S.

FROM.—Katar P-p. M. [illegible] M

FRONT,—Aagle, [illegible] Tch.

FROST.—Zhara, hoar-frost [illegible] chêm, M

FROTH.—[illegible] M

F[illegible]—M[illegible] Tch. M

F[illegible]—P[illegible] M

FR[illegible]—P[illegible] pâni. M.

FRUIT-[illegible], of or belonging to,—R[illegible] (Tch.)

FRYING-PAN.—Tassa[illegible] Eng.

FULL.—Pe[illegible] [illegible]

FULL, to be—P[illegible] Tch. [illegible] P-p. M

F[illegible]—Shoshâ[illegible] Tch.

F[illegible]

F[illegible] Tch.

F[illegible]—K[illegible]

F[illegible]—K[illegible] M [illegible] M

G.

G[illegible] — P[illegible] M. S.

G[illegible]

GAIN, to,—A[illegible] M

G[illegible] — P[illegible] P-p. M

GALL,—Khalin. Tch.

GALLOWS.—Sk[illegible] M

GAME.—Kelâ. Tch.)

GAME wild [illegible]—[illegible] (M)

GAMEKEEPER.—W[illegible] yagom[illegible] Eng.)

GARDEN.—Y[illegible] Eng.) [illegible] pâni. Tch.

GARLIC.—Sir. (Tch.) P-p. M. M. S.), lesin, A. Tch.

GARLIC, [illegible]—S[illegible] Tch.

GARMENT.—[illegible] rôkr[illegible] M. [illegible] M. 7

GART[illegible]—B[illegible] M

G[illegible]

G[illegible]

G[illegible] (M)

G[illegible]

G[illegible] Eng.

G[illegible]

G[illegible] Tch.

G[illegible] M. 7

G[illegible] M.)

G[illegible] M

G[illegible] Eng.

G[illegible]

G[illegible]

G[illegible] T[illegible] M

G[illegible] Tch.

G[illegible] Tch.

G[illegible] rch.

G[illegible] M

G[illegible] M.)

GIMLET,—Shed[illegible]

BOOK NOTICES.

THE ROOTS, VERB-FORMS AND PRIMARY DERIVATIVES OF THE SANSKRIT LANGUAGE [illegible] Berlin [illegible] 1885 [illegible]

Highly as we value the works of the native grammarians and consider [illegible] to them is mainly due that [illegible] study of Sanskrit has [illegible] during the last century we [illegible] without [illegible] being misunderstood, venture to say that the time has arrived when their rules should be subjected, by a comparison with the actual usage of the language, to a thorough and searching examination. No one who has given any serious thought to the subject, would suggest [illegible] scholars of India [illegible] served by Pânini [illegible] would willingly [illegible] have [illegible] which [illegible] At the same time [illegible] attempt to analyse [illegible] of the language [illegible] on basis which [illegible] their desire to [illegible] lay down rules which [illegible] would, if generally observed, give rise to forms or expressions that have never been in actual use, and that the

commentators may have given a meaning to their [illegible] which was not intended by those who [illegible] them. Moreover it cannot be denied, that the ancient [illegible] of the Veda has not [illegible] from the grammarians that [illegible] attention and [illegible] and that their labours [illegible] be supplemented by [illegible].

But a comparison of the [illegible] with the usage of [illegible] consecutive periods [illegible] results in another direction. [illegible] the grammarians [illegible] their works for the [illegible] what they [illegible] and exceptions to explain [illegible] language [illegible] of the [illegible] must have been known to [illegible] which they [illegible].

[illegible] Whitney [illegible] Sanskrit [illegible]. The book [illegible] words [illegible] Grammar [illegible] [illegible] attached [illegible] function [illegible] [illegible] the language. So far as the information at present available [illegible] —whether found in the language [illegible] whole history or limited [illegible] Veda, Brâhmaṇa, Sûtra, Upanishads, [illegible] [illegible] Sanskrit. Of the forms taught by the grammarians which have not yet been met with in actual use, a [illegible] is made and [illegible] being always distinguished from the [illegible] put in square brackets. In addition to this regular *Dhâtupâṭha*, the author has given [illegible] of tenses and conjugation-stems, from which it becomes at once apparent whether a particular stem is found only in the earlier or only in the later language or occurs in both; and an index of roots, arranged in reversed alphabetical order, under which we find the interesting note, that "of the more than 800 roots here recorded as making forms of conjugation, nearly 200 occur only in the [illegible] language, nearly 500 in both the earlier and later, and less than 150 only in the later language."

For the later periods of the language Prof. Whitney [illegible] mainly from [illegible] Petersburg Dictionary, for the older language he has done much more [illegible] [illegible] He [illegible] over all [illegible] Kaushitaki-[illegible] and [illegible] Jaimi-[illegible] which has as yet [illegible] and from [illegible] verbal [illegible] derivatives [illegible] Dr. [illegible] The forms [illegible] have been [illegible] the authority of Westergaard's [illegible] for this reason a few wrong forms [illegible] very accurate work [illegible].

[illegible] for which this is [illegible] that Prof. [illegible] the words of the [illegible] the work will probably [illegible] for the belief that the [illegible] accords in a most [illegible] with the language of what Prof. Whitney calls the language of the Brâhmaṇa period.

F. KIELHORN.

THE LIGHT OF ASIA, BY EDWIN ARNOLD, C.S.I. [illegible] London: Trübner & Co.

[illegible] of this [illegible] work have previously [illegible] its [illegible] have been [illegible] discussed, but the chief feature of this [illegible] the illustrations—have been [illegible] The [illegible] native [illegible] of Buddha and his life, without [illegible] and we have here before us [illegible] of [illegible] however crudely executed [illegible] of Buddhist stories as they present [illegible] to the Buddhist imagination. A flood of light is thus necessarily thrown on those quaint sculptures and drawings so familiar and so

incomprehensible to the student of Indian Buddhist architecture and art, and a new interest given to them. As instances of this we would draw attention to the cuts on p. 7 entitled in the list "merchantmen bringing rich gifts": on p 19, "Rishis passing the Jambu tree": and and on p 86 where Buddha takes his horse to see the world. Viewed therefore as a teacher through its illustrations of the meaning of bas-reliefs and sculptures from Buddhist buildings the book is an invaluable one, and serves as a key by which the student may unlock the sealed door of ancient Indian design, and having thus once obtained an entrance into the vestibule use the clues now given him to penetrate unaided into the farther recesses of the structure. Other books of course can do this for him, but they are not as a rule such as would from their nature attract any but the most earnest or from their costliness be available to any but the wealthy, whereas this one is both interesting and moderate in price. The value of the illustrations is augmented by their being placed *within* the text as it were—cuts rather than full page plates being used throughout the work.

As edition after edition of the *Light of Asia* has been brought out we cannot but wonder that the author has allowed his extraordinarily faulty transliteration to remain [illegible]. We quote the following passage from page 11 as a sample of what transliteration ought *not* to be. Either let it be scientifically regular or let it be "phonetic", not a little of both, which is the worst system of all.

"After me repeat
Your numeration till we reach the lakh,
One, two, three, four to ten, and then by tens
To hundreds, thousands." After him the child
Named digits, decads, centuries, nor paused,
The round lakh reached, but softly murmured on,
"Then comes the kôti, nahut, ninnahut,
Khamba, viskhamba, abab, attata,
To kumuds, gundhikas, and utpalas,
By pundarîkas unto padumas,
Which last is how you count the utmost grains
Of Hastagiri ground to finest dust;
But beyond that a numeration is,
The Kàtha, used to note the stars of night;
The Koti-Kàtha, for the ocean drops;
Ingga, the calculus of circulars;
Sarvanikchepa, by the which you deal
With all the sands of Gunga, till we come
To Antah-Kalpas, where the unit is
The sands of ten crore Gungas."

On the previous page we have *tatsavitarvarenyam* in the "*Gâyatrî*," which the author gives, but, perhaps wisely, makes no attempt to translate. Now if you write *kàtha*, &c. why write *lakh*? And if you write *crore* why not write *lac*? And again if you write *lakh* why write *Gunga*? If you are going to be so very correct as to write ṇ in a word where the cerebral nasal occurs, why be careless as to vowels in other words no more familiar to the general reader than *tatsavitarvarenyam* on the very next page? We have again *nakhi* and *ugga* and then [illegible] and [illegible], and so on *ad infinitum* throughout the book: to say nothing of such atrocities as [illegible], *Tchirnika*, *chaddah* and [illegible]! It is a great pity to allow the book to continue to be marred by signs of want of scholarship of such a nature as to throw doubts on its existence.

EXTRACTS FROM THE QURAN IN THE ORIGINAL WITH ENGLISH RENDERING.—By Sir W. Muir, K.C.S.I., LL.D., D.C.L. 2nd Ed. Trübner & Co. London.

We take it that the object of this little work is to extract what of general religious morality is to be found in the *Qurân*—as we prefer to spell it—with the object of showing Christians and Muhammadans how far they can agree. Seeing how beautiful and attractive on such points the language of the *Qurân* often is, the learned and distinguished author conceived the idea of using suitable extracts from it as a book for schools, useful alike to both religions. This idea well deserved success, but he was met with such a weight of prejudice—from Christians against 'teaching' from the *Qurân*, and from Muhammadans against 'extracting' from so sacred a book—that he dropped it for many years. However in 1880 he had the courage to take it up again and to so far succeed as to reach a second edition in 1885. As a book the work is an admirable one, and let us hope that the victory over prejudice will be complete and final.

A COMPREHENSIVE COMMENTARY ON THE QURAN, Vol. III. By the Rev. E. M. Wherry, M.A. London Trübner & Co.

We are glad to observe that Mr. Wherry's very valuable work has reached its third volume, and that we shall not have much longer to wait for the fourth and last, which is to contain that "Complete Index" so much to be desired by all students of the *Qurân*.

This volume, which is, of course, conducted precisely on the lines of the former ones, takes us from the XIVth to the XLth *Sûra* and fully keeps up the character of the work as a 'comprehensive' commentary. We are sorry, however, to note that the slips still occur in the transliterations of Oriental words and names which have disfigured the former volumes.

DISCURSIVE CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ASIATIC SYMBOLISM.

BY H. G. M. MURRAY-AYNSLEY.

II.

Sun Worship.

SUN worship, probably the most ancient of all superstitions, still prevails in Hindustân, and formerly had a special existence in Phœnicia, Chaldæa, Egypt, Mexico, and Peru. According to Allegre[1] the explicit worship of the Sun, and more or less that of the other heavenly bodies, or at least a recognition of some supernatural power resident in or connected with them, was widely spread throughout Mexico, amongst both the uncivilized and the civilized tribes or peoples. In civilized Mexico, the Sun was definitely worshipped under the name Tomatink, or the Sun in his substance, and also under that of Naolin, or the Sun in his four motions. Sometimes he was represented by a human face surrounded with rays, sometimes by a full length human figure; whilst he seems to have been often confounded with the element fire, and with the god of fire. We find the same confusion in the *Trinacria*, or arms of Sicily, if, as has been supposed by many, it be a form of the *Swastika*, or Fire-Symbol, which in process of time has lost one of its arms. In Scandinavia it has become what is there styled the *Triskele*. Obviously the *Trinacria* is a human face surrounded with rays in the centre of three legs.

When an eclipse of the Moon is expected, many of the natives of Hindustân hasten down to the nearest river or to a tank, and remain in the water the whole time of its duration, imagining that some dire misfortune would befall them were they to omit to do so. The Mexicans also have been described as being much troubled and distressed at an eclipse of the Sun or Moon, some of the wild tribes regarding the Sun and Moon as husband and wife.[2] They believe that an eclipse of the Sun is caused by domestic quarrels, and to soothe the ruffled spirit of the Sun on such occasions, the ruddiest human victims that could be found used to be sacrified to him. For sacrifices to the Moon, under similar circumstances, albinos were chosen.

The Comanches, a subdivision of the Apaches, a tribe belonging to Northern Mexico, practise various religious ceremonies which are for the most part of a simple kind and directed to the Sun as the great source of life, and to the Earth, as the producer and receptacle of all that sustains life. According to the Abbé Domenech, in his account of his missionary labours, every Comanche wears a little figure of the Sun round his neck, or has a picture of it painted on his shield: while from his ears hang two crescents which may possibly represent the Moon.

Halhed, in his *Code of Gentoo Laws*[3] speaks of a spot in India, which in his day was much frequented by pilgrims, in the Sûbah of Oude, known as Sûrya-Kund. A festival was annually observed there, called the Sûrya-Pûjâ, which took place on the 7th day of the bright half of January, when offerings of flowers were made to the sun and afterwards cast into the Ganges. He also adds that the new-born babe of a Brâhmaṇ was exposed to the Solar beams.

Fire-worship, as a special form of Sun-worship, early prevailed in Persia; its votaries, the Magi, being forbidden to spit in the fire or to pour water upon it, even if their dwellings or goods were in danger of being consumed.

According to Hyde, idolaters, as well as these Sun-worshippers, existed in ancient Persia, and the worship of Fire, and that of idols, were combined at one period.[4] The Fire-worshipping Magi held the idolaters in abomination, but after the death of one of them named Smerdis, the sect which opposed idols became extinct in Persia. Quintus Curtius, when describing the march of the army of Darius, though writing long after the date, says that he was accompanied by an image of the Sun placed in

[1] *Hist. Comp. de Jesus.*

[2] In Naples, to this day the *Key* (the symbol of Janus or the Sun) is used as a talisman by the lower orders, who call the Moon *Janara*, or the wife of Janus. One woman will call another a *Janara* as a term of reproach.

[3] London, 1776.

[4] *Persian Religion*, p. 38. Clement of Alexandria states that Artaxerxes, the son of Darius, caused idols to be made in human form for worship, and adds that this monarch was the first who created statues to the goddess Venus at Babylon, at Susa, and elsewhere.

a crystal, and the sacred fire carried on a silver altar; that the king's carriage was ornamented on all sides with images of gold and silver; and that there were also golden statues an ell in height on top of it, one of which represented Bêlus (the Sun). Tertullian also in his *Apologia*, Chap. 16, gives us to understand that the Persians adored a figure of the Sun, which they caused to be painted on canvas.

Zoroaster (Zardusht) gave Mithra, the Sun-god of the Persians, two principles: and made these exercise two distinct forces, each independent of the other, under the names of Ormuzd (good) and Ahrimân (evil). This, in time, in the opinion of Mr. Fiske (the American upholder of the Darwinian theories), produced the Manichæan heresy, in which the devil appears as an independently existing principle of evil, and thus was continued in part at least the old Asiatic worship of the Sun in comparatively modern Europe. This heresy, says Mr. Fiske, "was always ripe in Armenia. It was through Armenian missionaries that Bulgaria was converted from heathenism, and from thence Manichaeism penetrated into Servia and Bosnia, which latter was its head-quarters from the 12th century onwards, and was a perpetual thorn in the side of the Papacy. From Bosnia, the great Albigensian heresy was propagated through Northern Italy and Southern Gaul." Mr. Fiske also adds, that "this connection of Eastern and Western Protestantism was well understood at the time."

The worship of Mithra penetrated to many places in ancient Italy. At Milan there was his cavern or grotto and his sacrificing priests, as appears from an inscription discovered near the monastery of Saint Ambrose. Also, on the island of Capri, in the bay of Naples, in a grotto, are the remains of a temple of Mithra. The name of this grotto has been popularly corrupted into Matromania, but it should be styled Mithramonia. In Naples, too, there was a temple to Mithra, the columns of which may still be seen in the Church of Santa Maria à Cappella on the Chiatamone.

This worship of Mithra was introduced into Italy after the return of Pompey the Great from his victories in Asia, and bears all the marks of dating from the second half of the last century of paganism. In fact, the Mithraic feasts and the mysteries of the god Mithra, were established and recognised in Italy under the reign of Trajan, who was born 52 A.D. and ascended the throne 98 A.D. For nearly a century and a half the followers of Mithra were obliged, like the early Christians, to carry out their religious rites in caves and grottos, and the grotto of Mithramonia may be regarded as one of the spots where the votaries of this worship used to assemble in secret.[5]

Mithraic worship was not of long duration in Italy. It was tolerated and permitted by the emperors in the first years of the second century of the Christian era, but Christianity was then already beginning to spread and gain ground, and was recognized by Constantine in the following century, as the true and only religion.

According to ancient writers, the ceremony of the initiation of a candidate into the Mithraic mysteries was very appalling. Tertullian says that the candidate encountered a drawn sword on the threshold of the cavern, from which, if he persevered in entering, he received more than one wound. He then had to pass repeatedly through the flames of a fierce fire, and undergo a rigid fast, which, some have stated, lasted 50 days, during which time he was to remain far from all human habitations: but this seems hardly possible, and some kind of coarse food must have been permitted him. He was then beaten with rods for two whole days, and during the last 20 days of his trial was buried up to the neck in snow. If he endured all these privations and sufferings, the candidate was admitted as a disciple of Mithra, and a golden serpent was placed in his bosom, given him as a sign of his regeneration, for, as the snake renews its vigour in the spring by casting its skin, so the vivifying heat of the Sun is annually renewed. Sôkratês, the author of the *Ecclesiastical History*, who lived in the fifth century A.D., relates that in his time "the Christians of Alexandria, having discovered a cavern which had been consecrated to Mithra but long closed up, resolved to explore it and see what remnants of that superstition it contained, when to their astonishment

[5] *Illustrazione Italiana*, March 1883. It is not improbable that the Christians used this grotto, when they also were in their turn obliged to perform their religious rites in secret.

the principal thing they found in it was a great quantity of human skulls, with other bones of men that had been sacrificed. They were brought out, and publicly exposed, and excited the utmost horror in the inhabitants of that great city."

It is not impossible that to the people of Italy, Mithra was the Sun himself. He was not so to the Persians; to them he was only a satellite of the Sun, a powerful god, though not the first or the supreme one, and more like a saint of our own days. The Persians adored him, but only for the favours which they believed he could obtain for them, by his intercession with the Sun.

Montfaucon, in his *Antiquities*, gives a description of a statue, supposed to be that of Mithra, which was discovered at Rome at the close of the 16th century, between the Viminal and the Quirinal Hills. His account of it is taken from that of an Italian sculptor named Vacca, who examined the temple at the time it was excavated. The building was circular, as were all the temples of the Sun and Fire. In the centre was a statue of Mithra in white marble, rather less than four feet in height. It stood erect upon a globe, out of which a serpent issued, the emblem of life, twined in numerous folds round the body of the deity. The body of the statue was that of a man, and the head was that of a lion, one of the signs of the zodiac. The two hands grasped two keys pressed close to the breast, to indicate the god's power over the two hemispheres, and his solar origin.[6] Around him was suspended a circle of lamps in regular order, apparently made of baked earth. What was remarkable in these lamps was, that they were so arranged as to turn the side which gave the light towards the statue; and this seems to show that these ancient people knew that the planets were opaque bodies, and derived their light from the Sun, the central orb, around which they revolved.

On a bas-relief of white marble in the Casino of the Villa Albani at Rome is represented[7] a sacrifice to the god Mithra. In the centre of the group is a youth, or female figure,[8] attired in the manner in which the Romans represented those whom they wished to delineate as foreign deities.[9] This figure has a peaked or so-called Phrygian cap, flowing hair, a loose robe with sleeves reaching only to the knees and confined at the waist with a broad girdle, tight trowsers down to the ankles, and pointed shoes. Both the tight trowsers and the pointed shoes recall the dress of certain natives of India in the present day. It is standing over a prostrate bull, holding the head of the animal with the left hand, and thrusting a dagger into its flank with the right, just above the shoulder-blade. In the foreground is a small dog, while a serpent in an erect position seems watching the course of the dagger, and near the serpent are two scorpions. Behind and to the right of the principal figure is a half moon, while a human head and half bust with long flowing locks is within it. On the left of the central figure is a large bird, which, judging from its beak, is meant either for a hawk or an eagle. On the same side, but still further to the left of the spectator, is another human head which is more masculine in character than either of the others, and which may have been intended for Mithra himself.

The worship of Mithra in Europe was not confined to Italy and Greece, for the Greeks certainly introduced it in the south of France.[10] In the museum at Arles is a *torso*, or technically speaking a *Hermes*, of white marble (Plate III, fig. 1, p. 65 above), a most striking bit of sculpture, and called a statue of Mithra. The head is wanting, the neck and shoulders are those of a man, the arms are kept close to the body by the folds of an enormous snake, between the coils of which, three in number, several of the signs of the zodiac are distinguishable.

The different sculptures above described are most interesting and instructive. In each case, the presence of zodiacal signs serves to show us that Mithra was a Sun-god, and we are able also by examining them to connect the Snake with Sun-worship, the serpent playing an important part in each instance. Sun, Fire, and Snake-worship and the emblems of each, are intimately bound up

[6] The key is also the well-known emblem of Janus, or the Sun with which he unlocks the gates of light.

[7] According to Winckelmann.

[8] From the engraving it is not easy to determine which.

[9] The same costume was also given by them to Gallic or German slaves.

[10] Many of the inhabitants of Arles, which is known to have been a Greek colony, preserve a Grecian type of countenance to this day.

together, subtle links and fine gradations uniting them almost insensibly in some cases.

In India, the votaries of the goddess Kâlî consider that it is acceptable to her that they should walk on the fire. If they are sick, they say, "Oh Kâlî, Mother, only cure me and I will walk on fire in your holy presence." Some have supposed that the Hebrews of old caused their children to pass between two fires. Others again say that they waved them about in the flames, whilst the worshippers of Moloch danced around or leapt through the fire.[11] Amongst other heathen customs, St. Chrysostom blames that of lighting two great fires and passing between them.

In Norway, Brittany, and even in the British Isles, traditional usages are still observed which serve to connect fire with Sun-worship. On Midsummer Eve, on the hills near and round Throndhjem, bonfires are lighted at sunset, which at that season of the year is about 11-30 P.M. The whole population turns out to assist at the ceremony of kindling them. A barrel is fixed upon a pole driven into the ground, filled with shavings and other combustible materials, and its position most carefully adjusted, so that it may point exactly to that part of the horizon where the Sun will set on that day.

In England, the 21st of June, or the longest day, used to be a great day at Stonehenge. I hear it has now degenerated into a disorderly assemblage, but it was formerly the custom for a large number of persons to assemble annually at dawn at this spot, in order to watch for the rising of the sun, which on this particular day can be seen from the centre of the circle of Stonehenge, coming up exactly over the centre of a large stone at some distance from the rest, and called the "pointer" stone, and striking its first rays through the central entrance on to the so-called altar-stone. This custom has been quoted by one writer as an obvious proof of Sun-worship in the original constructors of the circles, and he adds the fact that at noon on the same day the "pointer" stone appears as though set at an inclination similar to that of the gnomon of a sun-dial.

In the county of Connaught, and in other parts of the south of Ireland, it is still the custom to kindle fires on St. John's Eve, which are kept up till sunrise. A friend, who, when quartered in Ireland, had frequently been an eye-witness of this scene, told me that mothers on such occasions are in the habit of giving their young children a kind of baptism of fire. He himself had had infants thrown to him through the flames, not once only, but many times. The people call this ceremony Baal-tine-glass, or Baal-fire-blue. The title of Baltinglas (now extinct or in abeyance) is but a corruption of these words. The women, my friend added, prefer asking gentlemen to catch their children, thinking possibly that they will be more gentle with them than one of their own class in life. He also said that he had quite recently made inquiries as to whether this custom still survived, and was answered in the affirmative. At Youghal, County Waterford, every year on St. John's Eve, the inhabitants light numerous wood-fires in different parts of the town. Each person, or one member of each family, seizes a burning brand and runs with it to his house. If he arrives at his dwelling with his torch alight, it is an omen that the ensuing year will be a happy and prosperous one to him and his; but should it be extinguished, some dire calamity will, he thinks, fall upon his family. The new brand is then put in the place of honour above the hearth (the sacred spot in all ages and with all peoples) and the one of the previous year removed and burnt.

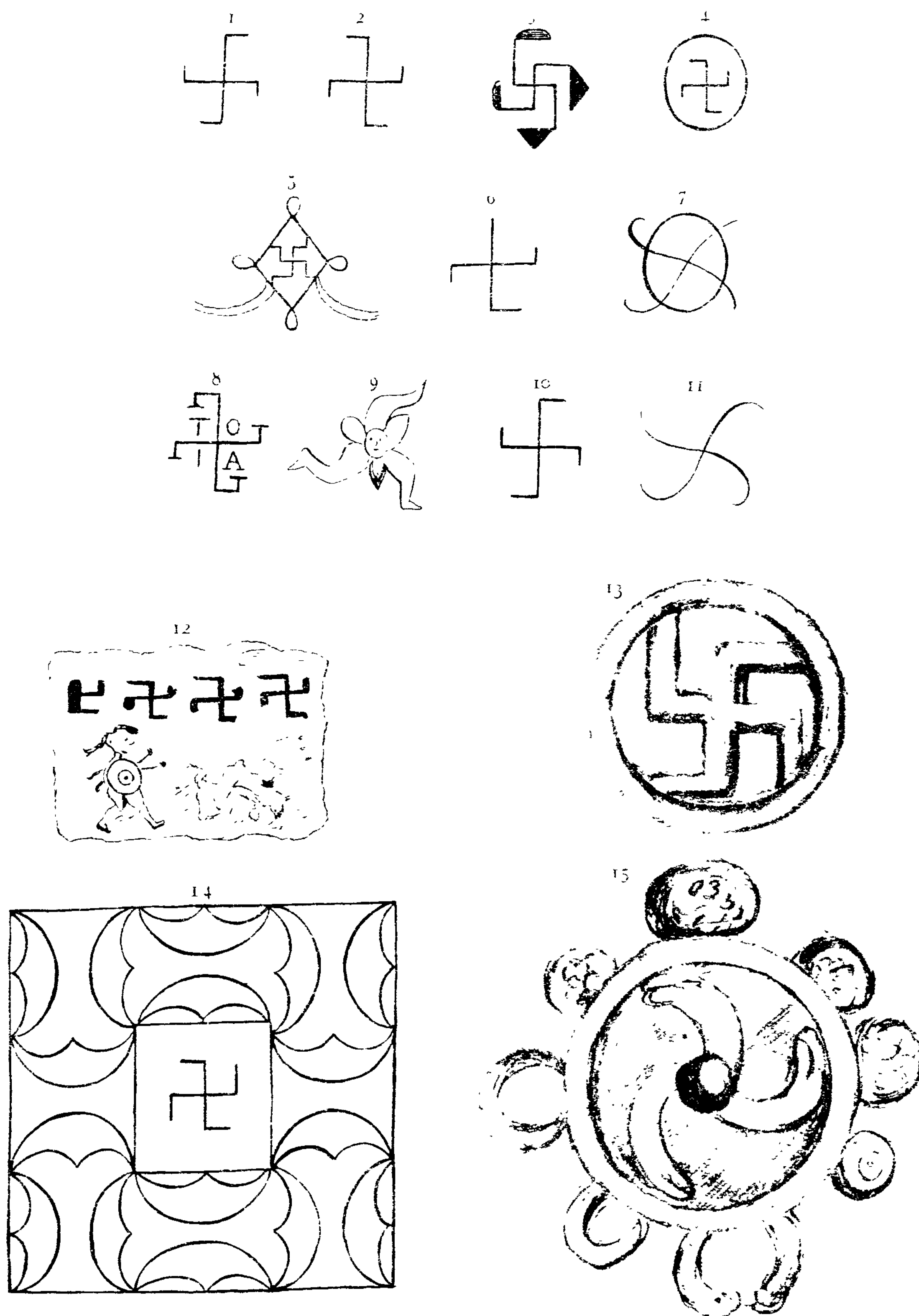
III.

The Svastika.[12]

Some have held the *Svastika* to be an emblem of the Sun, and others, again, say that the arms of the cross represent two pieces of wood and are typical of Fire, showing us the way in which fire was first produced by primitive peoples. Two crooked sticks were laid

[11] [The ceremony of *Dam-Madâr*, still very popular among the lower orders of Northern India consists of jumping into a fire and treading it out. It is done with a view to escape snake-bite, those who perform it being believed not to be liable to injury from the fire. Shâh Madâr died at Makanpûr in 1433 A.D. in the reign of Sultan Ibrâhîm Shâh Sharqî, of Jaunpur (1402-1440 A.D.) References as to this fire ceremony are Elliott, *Races of N.-W. P.* by Beames, I. p. 248, who adds *J. A. S. B.*, 1831, *IV.* p. 76: *Tabaqât-i-Shâhjahânî*, p. 15: *Yâdgâr-i-Bahâdurî*, p. 281; *Daulat Râî Chaman*, I.: *Dabistan* II. 244; III. 307. Carnegie, *Kachahri Technicalities*, p. 95, quotes also *Mirât-i-Madârî*, and Mrs. Mîr Ḥasan 'Ali's *Observations on the Musalmans*. Herklots, *Qânûn-i-Islâm*, pp. 158-159, gives the ceremony in detail.—ED.]

[12] [Cf. *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 176ff.—ED.]



THE SWASTIKA

one across the other, and a hole drilled through both, in which a pointed stick was inserted and rapidly twirled by the hands till all were ignited at the points of contact. In the present day, the sacred fire in certain Hindû temples is said to be kindled in this manner. It seems not improbable, however, that the *Svastika* may originally have been an emblem of the Sun (as a wheel) and of Fire also, both conveying light and warmth.

The *Védas* prescribe the *aśvattha* (*pîpal* or *ficus religiosa*) and the *śamî* (*acacia suma*) as the kinds of wood to be used in kindling the sacred fire.[13] It is very common, in Southern India especially, to see these two trees planted close together when young, so that when grown older their branches and foliage become entwined. The Hindûs style this "marrying" the trees.[14] In this manner, Tree-worship became in a way connected with Fire worship.

Both the Greeks and Romans, down to a late period in their primitive history, used the above-described method of procuring fire. They found that the *pyrkaia* or lower part was best made of certain softer kinds of wood, such as ivy (*vitus sylvestris*); whilst the laurel, thorn, or other hard wood was to be preferred for the *trypanon* or drilling-stick.

Tyler in his *Early History of Mankind* mentions that the Eskimo kindle a new fire by a very similar process. They most probably see nothing sacred in the performance, whereas by the Hindûs it is regarded with feelings of great awe—feelings extended to the element itself by the ancient Persian Magi, who denoted Fire, which they considered the father and first principle of all things, as Zardusht (Zoroaster) had taught them, by the word *bâb* or *bâp* signifying 'father.'[15] Their modern representatives, the Pârsî priests of a famous fire temple in Gujarât, boast that they have cherished the sacred flame of the ancient Persians unextinguished for 800 or 900 years, *i.e.* ever since their expulsion from Persia by the Muhammadans. The Pârsîs, however, say that they do not worship Fire, and much object to be called Fire-worshippers, but they admit that they are taught from their youth up to face some luminous object whilst praying. Fire, they say, they look upon as upon other natural phenomena, *viz.* as an emblem of divine power, but they never ask assistance or blessings from it. Pure Fire-worship also exists among the modern Hindûs. Thus it was formerly strictly prohibited to all Hindûs to go beyond the Indus, or rather, properly speaking, the *Kálá Pání*, or Black Water, as they call the Indian (or indeed any) Ocean, into which the Indus empties itself; but I was solemnly told by a Marâthâ Brâhman that this rule is now relaxed, and that Hindûs may do so if on their return to Hindustân they worship Agni or Fire, saying certain prayers to it, and giving alms and a feast to the Brâhmans. The man who told me this was in Government employ on £20 a month, and he added that if he ever went to Europe it would cost him about £100 to be re-admitted into his caste on his return, as the expenses of this are in proportion to a man's known income.

In India Hindûs belonging to certain sects are in the habit of tracing one or more figures of the *Svastika* on the outer walls of their houses, but I cannot recall ever having seen this symbol in the interior of any modern Hindû temple or shrine; nor yet have I observed its present use by the Buddhists of Western Tibet, Kunâwar, Spiti, or Ceylon. This was not the case in ancient Buddhist times: *e.g.*, the *Svastika* exists as a so-called mason's mark on some of the stones of the famous Buddhist tope at Sârnâth near Benares, and it is twice repeated on stones in the interior of some cells surrounding the court-yard of the Lâl Darwâza or Red Gate Mosque at Jaunpur, which have evidently originally formed part of old Buddhist buildings.[16]

On the occasion of a marriage amongst the Hindûs, it is customary to send presents of sweetmeats, &c., to the friends and relations of the contracting parties. These are placed on trays and covered with an embroidered cloth. The tray and the cloth are returned to the donor after the gift has been removed by the person to whom it is sent, and after placing in the tray a small piece of money for the servant who brings it. A similar custom prevails in Spain, (or did so till very recently),

[13] See *Pañjâb Notes and Queries*, Vol. II. note 77.
[14] See *Pañjâb Notes and Queries*, Vol. II. note 861.
[15] The same doctrine was afterwards inculcated by Anaxagoras the Greek philosopher.
[16] [See also editorial note at the end of the paper.]

and on the occasion of a *fête* or "naming-day" cakes and sweetmeats are sent arranged in this very manner. I possess two or three of the cloths used in Spain for covering the trays. They are bordered with old lace and have conventional flower designs and various wonderful animals worked upon them in coloured silks. Like the Indian embroideries of the same nature the material which forms the groundwork is white linen or cotton cloth and the embroidery is exactly the same on both sides. One of my cloths has the *Svastika* many times repeated upon it. On an ordinary cotton pocket handkerchief in Grenada I also saw the same symbol, forming its only ornamentation. I tried, but in vain, to procure one such, and even failed to ascertain where they were manufactured. This kind of embroidery, too, was evidently known in early Jewish times, for in the *Song of Deborah*, (*Judges* v. 30) mention is made "of needlework of divers colours; of divers colours of needlework on both sides, meet for the necks of them that take the spoil."

The *Svastika* has been found in nearly every country in Europe. In a letter from Prof. Max Muller to Dr. Schliemann, quoted in Schliemann's *Ilios, or the Cities of Troy*, at which place this symbol and also Sun symbols have been found in great numbers, the Professor says:—"It is found in Bishop's Island near Königswalde on the right bank of the Oder; on a vase discovered at Reichersdorf, near Guben; a whole row of this emblem surrounds the pulpit of St. Ambrose at Milan; in the catacombs at Rome it occurs 1000 times: it is seen also on wall paintings at Pompeii; on a Celtic urn found at Shropham in Norfolk and now in the British Museum; also on ancient Athenian and Corinthian vases; on the coins of Leucas of Syracuse, and in the large mosaic in the royal garden at Athens. It is found in Hungary and in China,[17] as well as amongst the Ashantees and in Yucatan."

It will be observed that Professor Max Muller here speaks of the *Svastika* as having been only once found in England, but since he wrote the above letter numerous examples have been unearthed during the excavation of a Roman villa at Beading in the Isle of Wight, and the form of it known as the double Sun-snake of Scandinavia, exists on an Ogham stone at Pen Arthur in South Wales.[18] It was also apparently in use in England in the *cinque cento*, for when (in 1883) examining the articles in the Treasury of the Cathedral of Valencia in Spain, I saw two splendidly embroidered altar frontals, which were said to have formerly belonged to the Church of Old St. Paul's in London, and to have been sold into Spain by Henry VIII. On each is represented a portion of the Church, and on one of them, which depicts the crucifixion, a soldier of the Romans, or of one of their allies, is holding a standard on which are embroidered two snakes entwined, forming a *svastika*.

In Plate I. (p. 66 above) for obvious reasons, I have placed the Sun and Fire Symbols of Scandinavia side by side, and I now propose to give illustrations of the different forms and modifications which the *Svastika* assumed in other parts of Europe and in the East. Plate V. fig. 1 represents the Hindû form of this symbol; and fig. 2 is the Buddhist and Jain form, both taken from drawings in Sir G. Birdwood's *Industrial Arts of India*. Fig. 3 is on a fragment of a Persian carpet now in the Museum at Gothenburg in Sweden. Fig. 4 is a mark on Japanese pottery, and fig. 5 on porcelain made only for magistrates in China. Figs. 6, 7, 10 and 11 are examples from Dr. Schliemann's *Ilios*. Fig. 8 is on a slab of marble now in the Museum at Naples, which was found in the Christian catacombs beneath that city, and fig. 9 is a representation of the *Trinacria*, or Three-legged-man, of the arms of Sicily. In the Manx-men the face and the (? Sun's) rays of the *Trinacria* have disappeared, and only the three legs remain. Doubtless both have a common origin and are but an outcome of the *Triskele*, which was itself a debased form of the *Svastika*. Fig. 12 is taken from a fragment of pottery found in what is believed to be a pre-Etruscan cemetery at Bologna in Italy. The row of *Svastikas*, the warrior, and the mythical animal, have in this example to all appearance been

[17] When it is used as a mark on pottery made specially for the magistrates, and in Japan it is also a potter's mark.

[18] It has also been found on pottery in the Island of Cyprus, a specimen of which is now in the Museum at St. Germain in France.

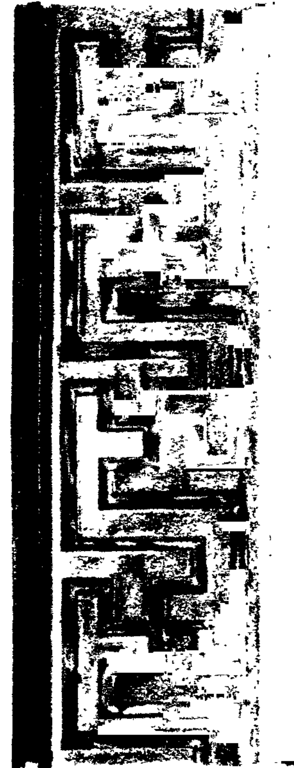
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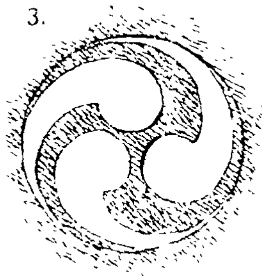
SMALL ORNAMENTAL JAPANESE VASE.
SCALE ·75.

2



BORDER OF
A CARPET FROM LEH.

3.



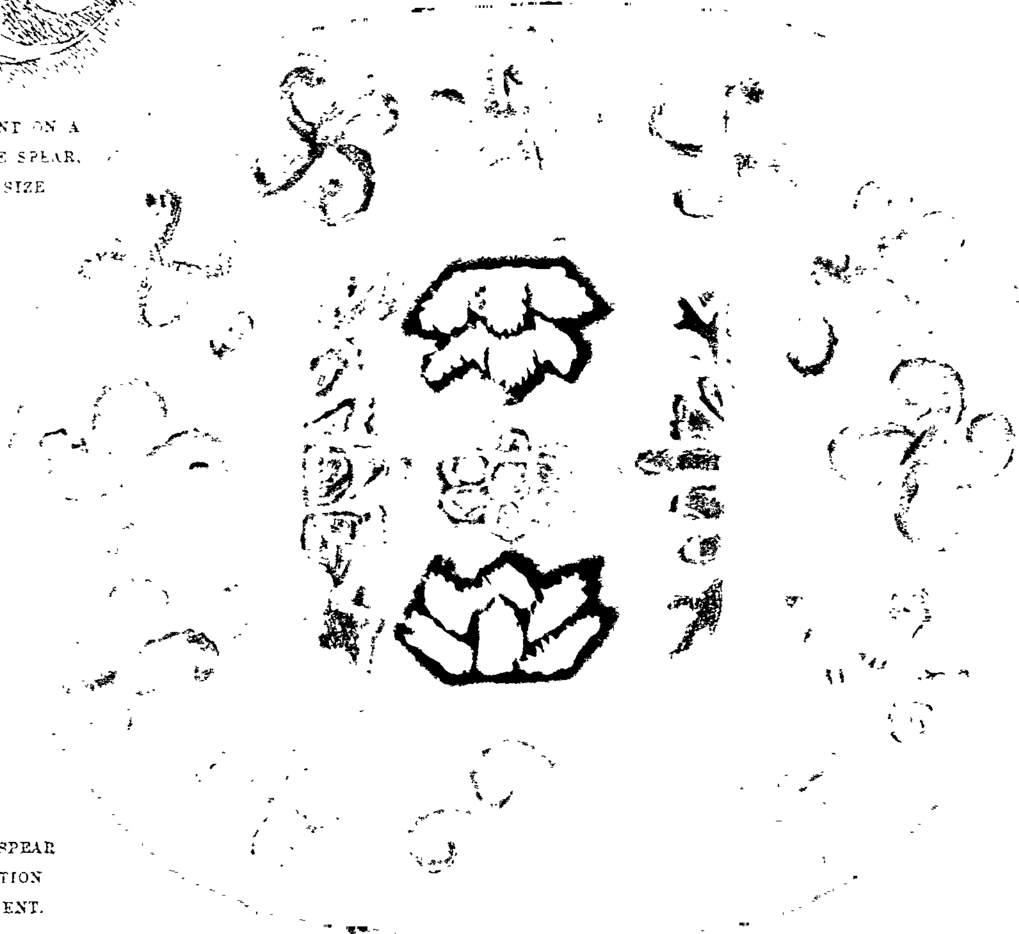
ORNAMENT ON A
JAPANESE SPEAR,
FULL SIZE

4.



SHAFT OF THE SPEAR
SHOWING POSITION
OF THE ORNAMENT.

5.



CENTRAL MEDALLION OF A CARPET FROM LEH.

stamped on the clay while it was yet soft. Plate VI. figs. 3 and 4 show an ornament in raised silver-work on a lance brought a few years ago from Japan by the Honble James Saumarez and now in his Japanese villa in the Island of Guernsey. It is identical with a form of the *Triskele* figured in cut 164, in Kamer Herr Worsaee's *Handbook of Danish Art*. Plate V. fig. 14 is especially interesting, as the *Svastika* is here surrounded by half-moons in various positions. It is from a Mosaic pavement found at Gubbio in Italy in 1882. The *Svastika* has also been found on a Christian tomb with a Latin inscription, discovered in 1879 by Armelini in the new catacomb of Saint Agnese at Rome. Rossi, the great Christian archæologist, says that this inscription belongs to the second century of our era, and adds—"Perhaps this is the most ancient *crux gammata* that has been found on Christian monuments."

On comparing the results of the grave and bog finds in Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, it would seem that the *Svastika* is most rare in the last-named, and most common in Norway, and that Sun and Fire symbols became disused in the two latter countries about the twelfth century,—that is to say, about the time of the introduction of Christianity; whereas in Norway they still continue in use down to our own times, though their signification is probably unknown to the present generation.

The "Mangling Stick" is still in common use in Norway. It is made of a single piece of hard and highly polished wood, about 18 inches long by 8 or 10 inches wide. At one end is sometimes carved a small wooden horse as a grip for the hand, or else the wood is so hollowed out as to leave a raised piece for the same purpose. When used, it gives collars and cuffs a much better appearance than the ordinary washerman's iron can produce. A Mangling Stick bearing the date 1809 in the Norwegian Museum in Stockholm is covered with *Svastikas* of the double Sun-snake type, an apparent proof that this was deemed a Fire-symbol in Scandinavia. On referring to Plate I. (p. 66 above) it will be seen from the examples there given that the *Svastika* gradually changed its form in those countries; and from the simple *hak kors* (*crux gammata*) or *Svastika*, became the double snake, and finally the *Triskele*, after it had lost one of its arms.

A tolerably convincing proof that the ancients associated the Snake with Fire is furnished by Plate V. fig. 15. It is an exact copy of a brooch found a few years ago in excavating a Roman Camp on the Saalburg, near Frankfort-on-the-Maine. Each of the three arms of the *Triskele*, or Sun-snake (as Professor Worsaee calls it) is here represented with a serpent's head. Fig. 13 is a *Svastika* from the same collection, enclosed in a rim of metal.[19]

Professor Newton, in a lecture delivered in December 1883 on the monuments of Lycian art, alludes to an interesting series of Lycian silver coins, which he refers to the period between the conquest of Lycia under Cyrus, and the overthrow of the Persian dynasty by Alexander. He says that these coins were struck by a number of autonomous cities, and are inscribed with their names in Lycian characters, and that they have on one side the curious symbol called the *triquetra* resembling the Manx Three-legs. He is of opinion that the coins belonged to a people whose original name was Tremilæ, a race belonging to the Aryan family, and who were afterwards called Lycians. Another race called the Solymi were a Semitic people, and inhabited Lycia contemporaneously with the Tremilæ, but were driven back into the mountains on the east and north frontiers, and in the end the Tremilæ became mixed with the Greek settlers along the coast.

In 1876 when I was at Leh (the capital of Ladâk or Western Tibet) a caravan arrived with carpets from Yarkand. I eagerly seized this opportunity of purchasing some genuine Central Asian carpets and secured some on which the *Svastika* was introduced in the border. Plate VI. figs. 4 and 5, represent a portion of the border and the central medallion of one of my purchases. The border, I think, gives a hint as to the origin of the celebrated Greek key-pattern and the medallion is also very interesting as the only instance I have hitherto met with, in which the *Svastika* has assumed the form of the double Sun-snake of Scandinavia.[20]

19 A [illegible] is on the shield of [illegible] the legendary [illegible] depicted on a vase in the Museum at Naples. Experts have put its date at before [illegible] B.C.

20 See Plate I. fig. 29 (p. 66 above).

NOTE BY CAPT. TEMPLE.

A good deal has been made by the English mythological school of writers of the fact that the Christian *Svastikas* point to the left or westwards, whereas the Indian, including Buddhist and Jain *Svastikas*, point to the right or eastwards. Letting alone that the right in India is southwards and never eastwards, the following observations on undoubted Buddhist *Svastikas* will probably go far to settle the theories built up on the pointing of the *cross fylfot*. In the *Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India*, Bombay, 1881, are given a quantity of clearly Buddhist Square Pàli Inscriptions from Kuḍâ, Kârlê, Śailàwâḍi, Junnar, &c. Many of these contain *Svastikas* at the beginning and end. Kuḍà No. 27 has at the end 卍; but at the end of 29 is 卐 which occurs again at the beginning and end of Kàrlê inscriptions, and beginning and end of Junnar 30, at the beginning of Junnar 5, 20, 28, 32 and 34, and at the end of Junnar 32; while 卍 occurs at the beginning of Kuḍâ 30 and of Junnar 6 and 27, and at the end of 33. The form 卐 is found at the end of the Śailàwâḍi inscription, and 卐 at the end of Kârlê 2. In this last example the thickening of the ends of the cross is probably due to the method of engraving. It will be seen, therefore, that the pointing of the *Svastika* was not due in Pàli inscriptions to its position, nor was it in any way constant.

GULLALA SHAH.

BY THE REV. J. HINTON KNOWLES, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

(*Continued from p. 80.*)

One day Gullâlâ Shâh begged the king to excuse him from the *Darbâr*, as he wished to go shooting. The king readily assented, and ordered several soldiers and horses to attend him. About the middle of the day, when much excited by the chase, the horse on which Gullâlà Shàh was mounted ran away. None of the other horses could keep pace with it, so fast did it gallop; and so Gullàlà Shàh soon found himself alone and far out of reach of any help. At last the runaway horse suddenly stopped, for its legs had been fastened by an invisible chain. Perceiving that his horse was mysteriously bound, Gullàlà Shâh dismounted, and taking his bow and arrow climbed the mountain hard by, to see whether he could find anything to shoot there. A little way up he discovered a small pond, upon the banks of which grew a tree, then one mass of blossom. Under the shadow of this tree he sat to rest, and while he sat a monkey approached. He determined to shoot it, and so made ready his bow; but the monkey, guessing his intention, made a great rush and dived into the pond, much to the disappointment of Gullâlâ Shâh. He remained looking at the place where the monkey had disappeared, expecting every moment that it would appear again.

But lo and behold! presently a beautiful girl, wearing a costly necklace of pearls, came forth, and walking up to Gullâlâ Shâh kissed him.[1] Gullâlâ Shâh was exceedingly astonished at this, but being very good and holy he did not lose his presence of mind. He asked her who she was, and noticing that she hesitated to answer, he threatened to slay her if she did not tell him quickly. Being frightened she said:—

"My name is Pañj Phûl,[2] and my father is king of this country, which is fairy-land. I have been good, and tried to do good, and everybody loves me. When I was very young my father intended to marry me to the son of his chief door-keeper.[3] The hour was fixed and full preparations made, and but a few days remained before the wedding-day, when the chief door-keeper's son went to play as usual with

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[1] Not at all unfairylike procedure: *cf.* account of the "Fairy Princess Shâhpasand" in *Wide-awake Stories*, p. 30.

[2] There does not appear to be the slightest connection between this part of the story and that of "Pânch Phûl Rânî" in *Old Deccan Days*.

[3] In a native court the door-keeper has considerable influence, inasmuch as he has it in his power to give or deny access to his chief. Those who have read Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs*, will remember how Dhyân Singh, Ranjît Singh's door-keeper, used the immense influence which this position gave him, for advancing family interests. Dhyân Singh afterwards became a Râjâ and received Pûnch as his principality.

his companions. They played *Wazír Pádsháh*,[4] *i.e.* one boy pretended to be the king, another pretended to be the *Wazír*, and others took the part of other great officers in the State. Each one was supposed to talk and act according to his part in the play. That day the door-keeper's son was voted king by his playmates, and sat in the royal place. While they were thus playing the real king's son passed by, and seeing the state of the game he cursed the boy. 'Be degraded from fairy-land,' he said, 'and dwell among the common people.' On account of this curse the door-keeper's son soon died, and was afterwards born among the common people.[5] A female companion told me of his death, on hearing of which I became very sad; for I loved the son of the door-keeper, and am determined to marry nobody but him. The king and queen and others have tried hard to get me to change my mind; but I have remained steadfast. All my time has been spent in doing good, and in interviewing holy men. To-day I came hither to worship. One day it happened that a very holy man arrived here, whom I loved very much, and I thought to have met him here again to-day. He seemed very pleased with me, and used to give me whatever I asked of him. Once I asked him to tell me how I could again see the door-keeper's son, who had been born among the common people. He told me that he knew the lad, and that he was called Gullâlâ Shah, and that I could see him if I was very careful to attend to his instructions. Of course I promised that I would be. 'Be careful,' he continued, 'and consider well, for the king will hinder you by strong charms and in other ways.' He then gave me a pearl necklace of such great virtue that no charms can affect the wearer, which I am to wear continually and guard patiently, if I would accomplish my purpose. After this I went back to my house. On the first opportunity I told my father of all that I had heard concerning Gullâlâ Shah, and begged him to arrange for our wedding as soon as possible. The king looked very troubled when he heard this, and entreated me to think no more about the young man, especially as he was now one of the common people. Such a thing as our marriage could not possibly be, as it would bring the whole of fairy-land into contempt. But I was resolute, and so the king spoke sharply to me, and I answered sharply in return, and left the palace in a great rage. This is my history. O friend! If you can do anything to help me to discover anything about Gullâlâ Shah, do so, I implore you, and I shall be obliged to you for ever."

Here was a strange coincidence! Gullâlâ Shah told her who he was, and kissed her. She recognised him and taking his hand said, "I have found my long-lost beloved. With him let me ever dwell."

Holding each other's hands they presently left the pond and came to the place where the horse was standing. Both mounted the horse, which was now quiet, and rode back to the

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[4] This game is also called *sahal* and is very popular in Kasmîr. It is generally played by four youngsters. Four little sticks are provided, of which the bark on one side is peeled off. Any of the four children throw first. If one should throw these sticks, so that they all fall on the bark side, then he is appointed *pádsháh*, *i.e.* king; but if not, then they all try and throw till some one finally succeeds. The next thing is to find out the *wazír*. He who throws the sticks so that one of them falls with the bark side [illegible] with the peeled sides up, is appointed to the office [illegible] *wazír* [illegible] has to be [illegible] that two of the sticks fall with the bark side upwards is proclaimed the thief. [illegible] has to be found. [illegible] throws the sticks so that [illegible] fall with [illegible] It [illegible] should [illegible] with the bark side up then that thrower has [illegible]

Pádsháh [illegible] and *sahal* being known the real play begins. The [illegible] thief, is brought before the king by the *wazír*, who says,—

"*Pádsháh salámat* [illegible]

D [illegible]"

"O king, peace and health to you! Here is a thief."

The king replies, "[illegible]" "Whence has he come?"

Then the *wazír* tells him the whole case and punishment has to be inflicted on the criminal. This is the most amusing piece of the whole *tamásha*.

"*Bidihed and'li Bang'li top*," says the king. "Give him Bangeli cannon."

The *wazír* kicks the prisoner's buttocks, or the king says

"*B*[illegible] *hotal*," "Bring a dog in his place from Ladâk."

[illegible] takes the prisoner a short distance and then [illegible] him by the ear pulls him back, while the [illegible] barks like a dog, or the king says

"[illegible]," "Take out the spindle."

[illegible] with his [illegible] of the [illegible] and [illegible] This is [illegible] punishment. [illegible] many other [illegible] to mention here.

I notice an allusion to this scene in the story of "M[illegible] and V[illegible] Kin[illegible]," given in *[illegible] Tales from [illegible]*, p. 1[illegible]. Cf. also *[illegible]* [illegible] J[illegible]'s *Mongol, M[illegible]* [illegible] Innsbruck, 186[illegible], pp. 197, *et seq.*

[5] [The universal belief in metempsychosis peeps out here.—Ed.]

attendants and the other horses which the king had sent for an escort, and then returned to Gullâlà Shâh's house.

On arrival Gullàlà Shâh introduced Pañj Phûl to his other wife. The two princesses seemed glad to see one another, and for some time lived together most happily, until one day the first wife asked Pañj Phûl to give her the pearl necklace.[6] Pañj Phûl said that she could not do so; for it was the protector of her life. She could never take it off from her neck. The first wife again and again urged her request, and promised as beautiful and as costly a pearl necklace in exchange; or if Pañj Phûl did not care to give it, or exchange it, she might lend it to her for a while. But Pañj Phûl was determined, and refused; nothing could persuade her to part with the pearl necklace for a moment. By reason of this the first wife got very angry, and went and told Gullàlà Shâh of their quarrel, and begged him to get the necklace, and he promised to try and do so. When Gullàlà Shâh asked Pañj Phûl for the necklace, she refused as before, saying that it contained the secret of her life, and was a charm to her against all dangers, sickness and trials; deprived of it she might become sick and miserable, or be taken away from them and die.[7] However, Gullàlà Shâh would not be denied, and so Pañj Phûl for very love of him handed it to him, and he gave it to his other wife.

Soon after this Pañj Phûl suddenly disappeared. On discovering this Gullàlà Shâh and his first wife, together with all the household, mourned and wept. "What have we done?" cried they all. "For a trifle we have lost our lovely Pañj Phûl. How obedient she was to her husband! How unselfish in the house! How kind and loving to every one! Alas, alas! why did we do this thing? We have caused the death of our darling!"

As for Gullàlà Shâh he knew not what to do for grief, and wept day and night. At last, thoroughly worn out and ill, he determined to leave the place, and to go and seek the flowers, in search of which he commenced his wanderings. The king, seeing that he was getting weaker and thinner, consented, and gave him money for his journey.

Accordingly Gullàlà Shâh started, and on the second day reached the mountain in fairy-land where he had first met Pañj Phûl. He climbed higher and higher, till he arrived at a certain path, along which he saw two men coming towards him. They happened to be two servants of the chief *Wazir* of fairy-land. The *Wazir* had no son to carry on his name, and so his wife had asked him to send men into the district with instructions to bring back with them such a youth as she could conveniently adopt as her son. These men had been wandering everywhere, far and wide, and had not as yet met with a likely person. They were now starving and in great despair, but they dared not to return to the *Wazir* empty-handed. When they saw Gullàlà Shâh their first thought was to eat him, but afterwards, seeing that he was clever and handsome, they decided to take him to the *Wazir*. So Gullàlà Shâh was seized and taken to the chief *Wazir's* house in the fairy city. The two servants pretended that he was the son of a fairy, who was a sister of the *Wazir's* wife, though she did not know it. The chief *Wazir*, his wife, and everybody who saw Gullàlà Shâh, were pleased with him, and therefore henceforth he abode in that house and was everywhere recognised as the heir.

Every day the *Wazir* attended the king's *Darbâr*, and in the evening, when he reached home, tired and weary from the day's business, he used to call his adopted son to him and pass the time in conversation. Hours and hours were thus occupied. Gullàlà Shâh used to ask him the news of the *Darbâr* and the chief *Wazir* used to tell him everything. One evening, in the course of one of these long talks, the chief *Wazir* told him that there had been great excitement in the *Darbâr* that day

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[6] However difficult [illegible] in the West, it is a very common [illegible] in Eastern life. I know many [illegible] living together. [illegible] too strong for custom [illegible] [illegible] pp. 70 of my *Folklore in Kashmir* [illegible]

[7] [illegible] *Old Deccan Days* [illegible] the author [illegible] remarks— [illegible] Hindu-Indian [illegible]

as the king had been very angry with his daughter. Pañj Paûl, who had formed an attachment for a person named Gullâlâ Shâh, one of the common people, and refused to be married to any other person. She had run away, and for a long time there were no tidings of her,—no doubt she had been trying to find that common man,—but the king had caused her to return by virtue of a most potent charm, and now a terrible punishment awaited her. Her body was to be turned into wood and placed publicly in a certain garden as a warning to other fairy daughters not to do likewise!

Hearing this Gullâlâ Shâh experienced great difficulty in keeping his countenance. "Here then is Pañj Phûl!" he said within himself. "As soon as she gave up the pearl necklace she must have been brought back to her country, and now she is perhaps suffering the terrible consequences of my folly. Sorrow, a hundred sorrows!"

At length, however, he so far overcame his feelings as to ask the *Wazîr* if there were no means of saving Pañj Phûl from the dread sentence. The *Wazîr* said there were. If Gullâlâ Shâh could come, burn the wooden figure to ashes, throw the ashes into the pond in the midst of the garden where it was, then she would become her former self again.

Gullâla Shâh was very pleased when he heard this, and presently, wishing the *Wazîr* good night, retired to his room. No sleep, however, closed his eyes. His mind was far too excited. As soon as he was quite sure that all the inmates of the house were fast asleep, he went forth secretly to Pañj Phûl's garden, burnt her wooden effigy to ashes, and threw the ashes into the pond. Directly he did this, lo and behold! Pañj Phûl came forth looking as he had seen her when she appeared out of the other pond on the mountain side.

"My own dearest," said Gullâla Shâh, "how could I have been so stupidly wicked as to have caused you all this trouble? Forgive me, and say that you will never leave me again. Come and we will wander away into unknown regions, whither the hand of your tyrannical father cannot reach you."

Pañj Phûl replied, "I forgive you, dear husband; but to go with you is not in my power, for my father has all power over me; without my charmed pearl necklace I cannot thwart him. Wherever I might wander, he would cause me to return from thence; and then my case would be worse than before. Now go, I beseech you, lest you also get harm; and pray that the king may have mercy on me, when he hears that I have been restored to life. Away quickly, my dearest, to a place safer for you than this."

Gullâlâ Shâh then told her all that had happened to him—how he had wandered about in search of her, and was now the adopted son of the chief *Wazîr* of that country, who confided everything to him. He would see her again, he said, on going away, and even if the king still wished to punish her, he would get to know a remedy, and come and restore her.

The following morning when the royal guard saw that Pañj Phûl was alive again, they went and told the king. His Majesty was greatly surprised and sent for her. As soon as she appeared, he said, "How is it that you have come again to trouble us? Be you a serpent and find a home in yonder jungle," pointing in a certain direction where was a jungle, thick, intricate, and inhabited by wild beasts of various kinds. And it was so!

That evening when the chief *Wazîr* returned to his house, Gullâlâ Shâh heard all that had happened. "Strange," he said, "can anything now be done for the princess? or must she for ever remain a serpent?"

"Yes, there is a remedy," replied the *Wazîr*. "If Gullâlâ Shâh could get to that jungle, dig a cave three yards deep and broad enough to admit two people, and make a covering with a hole in it for the mouth of the cave: and if after this he were to walk about the jungle calling "Pañj Phûl, Gullâlâ Shâh is here" and then go back and shut himself up in the cave—if he were to strictly attend to all these directions—then Pañj Phûl who is now a serpent, will find her way into the cave through the hole in the covering: and there is another thing also which he must remember to do, viz., to cut off as much of the snake as can enter in this way, chop it up into little pieces, carefully collect them, place them in a handkerchief, take them to the pond in the midst of Pañj Phûl's garden, and there throw them into the water. If all these instructions

were carefully carried out. Pañj Phûl would emerge thence in all her former beauty."

When he heard this Gullàlà Shàh was much comforted. After a little more conversation he wished the minister good-night. No sleep, however, came to him. He was far too elated at the prospect of being able to restore his beloved to her former self and of seeing her again, to wish for sleep. As soon as he knew for certain that the *Wazîr* and the others were fast asleep he left the house and went to the jungle. That night he only fixed on a place for the cave, and then returned to his room. On the following night, armed with pickaxe, crowbar, spade, and other necessary implements he again visited the jungle, and dug a cave. He also made a covering for the cave and a hole in the covering. He then went outside and called for Pañj Phûl. Pañj Phûl heard her name being called and came in the form of a snake, as soon as Gullàlà Shàh had re-entered and shut himself into the cave. She wound the greater part of her body in through the hole in the covering, and Gullàlà Shàh cut off as much of it as got inside the cave, and then chopped it up into small pieces. These he carefully gathered, and pushing back the covering, took them with him to the pond in Pañj Phûl's garden, where he threw them into the water, and—just as the *Wazîr* had said,—Pañj Phûl appeared in all her former beauty. Gullàlà Shàh drew her to him and kissed her. They talked long and lovingly until the faint streaks of dawn warned them to make arrangements to leave the place. Neither of them wished to be separated from the other, but what were they to do? It was time for Gullàlà Shàh to return to his home, if he did not wish the *Wazîr* to discover his absence; while Pañj Phûl could not leave the place. She tried to do so, but without avail. She was bound by the king's charm over her to remain there. And so they parted.

Gullàlà Shàh hastened back to the *Wazîr's* house, and only just reached his room in time. Within an hour or so some of the poorer folk, going to their labours, passed by the place where Pañj Phûl was sitting. They were very much astonished at seeing her, and went and informed the king of the matter. When His Majesty heard the news he sent for the chief *Wazîr* to take counsel with him. "Do you not think," he said, "that Gullàlà Shàh has been here and done this thing?"

"It is impossible," replied the *Wazîr*, "for in the first place how could he get here? and then, how could he, a common man, obtain this power? He must be great to have done this, and in favour with the gods,—a thought not to be entertained for a moment."

Pañj Phûl was again summoned to the king, and this time was turned into a golden nail, which was immediately given to one of the attendants with instructions to hammer it into any boat,[5] that chanced to be just then in course of construction. The attendant took the nail and fixed it into the first boat he saw. On reaching home the *Wazîr* bathed, and then called for Gullàlà Shàh as usual and told him all the news of the day. When he heard that the princess had been restored and again metamorphosed Gullàlà Shàh assumed an expression of great surprise. "It is strange," he remarked, "that the king should have chosen a golden nail as the form into which to change her. Surely she can never again be restored from such a metamorphosis as this?"

"O yes, she can," said the *Wazîr*.

"How?" asked Gullàlà Shàh.

"Well," replied the *Wazîr*," if Gullàlà Shàh could by any means arrive here, and get into that boat, in one of the sides of which the golden nail is fixed, and could discover that nail, and then having extracted it, were to file it small as powder, and throw the filings into the pond which is in the midst of Pañj Phûl's garden,—if he did all these things,—then Pañj Phûl would return to her former shape and beauty:—and if she was this time restored, then henceforth the king's charm would be powerless to do her harm. It would have expended itself."

This was enough. So presently the hour being late the *Wazîr* and Gullàlà Shàh went to their sleeping rooms. When he heard of this radical cure Gullàlà Shàh feigned no more than an ordinary interest, though in his heart he was inexpressibly glad. On reaching his room he said aloud, "Joy, joy, the time has come,

[5] Meaning a Kaśmîrî river-boat

I will go once more and restore my darling. Henceforth the charms of this hard, wicked father shall have no influence over her."

However, Gullálá Sháh did not immediately start. He thought it better to wait a while, until all excitement and interest about the princess had passed away. For several months he patiently waited, and then one day he asked the *Wazír's* wife to allow him to go and visit certain places, that he wished very much to see, and to get also the *Wazír's* permission for the journey. He added that he was now of an age to take care of himself, and he did not like to *hear* only of the countries about which the *Wazír*, his father, had so fully informed him. The *Wazír's* wife was much pleased to notice this spirit in the youth, but she hesitated to give her sanction to the request, because the way to some of the places was exceedingly dangerous and the hardships unendurable: and especially so to one who had been brought up so gently as her adopted son. Gullálá Sháh was respectfully indignant at this reply. Drawing himself up to his full height he said with intense earnestness, "What, my mother, shall the chief *Wazír's* son be deterred by difficulties and hardships? A sorry youth must I be, if such I show myself. Better far that I perish by them, than that I should venture hereafter to attain to the post of chief *Wazír* of this mighty and grand kingdom, as my father bids me do. Fear not, my mother, but let me go. However, if you have any talisman, I pray you give it me, for why should I unnecessarily suffer?"

Encouraged by her son's noble reply the *Wazír's* wife consented to his going, and gave him her signet-ring, saying, "Show this ring to the fire, whenever you may be in any difficulty, and two *Jinns* will appear and help you out of it. She gave him, also, abundant money for the expenses of the proposed journey. The *Wazír* too, was pleased, when he heard from his wife of his son's enterprising and inquiring disposition, and acceded to his wishes.

As will be supposed Gullálá Sháh started as quickly as possible. After travelling for some time, one day he found himself being paddled along in a river boat, in which was the golden nail. His quick eye soon discovered it though it was much tarnished and almost excluded from sight by a great beam, that ran along the side of the boat. Disguising his real character Gullálá Sháh begged the owner of the boat to make him one of his hired servants. The man agreed, and soon Gullálá Sháh was working the paddle as if he had been accustomed to that sort of thing all his life. Thus he continued for several weeks, until one day he told his master that he had had a dream during the night. In this dream two men appeared and pierced the bottom of the boat with spears, so that it was broken. "I know," he added, "the interpretation of dreams. Some enemy of yours has placed a charm here? and if that charm is allowed to remain it will sink the boat." The master of the boat was very frightened when he heard this, and entreated Gullálá Sháh to try and discover the malignant charm. Gullálá Sháh said that it was a very difficult task, nevertheless he would attempt it if the owner of the boat would promise not to inform any one of the matter. The owner promised. And then Gullálá Sháh went to a lonely place, and kindled a fire, and when the flames arose, he showed them the signet-ring of the *Wazír's* wife. Immediately two *Jinns* appeared, ready to do whatever might be his bidding. Gullálá Sháh bade them to bring the boat up on land. They obeyed, and then Gullálá Sháh pulled out the golden nail, after which he ordered the two *Jinns* to put the boat back into the water. He now went and secretly showed the golden nail to his master. On seeing it the owner of the boat was greatly astonished, and thanked God for granting him such a useful and clever servant. Gullálá Sháh kept the golden nail by him, and in a little while, having assured his master that all would go well with the boat, he asked for leave of absence, which was readily granted. He then returned by the help of the charmed signet-ring to the house of his adopted father the chief *Wazír*. The *Wazír's* wife only was at home, because it was the time of the *Darbár* and she welcomed him like a fond mother. Soon afterwards the *Wazír* came home, and then there were great rejoicings in the house. The whole city, also, seemed interested, and accounts of Gullálá Sháh and his exploits, and the great trials and difficulties which he had overcome by virtue of the signet-ring, were upon the lips of every one.

In a day or two Gullálá Sháh rubbed the golden nail into the thinnest of filings, which

he threw into the pond in the midst of Pañj Phûl's garden. No sooner was this done than Pañj Phûl became herself again and stepped out from the pond. They both kissed one another and cried,—so glad were they to meet again. They told each other all they had experienced since they last met, and Pañj Phûl declared that now she could go with him wherever he wished, and advised him to wait there till she had been to her room (which had remained untouched since she last left it), and had taken such jewels and dresses, etc., as might prove of service to them on the way. Gullâlà Shah agreed. and Pañj Phûl went and quickly returned with jewels and dresses of great worth.

Then they both turned their backs on the fairy city, and started on their journey. They walked fast and long before resting. until they arrived by a pond of water, clear as crystal. Here they tarried awhile and ate some food. While talking together Gullâlà Shah told Pañj Phûl of his great desire to get some of the beautiful flowers which grew in a certain garden on the sea-shore. This garden, he explained, contained twelve thousand flowering trees: each tree had been planted by a fairy-princess, and was worth twelve thousand rupees. On hearing this Pañj Phûl said that she could obtain this desire for him, and any other desire that he might choose to prefer. But only she could get these flowers for him, for the princess of the fairy-country, where they grew, had never shown herself to man, and therefore would not see him.

In a few days their wanderings brought them to the sea-shore, close by this wonderful garden. Here they hired a certain vessel which was anchored near, and as they sat on board that night Pañj Phûl gave Gullâlà Shah a beautiful pearl necklace. and told him to go immediately and hang it before the light of a lamp in a secluded room in the side of the vessel. She also told him to remain in that room. The good of this was that several other beautiful pearl necklaces would be obtained by these means. Gullâlà Shah did as she had advised.

Meanwhile Pañj Phûl disguised herself in man's clothes, and pretended to be the servant of her husband. She then ordered the ship to be taken close to the garden of the fairy princess. On its arrival thither the princess's attendants came and ordered them to take the vessel away, because the princess wished the place to be kept strictly quiet and private, it being her wont to walk along just that part of the sea-shore. But the master of the vessel, Gullalà Shah, and his sham servant, persisted in remaining, saying that they had many great and precious things on board; and so from fear of thieves had anchored the vessel in that place. They would not remove unless the king promised to refund them whatever losses they might suffer from thieves and such-like. who would surely come and beset them in any other place. When the king heard this he gave them permission to tarry there for the night.

The following morning Pañj Phûl took some of the pearl necklaces, which had been made as has just been explained, and displayed them to view near to the princess's garden. Presently the princess's female attendants came down to the water to bathe. As soon as they saw Pañj Phûl, they asked her who she was. She told them that she was the servant of a very wealthy trader, who was on board the ship. He was exceedingly good and had some very great treasures, especially some pearl necklaces, the most costly and beautiful in the whole world. When the attendants heard this they naturally desired to see these great treasures—and Pañj Phûl was only too ready to show them. At the sight of the beautiful pearls they were very much astonished. and entreated Pañj Phûl to allow them to be carried to their royal mistress. This also was readily granted. The princess admired them so much that she would not part with them; but told her attendants to inquire the price, and to get several more like them—as many as the merchant could spare. When these others arrived—a great pile altogether,—the princess determined to go and see the merchant: "for," thought she, "he must be a very great man to possess all these costly things." Accordingly closely veiled she went to the ship, and arriving there asked Pañj Phûl, the supposed servant, where his master's room was, as she herself wished to bargain with him for the pearls that she had selected.[9] Pañj

[9] Cf. *Grimm's Household Stories*, p. 31: "Faithful John," the which story *en passant* compare with that of "Phakir Chand," *Folk-tales of Bengal*, pp. 17-32.

Phûl was hoping for this, but she did not wish to betray any special interest in the matter, and so said that the princess could not see the trader, as he had performed a certain worship, and therefore could not see or talk with any woman.

"But why cannot I see the trader?" urged the princess. "I am a good woman and have never seen a strange man. Surely he would not be defiled by my presence."

"He would not see you," answered Pañj Phûl. "If I took you to his room, he would only be angry. He would never show himself to you."

On hearing this the princess became more desirous than ever of seeing this strange man. She would go alone, she said, and thus no responsibility would rest on Pañj Phûl. Pañj Phûl said nothing, so the princess went alone and knocked at the trader's door. He did not open it, but answered from within: "I care not to see any strange woman; and so cannot let you enter."

The princess, however, would not hear him. "What for?" she said. "I have never seen the face of a strange man. I am a good woman. Let me in. I am a good woman, and wish to be married to you. This only is my desire. Why should we not see one another?"

Being thus pressed the trader opened the door, and they saw each other, and love came with the sight. They talked together for a long time, and the trader showed her all his treasures. Then the princess left, full of affection for the strange trader, and full of amazement at his great and exceeding treasure. As soon as she reached the palace she told the king where she had been, and what she had seen, and how she had fallen in love with the man, and wished to be married to him. The king, being a very indulgent and good father, promised to see the man, and the next morning went for that purpose to the ship. When he saw the trader,—how pleasant he was, and of such good speech, and so wise withal,—he too accepted him in his heart; and on reaching home told his daughter so. The princess's joy was unbounded. How much she looked forward to the day! and what great excitement there was in the city at the thought of the approaching marriage! The wedding took place, and was celebrated with great grandeur, as befitted the rank and wealth of the king of fairy-land.

For some time Gullâlâ Shah lived within the palace grounds and prospered exceedingly. However, he did not feel altogether satisfied: so one day he told the princess all about himself,—why he had come there, and how he wished to get the flowers and return to his native country. The princess repeated everything to the king, and asked his permission to take the twelve thousand flowering trees and accompany her husband; and to this the king consented. Preparations for starting were at once commenced. Twelve thousand carts were got ready for the twelve thousand flowering trees, and other arrangements were made for the transport of the treasures, that were given them by the king. An enormous company of troops and elephants, also were placed at the disposal of the illustrious couple. At length the hour of departure arrived. It was a most sorrowful occasion, for they were both very much beloved.

They first visited that country where Gullâlâ Shah got his first wife. The king was intensely glad to see him, and gave him a splendid house to live in, and all else that he required. Gullâlâ Shah stayed there for a little while, and then, loaded with more presents, departed. They next went in the direction of Gullâlâ Shah's own country. It was a long and difficult journey, but they all reached the city walls in safety, and pitched their camp outside the city, thinking that so sudden an advent of such an immense company (several thousands in all, besides elephants, horses, and other beasts), would much inconvenience the people. When tidings of their coming reached the palace the king was much frightened, and sent for his chief *Wazir* and other advisers, to ask what he should do to appease this great king who had now arrived: "for surely," he said, "so great and powerful a king has come here on no other account than for war."

The chief *Wazir* well considered the matter, and then replied, "O king, send, we pray you, your beautiful daughter, and let her arrange for peace. Who knows whether or not this great king will be captivated by her beauty, and so we be saved?"

"Alas, alas!" replied the king, "I have already given away my daughter to the man

who shall succeed in obtaining the flowering trees. Moreover, my daughter has refused several times to marry any man, no matter how great and wise he may be, except this person."

Thus were the king and his advisers occupied in conversation, when Gullalá Shah, having arranged his camp for the night, took off his grand and princely clothes, and put on the ragged garments of a beggar, and thus arrayed went forth into the city with the twelve thousand flowering trees. He ordered the drivers to take the carts straight to the palace, while he himself went on ahead. On arriving there he sent a message by the watchman to the king, saying, "Bid your master, the king, to command me, for I am come with the beautiful flowering trees from the garden of the king of the fairies."

Strange that this message should have been delivered just at the time when the king and his lords were talking about these flowers, but so it was! When he heard the words the king did not believe the watchman, but thought that he was mad. The *Wazir* and other great officials present also thought that it was too strange to be true. However, His Majesty in a jesting manner bade the man to be brought in. Presently Gullalá Shah appeared, clothed in rags, but bearing a sample of the beautiful flowers, which were so much admired by the princess and all the royal family. True enough there were the long-desired flowers, but the bearer of them was evidently of very mean origin—a dirty, ragged beggar! The king placed his chin in the palm of his right hand, and fixed his eyes upon the carpet. Thus he remained for several minutes, perfectly silent. "Is this the man?" he thought, "on whom I must bestow my beloved daughter? Surely, the man will not presume to ask for this thing? I will handsomely reward him, and then let him go."

"Friend, what seek you?" he asked, looking up again. "Will you be a great *Wazir* in the land? or do you wish for wealth? Say, and it shall be granted you."

"Let not the king be angry," replied the the beggar, "I wish only for Your Majesty's daughter in marriage. In comparison with her, I esteem all honour and money as of little worth. I pray you, fulfil your promise to me."

The king answered, "Your request is your due; and far be it from me to break my promise by refusing it to you. Take my daughter; she is yours."

When all the lords and attendants, and even Gullalá Shah himself, heard these words, they were astonished at the noble-mindedness of the king. For it would have been a small thing—nay, would have been accounted right and proper by nearly every one—if His Majesty had refused to gratify the beggar's desire.

Gullalá Shah was bidden to go with the attendants to a certain grand house; and there reside for a few days, during which suitable garments would be provided for him and arrangements made for the nuptials. This done, the king and his *Darbár* again conferred in council, as to what was the best thing to be done under the present difficulties concerning the foreign powerful monarch, whose camp lay close to the walls of the city. They talked together for a long time; but eventually, nothing definite having been agreed to, the king dismissed the Court, saying that he, attended only by his *Wazir*, would visit this great king and inquire the reason of his coming. In the course of an hour the king and his *Wazir*, with a few attendants might have been seen pursuing their way with anxious countenances—more like pilgrims than a royal party—towards the great camp without the city.

Meanwhile Gullalá Shah had succeeded in eluding his attendants; and returning to his tent, had changed his clothes again. The king and the *Wazir* did not recognise him when they were introduced. They were received with great ceremony; presents were offered, and the two visitors seated in state. Gullalá Sháh opened the conversation by inquiring all about the country and people. Then the king asked whence Gullalá Shah had come, and why he had come. Gullalá Shah then told him about himself, and how that he had come there in order to ask his, the king's, daughter in marriage.

"Sorrow, a hundred sorrows!" replied the king. "I have already promised my daughter to a certain beggar in consequence of a vow. Were it not so, there is none other whom I could prefer to thyself. Have pity on me, I beseech you, for it is with a sad heart I say this."

noble, most righteous king," replied ...hàh. "You have done well. Better ...u should lose your life, your kingdom, ..., than that you should deny your word. ... that all the rulers of the earth were ...s you are! Then would the people be ...er, and righteousness and peace would ...he world. God has prospered you, O king, He will yet prosper you. Only continue ...lous for your people and faithful to your ...rd. Know you now that the beggar, whom ...u have just mentioned, is none other than ...yself; and that I, also, am that same boy ...ho was known to the people by the name of Kuarià, whose father died without an heir, and therefore his wealth and property were appropriated by the crown; and whose mother, in consequence of this, sought for employment from a certain farmer. God was with me and prospered me exceedingly, so that I met with one of your messengers, who told me all about your wishes. After much travel, through which I have become learned, great, and rich, I have at last returned to your kingdom, bringing with me the flowering trees. I chose to appear with them first in beggar's clothes, that I might test your fidelity to your promise. You have been proved. Forgive me, I pray you, if I seemed to be wrong in this matter, and grant me your daughter in marriage." Saying these words he caught hold of the king's hands and seated him by his side in the place of honour.

When the king heard the good news, he was almost beside himself with gladness. "God be praised!" he said aloud and clasped Gullàlà Shàh to him in affectionate embrace. "Of course, I will give you my daughter,—but who am I to promise this thing? Ask what you will and you shall have it, to the full extent of my power."

News of this meeting was at once conveyed to the princess, who would not believe it, until Gullàlà Shàh himself appeared and declared it to her. In due time the wedding was celebrated with great *éclat*. Gullàlà Shàh fixed his abode in that country, and lived most happily with his four princess wives, for Pañj Phûl had long ago re-assumed her true character. He became increasingly popular and increasingly prosperous, and in a few years, on the death of the king, succeeded to the throne. Other countries were quickly conquered, and everything was managed with such skill and justice, that soon Gullàlà Shàh became the greatest king of those days. All nations did him homage and all people respected him.

Some will perhaps think that Gullàlà Shàḥ forgot his mother and relations in the time of his greatness; but it was not so. He found her out, and gave her a beautiful house to live in and a large number of servants to wait on her; he also inquired for those who had in any way helped her during her distress, and promoted them to offices of great honour. Thus did he live, universally just, loving, and good.

No wonder then that he become so popular! No wonder his kingdom waxed so great and strong! No wonder that when he died, at a ripe old age, there went up from all people, rich and poor, old and young, a great wail that seemed to rend the heavens!

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

By J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

(*Continued from Vol. XIV. p. 319.*)

Dighwa-Dubauli Plate of the Maharaja Mahendrapala.

(Harsha)-Samvat 155.

No. 160.

This inscription appears to have been discovered by Messrs. P. Peppe and James Cosserat, and was first brought to notice in 1864, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 321ff., when, in his paper entitled "On a Land-Grant of Mahendrapála Deva of Kanauj," Dr. Rajendralal Mitra published his reading of the text of the plate only, and a translation of it, accompanied by a rough and by no means accurate lithograph of the date. And, with the exception of subsequent discussions as to the reading of date, th... rendering of the inscription has remaine... ...ndard published version of it up to th... ...ne. I now re-edit it, with a lith... ...e original plate, which I obtai... through the kindness of

B.C S., from the possession of Mahâbir Pâṇḍê of Dighwâ-Dubauli,[1] a village about twenty-five miles to the south-east of Gôpâlgañj, the chief town of the Gôpâlgañj Sub-Division of the Sâran District in the Bengal Presidency. Either "it was dug out of a field some years ago" (before 1864) "by a Dighwaèt Brahman of Chhapráh:" or the ancestors of the then owner of it "found it in a temple in a ruined Musalman fort in that village" (? 'Chhapráh.' or 'Motihári.' or Dighwâ-Dubauli?), "but it was so long ago that they did not seem to have any distinct tradition about it, nor to be able to give any authentic information on the subject."[2]

The plate, which is engraved on one side only, measures about 1′ 9″ by 1′ 4¼″. The edges of it were fashioned somewhat thicker than the inscribed surface, and with a slight depression all round just inside them, so as to serve as a rim to protect the writing; and, though the surface is in some places a good deal corroded by rust, the inscription is in a state of excellent preservation almost throughout; but some of the letters are so hopelessly filled in with hard rust, which it was impossible to remove, that they do not shew quite perfectly in the lithograph. — Onto the proper right side of the plate there is soldered a thick and massive seal with a high raised rim all round it, measuring about 7″ by 11¼″, and rectangular, except that the top of it is raised into an arched peak with a slight depression on each side of it. In the arch thus formed, there is the standing figure, facing full-front, of a goddess, doubtless the Bhagavatî who is mentioned in the inscription; and below this, across the surface of the seal, there are the twelve lines of writing, *a* to *l*, transcribed below. Unlike the body of the grant, the letters of this legend on the seal are in relief; and, though they are in a state of excellent preservation almost throughout, the spaces between them are so filled in with hard rust, that it was impossible to obtain an ink-impression [illegible] them, or to treat them satisfactorily by means of photography, [illegible] include the seal also in the lith[ograph]. The characters are North Indian N[âgarî of] about the eighth century A.D. They [illegible] forms of the numerical symbols[3] of the [illegible] for 5, 10, 50, and 100. The execution [of the] engraving is excellent throughout, except [that] the mark for *ê* in conjunction with consona[nts,] both as *ê*, and as one of the components of *ô* and *au*,—*viz.* sometimes a circular broaden[ing] and sometimes a decided stroke, at the bott[om] of the end of the continuation, to the left, [of] the top stroke of the consonant,— is occa[sionally] imperfectly formed, and occasionall[y] omitted altogether. Many of the letters shew, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The plate is very massive and substantial; so that the letters, though fairly deep, do not shew through on the back of it. — The language is Sanskrit: and the inscription is in prose throughout, except for the half *ślôka*, evidently intended as such, which is introduced in line 14, and records the name of the person who drew up the charter.—In respect of orthography, all that calls for notice is—(1) the *paramabhagavatî* in lines *e*, *i*, and *k*, and *paramabhagavatî* in lines 3, 6, and 7, (2) the use of *va* for *ba*, e.g. *samvaddha*, line 8, even though the distinct form for *ba* occurs in *bhûtêd*, line 13; and (3) the doubling of *t* in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. *puttra*, line 2, and *sagôttra*, line 11 (but not in *pautrâh*, l. 11.)—I had no opportunity of taking the weight of this plate; but it is entered in Dr. Rajendralal Mitra's notice as 30 seers.

The charter recorded in this inscription is issued from the camp, complete with many cows, elephants, horses, chariots, and foot-soldiers, situated at Mahôdaya (line 1). Then follows the parenthetical genealogy, repeated in the same words in the legend on the seal, to the effect that there was the illustrious *Mahârâja* Dêvaśaktidêva (l. 2), a most devout worshipper of the god Vishṇu. His son, begotten on Bhûyikâdêvî, was the illustrious *Mahârâja* Vatsarajadêva (l. 3), a most devout worshipper of the god

[1] [illegible] 'Dobowlee' of the Indian Atlas, [illegible] 26° 11′ N., Long. 84° 49′ E.—R. Mitra [illegible] a 'Doobaneshur.' I have not [illegible] explanation of the 'Doobaneshar.' [illegible] mistake for 'Bhoobaneshar' [illegible] remember to have seen in a map [any]where in Bengal.

[2] *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 321.

[3] See page 113 below, note 57.—The symbols occurring in this inscription and the next for 8, 9, 50, and 80, are given in Bhagwanlal Indraji's Table, *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 44. The remaining symbols, for 5, 10, and 100, in their present forms, are still to be entered there.

10 khita-grâmas=sa[r*]vv-âya-samêta â-chandr-ârkka-kshitî-kâlam=pûrvadatta-dêvavra(bra)-hmadêya-varjjitô

11 mayâ pitrôḥ puṇy-âbhivṛiddhayê |[54] Sâvarṇṇasagôttra-KauthumaChchhandôgasavra(bra)-hmachâri-

12 bhaṭṭa-Padmasârâya savituḥ kumbha-saṁkrântau snâtvâ pratigrahêṇa pratipâdita iti viditvâ

13 bhavadbhis=samanumantavyaṁ prativâsibhir=apy=âjñâ-śravaṇa-vidhêyai[r*]=bbhûtvâ sarv-âyâ asya samu-

14 panêyâ iti |(||) Śrîmad[55]-Bhâka-[56]-prayuktasya śâsanasya sthir-âyatêḥ || Samvatsrâ[57] 100 50 5 Mâgha śu di 10 niva(ba)ddham [||*]

AN ENGLISH-GIPSY INDEX.

COMPILED BY MRS. GRIERSON; WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY G. A. GRIERSON, B.C.S.

(*Continued from p. 86*).

GIPSY,—Rom, romazânis, yapâri, japâri, malkôch, (Tch.); ghûlara, pôsha, (As. Tch.); lom, (Tch. Tokat); rom, (Psp. M.); posha, rom, sinkalo, (M. 8)

GIPSY-BLOOD.—Kaulo ratti, (Eng.)

GIPSY-FASHION, after the,—Romaneskoenaes, (Eng.); romanês, romênd'ire, (M.)

GIPSY-FELLOW,—Romano chal, romany chal, (Eng.)

GIPSY-GENTLEMAN,—Romano rye, romany rye, (Eng.)

GIPSY LANGUAGE,—Rômanes, romany, (Eng.)

GIPSY, of or belonging to,—Romanô, (Tch.)

GIPSY LASS,—Romani chi, (Eng.)

GIPSY, one who is not a,—*see* Stranger

GIRDLE,—Kiustik, (Psp. M.); kushtîk, (M.); kyusht yk, (M. 7)

GIRL,—Rakli, juvli, chavali, chavi, chi, (Eng.); raklî, châi, chêi, (dim.) chaiori, (Tch.); jaghi, (Tch. Tokat); lavti, (As. Tch.); châi, (Psp. M.); fechôrĕ, fechyôrĕ, raklî, raklôrĕ, shey, shiy, (M.)

GIRTH,—Dingla, plâna, (Tch.)

GIVE, (imp.)—Dou, (Eng.)

GIVE AWAY, to,—Yertiâva, yertisarâva; (M.)

GIVE, to.—Deâva, (Eng.); dâva, (Tch., Psp. M., M., M. 7); bede, (imperat.) (As. Tch.)

GIVE, to cause to,—Diniarâva, (Tch.)

GLANDERED.—Limalô, limêngoro, (Tch.)

GLANDERED HORSE, a,—Nok-engro, (Eng.)

GLANDERS,—Lim, (Tch.)

GLASS, drinking,—Jam, (Tch.); stêkla, takhtây, (M.), stegla, valin, (M. 8)

GLITTER, to,—Nĕzĕriâva, zĕrisarâva, (M.)

GLUE, to,—Lipiâva, (M.); to glue on, lipisard'o-vâva, (M.)

GLUED.—Lipimê, (M.)

GNAW OFF, to,—Chambâva, (M.)

GO, to,—Jalâva, (Eng.); jâva, (Tch., Psp. M., M. 7) jâmi, (1 pres.) (As. Tch.); pherâva, tra-dâva, zhâva, (M.)

GO BY, to,—Nakâva, (M., M. 8)

GO OUT, to,—Nikâva, (Tch., M. 8); niglavâva, (Psp. M.); ênkliâva, (M.); nashâva, (M. 8),

GONE OUT, to have,—Nîkliovâva, (Tch.)

GO OUT, to cause to,—Nikliarâva, nikâl dava,(Tch.)

GO ROUND, to,—Ĕnkunzhuriâva, (M.); phirâva, (M. 8)

GO THROUGH, to,—Skĕpisard'ovâva, (M.)

GOAD,—Ghanlô, momelî, (Tch.)

GOAT,—Buznô, (fem.) buznî, (Tch.); buzîn, (As. Tch.); kâpra, kaprâ, bakrî, (M.)

GOBLET.—Korô, (dim.) kororô, (Tch.)

GOBLET, of or belonging to.—Korêskoro, (Tch.)

GOD,—Devel, dibble, dovvel, duvel, dubble, (Eng.); devêl, del, (dim.) devlôro, (Tch.); huva, (As. Tch.); devêl (Psp. M., M.); devel, del, dil, (M.)

GOD, of or belonging to,—Devlicanô, devlêskoro, (Tch.)

GOD-FATHER,—Kirvô, kirivô, kivrô, (Tch.); nanâsh, nanâshu, t'irvô, (M.); kirivo, M. 7)

GODMOTHER,—Kirvî, (Tch.); t'irvî, (M.)

GODSON,—Zhamutro, (M.)

GOLD,—Sonakey, sonneko, (Eng.); sovnakâi, som-nakâi, (Tch., M. 8); zirdlori, (As. Tch.); somnakâi, gâlpea, (Psp. M.); somnakây, (M.)

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[54] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[55] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh); the verse consists, however, of only one *pâda*.

[56] R. Mitra, failed to observe the metre, and read *śrîmatîraka*, with a note that it was for *śri-bhaṭṭâraka*, which he rendered in his translation by "his auspicious Majesty."

[57] Read *samvatsarî*, for *samvatsrâṇâm*.—R. Mitra read the numerical symbols for the year as 389, treating them apparently as decimal figures and the symbol for the day as 7.—I am a little uncertain about the third symbol for the year; but,—contrasting it with the undoubted 8 in the date of the following inscription, and comparing it with the 5 of the Nepâl Bauddha MSS. in cols. 7 and 9 of Bhagwanlal Indraji's Table, *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 44,—it seems to be a form of the symbol for 5.

GOLDEN,—Sovnakunô, (Tch.); somnakunô, somnakânû, (M.)

GOLD AND SILVERSMITH,—Sovnakèngoro, rupêskoro, (Tch.)

GOOD,—Bûna, kûsho, koshto, kosko, kushto, (Eng.); lachô, mishtô, mistô (comp., lachedêr, (Tch.); gh'ehái, gh'iha (As. Tch.), lachô, (Psp. M.); mishtô, mishtôñ, lashô, shukâr, (M.); lacho, mishto, (M. 8)

GOOD, (sub.)—Moshîyĕ, moshîya, moshîye, (M.)

GOODNESS,—Mestipen, koshtipen, koskipen, (Eng.); lashipî, (M.); mestipen, bestipen, (Span. Gip.)

GOOSE,—Racheta, (Eng.); papîn, papîna, (Tch.); papin, (M., M. 8)

GOOSE, of or belonging to,—Papinèngoro, (Tch.)

GOOSEBERRY,—Durril, (pl.) durrilau, durilyor, (Eng.)

GOOSEBERRY PUDDING,—Durrileskie guyi, (Eng.)

GOURD,—Dudûm, (Tch., Psp. M., M. 7), gh'undur, kundur, (As. Tch.); dodom, (M.)

GOWN,—Shûb, shubbo, (Eng.); katrinca, (M.)

GRAIN,—Shîru, (M.)

GRAIN OF CORN,—Giv, iv, (Psp. M.); grŏuncĕ, (M.)

GRANDCHILDREN,—Tawnie yecks, (Eng.)

GRANDEUR,—Rayimâs, (M.)

GRANDFATHER,—Puro dad, (Eng.); pâpus, (Tch., M. 8); bapir, (As. Tch.)

GRANDMOTHER,—Bâba, bâbo, (dim.) baborcha, (Tch.); ami, (As. Tch.)

GRANDSON,—Ongôni, (Tch.)

GRAPE,—(pl.) Mul-engris, (Eng.); drak, porik, (Tch.); drak, (Psp. M.); drek, mevush, (As. Tch.); drakh, (M. 7)

GRAPES, of or belonging to,—Drakèngoro, (Tch.)

GRAPES, dry,—Chamîk, (Tch.); porîk (Tch., M. 8)

GRAPES-SELLER, (dry),—Porikèsgoro, chamikèngoro, (Tch.)

GRASS,—Chaw, (Eng.); char, drap, drab, (Tch.); char, (Psp. M.); gh'as, gh'ehs, kas, (As. Tch.); char, chur, (M.); char, (M. 7)

GRASS, (a kind of)—Lavaduà, (Tch.)

GRASSY,—Drabèngoro, charialô, (Tch.)

GRASSHOPPER,—Chawhoktamengro, (Eng.)

GRAVEL,—Mulleno hev, (Eng.); mormĕntu, (M.)

GRAVEL-SHOVEL,—Hĕrlĕcu, (M.)

GRAZE, to,—Charavâva, (Tch.); charâva, (Psp. M.)

GRAZING, to be nourished by,—Chariovâva, (Tch.)

GREASE,—Tulipen, (Eng.); maklô, (Tch.)

GREASE, to,—Maklîarâva, (Tch.)

GREAT,—Boro, (Eng.); barô, (Psp. M.); bharô, pharô, (M.)

GREEK,—Balamô, (Psp. M., M. 7)

GREEN,—Delê, zèlino, (M.)

GRENADE,—Darâv, rattvalô, (Tch.); khinâr, (As. Tch.)

GRENADIER,—Daravîn, (Tch.)

GREY,—Sûro, (M.)

GRIEF,—Duk, dukaibê, (Tch.); zhĕle, (M.); dukh, (M. 7)

GRIEF, to feel,—Dukâva, (Tch.); dukâva, pĕsâva, superisardl'ovâva, voytiâva pe, (M.)

GRIEF, to cause to feel,—Dukavâva, (Tch.)

GRIEVE, to (v. tr.),—Musarâva, (M.)

GRIEVED, to be,—Dukâniovava, (Tch.)

GRIEVED,—Superimi, supĕrĕmi, (M.)

GRIND, to,—Moarâva, (Eng.); pishâva, (Tch., Psp. M.)

GRIND, to cause to,—Pishlarâva, (Tch.)

GRINDSTONE,—Asân, (M., M. 7)

GRINDSTONE, hand,—Pirpirìstra, (Tch.)

GROAN, to,—Zhemâva, (M.)

GROAT,—Gush, gurush, gurushi, (Eng.)

GROOM,—Stanya-mengro, (Eng.)

GROUND,—Pûv, pov, puvvo, (Eng.); fûndu, pôdu, (M.)

GROW, to,—Bâriovava, (Tch.); bharyovâva, (M.)

GROW UP, to,—Bharyovâva, (M.)

GROW, to cause to,—Bariarâva, (Tch.)

GUARD,—Arakîv, (Psp. M.); strâzha, strĕzhĕ, (M.)

GUARD, to,—Wardâva, (Eng.); arakâva, (Tch., Psp. M.)

GUARD ONESELF, to,—Ferisardl'ovâva, (M.)

GUESS, to,—Gŏchiâva, gĕchisarâva, (M.)

GUIDE,—Kâlfa, (M.)

GUILT,—Dosh, (M., M. 7)

GUILTY,—Doshalô, (M.); uzhilo, (M. 8)

GUITAR,—Yongâri, (Tch.)

GUM,—Tar, (Tch.); thar, (M., M. 8)

GUN,—Yag-engri, (Eng.); katli, (Tch.); pûshka, pûshkĕ, pushkĕ, (M., M. 8)

GYPSY, *see* Gipsy.

H

HABITATION,—bashipê (Psp. M.)

HAIL,—Kukkudî, (Tch.); kukudî, (Psp. M.)

HAIR,—Bal, (Eng.); bal, jar, (Tch., M. 7); val, (As. Tch.); bal, (Psp. M., M.); *see* also 'Tress.'

HAIR, of or belonging to,—Balalô, (Tch.); baleneskoe, (Eng.); jarialô, (Tch.)

HAIRY FELLOW, a—Balormengro, (Eng.)

HALF,—Pas, posh, (Eng.); yèkpâsh, (Tch.); nim, (As. Tch.); pash, pâsha, yekpâsh, (Psp. M.); (M.); pash, (M. 8)

HALFPENNY,—Pasherro, posherro, poshoro, (Eng.)

HALL,—Komorrus, (Eng.); añlin, (M.)

HALL, entrance,—Tînda, (M.)

HALTER,—Sher-engri (Eng.); ashvâr, (M.)

HAMMER,—Korâki, kutûla, sivrî, (Tch.); (a kind of,) kakâi, (Tch.); sivrî, (Psp. M., M. 8); chokân, chokânashu, chokânos, t'iyâno, vaznalô, (M.)

HAMMER, blacksmith's,—Vâria, chokânos, chakânos, (Tch.); varia, (M. 8)
HAND,—Vast, wast, (Eng.); vast, (Tch.); hast, (As. Tch.); vâst, (Psp M.); vast, (M., M. 8)
HAND, little,—Vastorô, (Tch.)
HAND-BAG,—Trâysta, (M.)
HANDFUL,—Bûrnek, (Tch.); burnêk, (Psp. M., M. 7)
HANDKERCHIEF,—Pangushi, (Eng.); diklô, koznô, kosnô, (Tch.); diklô, bŏsmâoa, (M.)
HANDLE,—Destô, (Tch, M. 7)
HANDSOME,—Rinkeno, (Eng.)
HANG, to,—Nashâva, (Eng.); umblavâva, (Tch.)
HANGED, to be,—Umblâvghiovâva, (Tch.)
HANGING,—Umblaibè, (Tch.)
HANGMAN,—Nashimesero, (Eng.); ushtalèu, (M.)
HAPPEN, to,—Resâva, (Tch.); dâva, (M.)
HAPPEN, to cause to,—Resavâva, (Tch.)
HAPPINESS,—Bakht, (M., M. 7)
HARE,—Kaun-engro, sheshu, shoshoi (Eng.); shoshoi, (Hun. Gip.); shôshoi, sosôi, (dim.) shoshoro, (Tch.); gh'andurki, (As. Tch.); shoshôi, (Psp. M.); shoshôy, (M., M. 8)
HARE, of or belonging to,—Shoshanô, shoshôskoro, (Tch.)
HARICOT,—Manushèskere dant, (Tch.)
HARLOT,—Lubbeny, (Eng.); lubnî, nublî, Psp M.)
HARLOT, become a,—Lubbenified, (Eng.)
HARLOTRY,—Lubbenipen, (Eng.)
HARM,—Dosch, dosh, (Eng.)
HARNESS, to,—Kostizâva, (Tch.)
HARROW, to,—Grĕpiâva, (M.)
HASTE,—Hekta, sig, (Eng.)
HASTEN, to,—Prastâva, (M.)
HAT,—Stadj, (Eng.)
HATCH, to,—Klochisarâva, (M.)
HATCHET,—China-mengro, (Eng.); tovêr, tovêl, (Tch.); tovêr, tovĕr, bârda, (M.)
HATCHET, handle of,—Bĕltâgu, (M.)
HAUT-BOY,—Sûrulas, (Tch.)
HAVE, to,—Terâva, (Tch., Psp. M.)
HAWK GOODS, to,—Korâva, (Eng.)
HAWKING GOODS,—Karring, (Eng.)
HAWKING LICENSE,—Koring lil, (Eng.)
HAY,—Kas, (Eng.); kas, (Tch.); kas, (M.); khas, (M. 7)
HAYSTACK,—Kas-stiggur, (Eng.)
HAYMAKING,—Kas kairing, (Eng.)
HE,—O, yo, (Eng.); ov, (Tch., M. 8); hûi, (As. Tch.); lo, vo, (M.)
HEAD,—Shero, (Eng.); sherô, serô, (Tch.); serô, ser (As. Tch.); sherô, shorô, (Psp. M.); kĕpĕcĕna, shĕrô, sherô, shŏrû, (M.); shero, (M. 8)
HEAD, of or belonging to,—Sheralô, (Tch.)
HEAD-DRESS,—Kĕrpa, (M.); pherno, (M. 8)
HEAD-MAN,—Sher-engro, (Eng.)
HEAL, to,—Sast'arâva, (M.)
HEALED, to be,—Sast'ovâva, (M.)
HEALTH,—Piapen, (Eng.); sastipê, vestipê, (Tch.)
HEALTHY,—Sastô, shastô (Tch.); shastô, (Psp. M.); sastô, saste vesto, vestô, (M.); shasto, vesto, (M. 8)
HEAP,—Grĕmâda, grĕmâdĕ, (M.)
HEAR, to,—Shunâva, (Eng., Tch., Psp. M.); ashunâva, (M.); shunâva, (M. 8)
HEARD, to be,—Shûndovâva, kandizâva, (Tch.) ashund'ovâva, (M.)
HEARING,—Shunaben, (Eng.)
HEART,—Zi, (Eng.); oghî, (dim.) oghororî, onghî, (Tch.); oghi, onghì, (Psp M.); yilô, yilû, odhî, od'i (M.); yilo, (M. 7)
HEARTH,—Vighna, (Tch.); vatro, vigna, (M. 8)
HEAT,—Tatti-pen, (Eng.); tabioipè, tattibê, (Tch.), tattipè, (Psp. M.)
HEAT, to,—Tapâva, tattiarâva, (Tch.)
HEATHEN,—Hrishka, (M.)
HEAVEN,—Charos, cheros, (Eng.); sukâr devêl, (Tch.); chèri, cherî, (M.); chêro, (M. 7)
HEAVINESS,—Grêu, (M.)
HEAVY,—Pordo, (Eng.); parô, (Tch.); barô, (Psp. M.; bharô, pharô, adv.) bharĕs, pharĕs, (M.); pharo, (M. 8)
HEDGE,—Bor, (Eng.); bar, (M.); bari, (M. 7)
HEDGE-HOG,—Pal of the bor, hatchi-witchu, (Eng.)
HEEL,—Kfur, khûr, (Psp M.); khur, (M. 7
HEIGHT,—Vuchipê, (Tch.)
HELL,—Bengako tan, wafodu tan, (Eng.); pĕkla, yâdo, yâdu, (M.)
HELP, to,—Azhutiâva, (M.)
HEN,—Kanni, (pl.) kannis, (Eng.); kañi, (Span. Gip.); kakni, (Hun Gip.); kaghni, kahni, chiriclì, (Tch.); jimàri, (As. Tch.); kaini, kagnì, kainâ, (Psp., M.); kaynî, gaynî, (M.); kahni, (dim.) chavri, (M. 7)
HEN, clucking,—Klòshka, (M.)
HER,—La (pro. pers.), laki (pro. poss.), (Eng.)
HERB,—Yarb, (Eng.)
HERBALIST,—Charièngoro, (Tch.)
HERD,—Chiryâda, herd'iliya, hergelîya, tûrma, (M.)
HERE,—Akai, akoi, aukko, (Eng.); atiâ, akatiâ, avatiâ, avâtiaring, (abl.) atâr, atiâtar, (Tch.); ate, avatiâ, (Psp. M.); kothê, kothî, kot'i, kochê, kochi, ordè, urdê, ordî, kathê, kathî, kat'è, kat'i, kat'hê, kakê, (M.); atya, (M. 7
HERO,—Vit'azu, voyniko, voynîku, (M.)
HEW, to,—Licharâva, lit'râva, choplisarâva, (M.)
HIDE, to,—Garêva, (Eng.); gheravâva, nispelâva, (Tch.), usharavâva, garâva, (M.); nispelâva, (M. 8)

HIDE ONESELF, to,—Garud'ovâva, (M.)
HIDDEN, to be,—Gherâvghiovâva, nispêlghiovâva, (Tch.)
HIDING, (the action of)—Gheraibê, (Tch.)
HIGH,—Vuchô, uchô, (Tch.); vechûn, (As. Tch.); (comp.) vucheder, (Tch.); uchô, bharô, pharô, ĕnnâlto, (M.); vucho, (M. 8)
HIGHEST,—Opral'unô. opralutnô, (Tch.)
HILL,—Chumba, (Eng.); mozhîla, muzhîla, (M.); dombo. (M. 7)
HILLOCK,—Tûmba, (Tch.)
HINGE,—Guruvĕskoro kar, (Tch.)
HIRE, to,—Nĕymiâva, nĕymisarâva, (M.)
HIRED, to be,—Nĕymisard'ovâva, (M.)
HIS,—(poss. pro.) Oriki. (As. Tch.)
HISS, to,—Shôndava, (Tch.)
HIT, to,—Hetavâva, (Eng.); malavâva, nemisarâva, (M.)
HITHER,—Kothê, kothî, kot'i, kochê, kochî, (M.); orde, (M. 8)
HITHERTO,—Ajâi, achâi. (Tch.)
HOE,—Baskî, (dim.) baskisorô, khanliardô, (Tch.); sâpa, (M.)
HOG,—Balô, (M.)
HOG-WASH,—Lĕtûri, (M.)
HOLD, (imperat.)—Tel, bonnek, (Eng.)
HOLD, to,—Terâva, (Tch.); astarâva, (Psp. M.); ĕnkĕrâva, (M.); ikerâva, (M. 7); terâva, (M. 8)
HOLE,—Hev, (Eng.); khar, khev, khef, (Tch.); khâv, (Psp. M.); khĕű, yezunie, (M.); khar, khev, (M. 7)
HOLES, full of,—Heviskey, (Eng.)
HOLY,—Develeskoe, (Eng.); sen. sfĕnto, sfĕntu, sfêntu, sĕn. (M.); svunto, (M. 8)
HOLY-WATER SPRINKLER,—Vrekhtûla, (Tch.)
HOMAGE, to do—Ĕnkinisard'ovava, (M.)
HOME,—Kerey, keri, (Eng.)
HONEY,—Gudlo, (Eng.); avghîn, (Tch.); hünghevin, (As. Tch.); avghin, (Psp. M.); abgin, abd'in. (M.); avgin, (M. 7)
HONEY, seller of,—Avghinêngoro, (Tch.)
HONEY-INSECT,—Gudlo-pishen, (Eng.)
HONOUR,—Pat'û, (M.)
HONOURABLE,—Pat'uvalô, pat'ualô, pachualô, (M.)
HOOK,—Kŏrlîg, kŏrligu, (M.)
HOP, (a plant)—Levinor-engri, (Eng.)
HOP-PICKER,—Tardra-mengre, (Eng.)

MISCELLANEA.

THE RETIREMENT OF GENERAL CUNNINGHAM.

We cannot issue this Number without a few words of farewell to Major-General Alexander Cunningham, R.E., C.S.I., C.I.E., late Director-General of Archæological Surveys, who, having resigned his appointment, has just left this country, after a connection with it, and with the study of Indian Archæology in all its branches, that has lasted through more than half a century.

Entering the service of the Government of India as a Lieutenant of the Royal (late Bengal) Engineers in June 1831, General Cunningham landed in this country no long while afterwards, and applied himself almost at once to the researches that have made his name so well known.

His first publication was, in 1834, the "Correction of a mistake regarding some of the Roman Coins found in the Tope at Manikyala opened by M. Court" (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. III. p. 635ff.) And from that time, till now, he has been a constant contributor to that Journal, to the *Numismatic Chronicle*, and to others devoted to Oriental topics.

Of separate publications he has given us *The Bhilsa Topes*, 1854; *The Ancient Geography of India*, Vol. I. *The Buddhist Period*, 1871, devoted chiefly to the illustration of the campaigns of Alexander, and the travels of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsiang; *The Stupa of Bharhut*, 1879, with a magnificent series of fifty-seven plates; and the *Book of Indian Eras*, 1884, containing an extremely useful set of Tables for calculating Indian Dates, which does not seem to have as yet become as well known as it should be.

But his name is, of course, best known in connection with his official post as Director-General of the Archæological Surveys of India, for which he was specially selected in 1870 and was persuaded to return to India again after his original retirement from active service. In connection with this office, General Cunningham has given us, in 1877, Volume I. of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, containing the Aśôka Inscriptions, and, from 1871 to 1885, twenty-one volumes of Reports of the Archæological Survey of India, which—whatever criticism may be applied to them in detail—contain an extraordinary amount of information that only requires careful and systematic indexing for its practical value to be recognised.

It is a relief to know that General Cunningham's invaluable collection of gold and silver coins did not share the fate of his books and manuscripts, unfortunately lost at sea, but have reached England in safety. We hope that he has many years before him yet, in which to make the contents of this collection accessible to the public, and to reconstruct many of his other unpublished writings which would seem at present to be so hopelessly lost

THE EDITORS.

7th March 1886.

The Air of HAR PHULAN DI, in the European Style.

DISCURSIVE CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ASIATIC SYMBOLISM.

BY H. G. M. MURRAY-AYNSLEY.

No. IV.

Sacred Stones.

IN the Bible the Prophet Isaiah condemns the stone-worship of his day in the following words[1]:—"Slaying the children in the valleys under the cliffs of the rocks? Among the smooth stones of the stream is thy portion: they, they, are thy lot: even to them hast thou poured a drink offering, thou hast offered a meat offering. Should I receive comfort in these?" In India, at the present day, both the Śaiva and Vaishṇava sects of Hindûs have their sacred stones. The *liṅgas* of the Śaivas exist in all their temples, while the Vaishṇavas have their *śâlagrâma*.

The Vaishṇavas as well as the modern Jains reverence the impression on stone of the soles of two feet,[2] a Vaishṇava temple at Gayâ being called Bishṇ-Pad, or 'Vishṇu's Foot.' This symbol is also many times repeated on the natural rock of a hill at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa in Maisûr, on which is a Jain temple. Plate IX. fig. 1 is a representation of this emblem from the Râjâ of Nâgpur's palace at Benares. Fig. 2 is a mosaic pavement in the centre of the floor of the *chhatrî* or cenotaph at Gôvardhan, erected to the memory of the grandfather of the present Mahârâjâ of Bharatpur. It is not unknown in Europe, forming a portion of the ornamentation on one of the large stones within a *dolmen*, at Arzon, in the Morbihan, South Brittany: see Plate IX. fig. 3. In the Island of Guernsey, on the Roquaine Road and not far from L'Erée, is a field in which is a rocky mound. A stone, called *La Pierre aux Dames*, at one time stood on its summit, but a former proprietor removed it in a vain search after supposed treasure, and it now lies at the foot of the mound. On the surface of the stone, which is of granite, there are two depressed traces of footmarks in opposite directions. The depressions appear to be due to disintegration of the granite block, but so closely do they resemble the impressions of two human feet, that one is forced to believe that their present form was at some remote period greatly assisted by some rude sculptor's chisel.

An incident, which once happened to the present writer in Benares, seems to throw some light upon the signification of this symbol in Modern India. One day, when wandering in the outskirts of that city the attention of our party was attracted to a temple, which, though handsome, on a closer examination, proved to be an insignificant one. But near it were two tombs:—on the larger one was a *liṅga* and trident, between which was the impression of the soles of two feet; the smaller had only the two feet upon it. Whilst we were wondering what could be the meaning of these symbols in such a position, a middle-aged native woman came up to us and on being asked about the tombs said: "The largest one is my father's tomb; the other is the tomb of my mother; they were both Gosâîns and so am I." On being questioned still further she added, "We use the signs of the feet to express worshipping at our parents' feet, *i.e.* being their disciples."[3] It would appear from this (though I will not vouch for its being invariably the case[4]) that the Gosâîns bury their dead, contrary to the usual Hindû practice of cremation.

The worship of rude stones must have prevailed in Kaśmîr at one period. At a place called Pandrattan, about three miles from Śrînagar, there are three or four so-called Śaiva stones of very large size. In 1876 one was still upright in its original position, the others were prostrate on the ground. Baron von Hügel, in his *Travels in Kaśmîr and the Pañjâb*, relates, too, that he found many such stones near the sacred spring at Islâmâbâd. Similar stones have also been found in places where Buddhism is known to have existed, and it seems not improbable that such emblems are the relics of a still older form of religion than that of Buddha, which fell into disuse when it was introduced. They have been found also amongst the ruins of

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[1] Chap. lvii. 5 & 6.

[2] Of this symbol the late Kamer Herr Worsaae says, "it frequently occurs on rock cuttings in Bohuslehn, in the South of Sweden (the ancient Scania) and it has been considered a sacred sign over the whole earth, being in India an emblem of Buddha and of Vishṇu.' [See *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 138ff.—ED.]

[3] The expression should be taken in the same sense as the passage in *Acts* xxii. 3, of being brought up at the feet of Gamaliel.

[4] Burial among such ascetics, we believe, is the invariable rule, and not cremation.—ED.]

the old town of Valabhî in Kâthiâwâḍ, but I have never seen any either in Ladâk (Western Tibet), in the Himâlayan Valleys of Lâhaul and Spiti, in the upper part of the Satlaj Valley, or in Ceylon, in all of which Buddhism now prevails. It should be noted here that, at the present day, in the Pañjâb, in the Central and North-West Provinces, and in the Southern Peninsula of India, the worshippers of Siva far outnumber any other purely Hindû sect.

Madden, in his account of the Tarâî and Kumâun,[5] says, "a little below the point of junction of the Gaulâ and the Baliyâ, at a holy spot called Maipûr or Mâyâpûr, is the *Chitr Silâ* or Mottled Stone, a large rounded boulder of quartz conglomerate, reposing in a deep cleft in the sandstone which forms the right bank of the Gaulâ. It is sacred to Devî and Mahâdeo (*i.e.* Śiva), and is greatly venerated."

In the Central Provinces, the Gonds, generally held to be an aboriginal race, and who there rank very low in the social scale, are still in the habit of choosing a rough stone of an oblong form, which they daub over with a red pigment, set up under a *pîpal* tree (*ficus religiosa*), and perform *pûjâ* (worship) to it. This consists in pouring oblations of milk over it and making offerings of flowers, &c.[6] As an instance of the transfer of this custom to orthodox Vaishnavism I myself saw a pilgrim at Gayâ place a small box of lucifer matches on a tray, together with other offerings, and deposit them in the innermost shrine, on the impression of the foot of Vishṇu. The custom of offering libations in this manner is not yet extinct in Europe. At the Point de Jerbourg, the most south-easterly promontory of the Island of Guernsey, is a tall rock, which, when viewed from a particular point, is said to bear some resemblance to a cowled monk. This rock is called by the country people "Le petit bon homme Andrelot," and the fishermen when passing it take off their hats and make a libation to it of any liquor which they may happen to have on board, and throw some old clothes to it.

There is a passage in the *Apocrypha* in the *Book of The Wisdom of Solomon*, ch. xiii. 10, and part of verses 13, 14, 17, and 18, which shews that a similar form of worship to that just noticed was practised in the days of Solomon. It runs thus:—"Miserable are they, and in dead things is their hope, who called them gods, which are the works of men's hands, gold and silver to shew art in, and resemblances of beasts or a stone good for nothing, the work of an ancient hand[7]—and fashioned it to the image of a man; or made it like some vile beast, *laying it over with vermilion and with paint colouring it red*, and covering every spot therein; then maketh he prayer for his goods, for his wife and children, and is not ashamed to speak to that which hath no life. For health he calleth upon that which is we for life prayeth to that which is dead: for humbly beseecheth that which hath le means to help: and for a good journey he aske of that which cannot set a foot forward."

The ancient Arabs, prior to the reformation of their faith by Muḥammad, paid particular reverence to a stone called Allât. It had a conical form, and was probably the same as the *liṅga* worshipped in India as the emblem of Śiva.[8]

In Rome, as well as in Greece, and in Etruria it was only after the lapse of several centuries that art ventured to represent the gods under a human form. On this account, the earlier inhabitants were accustomed to offer sacrifices to the trunks of trees, or to dark-coloured stones: a habit which, according to some passages in their poets, survived for a long time amongst the lower classes. Indeed, from what we learn from Varro, for more than 170 years the Romans rendered worship to their gods without having any representation of them whatsoever, and Plutarch relates the story that when Numa regulated the ceremonies to be observed by the Romans he forbade any objects of a definite form being exposed to public veneration. It is the opinion of certain learned men that such must have been introduced in the reign of the elder Tarquinius, who was an Etruscan; which leads us to conjecture that he may have brought

[5] *Panjab Notes and Queries*, Vol. I. note 309.

[6] This custom is by no means confined to the Gonds or to the Central Provinces.—ED.

[7] It would appear from this that stone-worship of this kind was even then an ancient thing.

[8] There are two idols called Allât in Musalmân books. The former was the pre-Islamite goddess Allât worshipped as an idol and the latter the idol at Somnâth destroyed by Mahmûd of Ghaznî in 1024 A.D., called by Muhammadan writers Lât and Al Lât, and often confounded with the ancient Arabian goddess. The latter was a true Hindû *liṅga* set up at Somnâth, but there is apparently no reason to suppose that the real Allât was in the form either of a rude stone or of a *liṅga*.—ED.]



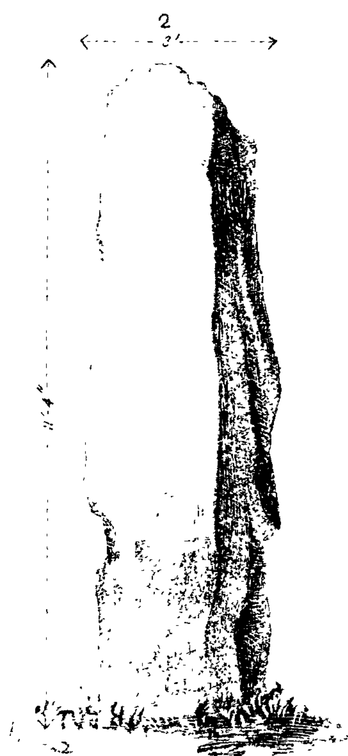
Nos. 1, 2, 3 & 4.—MONOLITHS ON THE SUMMIT OF PANDAKOLÎ, IN KUMÂUN.
No. 5.—MONOLITHS IN TARTARY. No. 6.—MONOLITH IN NAXOS.

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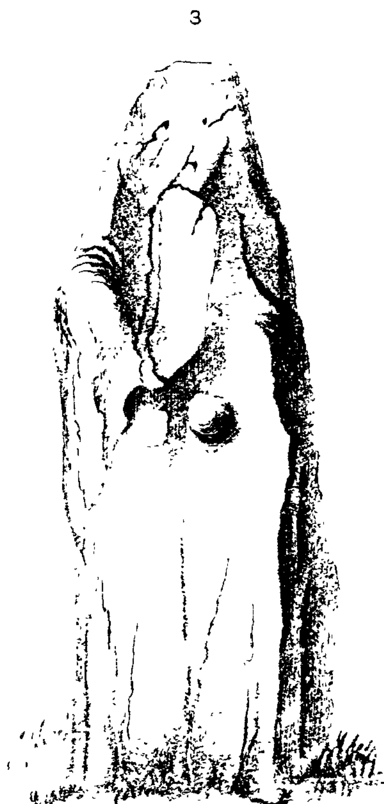


Scale .5

2



3



Scale .5

4



Scale .125

5



Scale .125

SCULPTURED STONES AND MONOLITHS IN THE ISLAND OF GUERNSEY.

the custom of image-worship with him from his own country.

It would appear that stone-worship was not unknown in Europe, and in England, even as late as the XIth Century. In his work on the *Stone Monuments, Tumuli and Ornaments of Remote Ages*, Mr. J. B. Waring says that Col. Forbes Leslie observes that, in Thorpe's *Ancient Laws of England*, Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury in the VIIth Century, the Saxon King Edgar in the Xth, and Canute the Dane in the XIth, all forbade the worship of stones. At a Council held at Tours in the VIth Century, it was resolved that the church doors should be closed against those who worshipped certain upright stones,[9] and Mr. Waring adds, that he remembers to have seen an Anglo-Saxon law to the effect that whoever wished to preserve such stones might do so on payment of a fine to the Church. A stone of this sort is possibly indicated in the *Edda*, the most ancient book of Scandinavia, where mention is made of an oath taken near the Sacred White Stone. M. Holmhöe in his little work, *Buddhism en Norrège*, published in 1857, after speaking of sacred stones as known in Kaśmîr and India, goes on to say: "It is most singular to find traces of the same customs in Norway. The museum at Bergen possesses three stones of a greyish white marble. One was brought from a large *haug* (or tumulus) on a farm called Glein in the island of Daumöe off the coast of Heligoland. This stone is, like those from Balabhipura in Sôrath" (Valabhî in Kâthiâwâḍ) "three feet high, and nineteen inches in diameter. Both tumulus and stone were formerly held sacred. The two others were not found in tumuli, but such was probably their original position."[10] Another Norwegian antiquarian, M. Liligren, relates that in the year 1817, in a field in the parish of Sparhoe in the diocese of Throndhjem, a stone of precisely the same form was discovered, and another in Vestmanland in Sweden: and he gives it as his opinion that they had been worshipped as gods. A Mr. Christie also speaks of a similar stone, "which tradition says existed formerly near the town of Tromsöe in Finmark, and was worshipped by the Laplanders, and that the Bishop in consequence had it removed, and thrown into the river." The same person says also that he himself had seen "on the farm called Opsanger in the parish of Quindherred in the diocese of Bergen, on the summit of a large tumulus, a stone of the same kind." Stones of this form, when found in Norway, are supposed to belong to the Iron Age. In another place M. Holmhöe says, "according to the ancient laws of Scandinavia, put forth in the first century after the introduction of Christianity there, it is especially forbidden to worship stones."

M. Holmhöe also says: "We will now pass on to stones of another form, which also appear to have been considered sacred. These are stones of a spheroidal or ovoid form, which have been found in certain tumuli. One such stone, nine inches in length and seven in circumference, was found within the cell of a tumulus not far from the town of Flekkefjord in Norway." He then goes on to say, "The Museum at Bergen possesses two stones which in size and colour exactly resemble hen's eggs, they are made of some white stone, probably marble, and were found in a tumulus in the district of the Sandfjord in the diocese of Bergen. The proprietor of the land told me that he found them in the cell in the centre of the tumulus." He next proceeds to enumerate several places where spherical or oval stones of the same description have been found in Norway, and also in Denmark, in Livonia, and in the North of Germany. Now in one part of the *bâzâr* at Benares hundreds of spherical or oval stones are exhibited for sale. They are for the most part of the size and form of a common hen's egg.[11] Possibly they are used in private worship, for it is well known to all who have ever been in India that no Hindû except an outcaste will eat an egg or even keep fowls: there seems, therefore, little doubt that some religious meaning must be connected with them. Similar spherical stones, again according to M. Masson, have been found in topes and tumuli in Afghânistân and other places also.[12] They have invariably been found in the centre of such monuments, which position, M. Masson

[9] ? The Śaiva stones of India, and the *menhirs* of a certain type in Brittany.

[10] Since this was written, at least ten more such stones have been discovered in Norway.

[11] The Śaivas are said to regard the egg as the symbol of creation. [But is the doctrine of the *brahmâṇḍa* or the World's Egg exclusively Śaiva?—ED.]

[12] *Travels in Afghânistân, Bilûchistân, &c.*

thinks, was given to them with some special object.

These stones take another form in Scandinavia, of which three or four specimens exist in the Museum of Antiquities at Stockholm; but it seems an open question whether they can be considered to be Śaiva stones. They perfectly correspond with a description given by M. Liligren of certain stones in a passage he quotes from a manuscript by M. Schöning, Bishop of Throndhjem, relating to a custom which existed in Norway at the end of the XVIIIth Century. M. Schöning says, "at the farm of Qualset in the Telemarken district, two stones were still preserved at the end of the last century of the form of loaves of common rye-bread, that is to say, round and convex on their upper side. These stones were so much esteemed, that they were placed upon seats of honour and *bathed regularly with milk, and butter, and at Christmas watered with fresh beer.*"

There are yet other kinds of sacred stones some of which are still in use in India, and of which examples still exist in Europe, *viz.* stone circles, monoliths and stone implements.

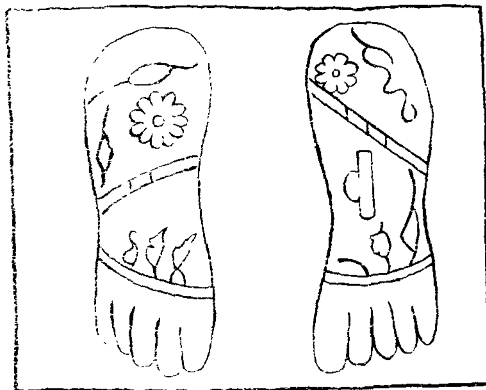
In one of Mr. H. Rivett-Carnac's papers on the rock sculptures and monoliths of Kumâun, which he has permitted me to use, he mentions a stone circle on the summit of Paṇḍakolî, (a mountain rising to the height of nearly 8,000 feet above the sea) within which four monoliths are standing. This monument consists of an outer and an inner circle of stones. The outer circle, 16 feet in diameter, is composed of rough stones piled one upon the other, with larger stones at the entrance. The inner circle, 8 feet in diameter, is made partly of large stones about 3½ feet in height, and partly of smaller ones. The entrance is to the south. In England the stone circles of Stonehenge and of Avebury in Wilts are well known, and similar monuments exist in the Channel Islands, *viz.* in Guernsey, and on the island of Herm.

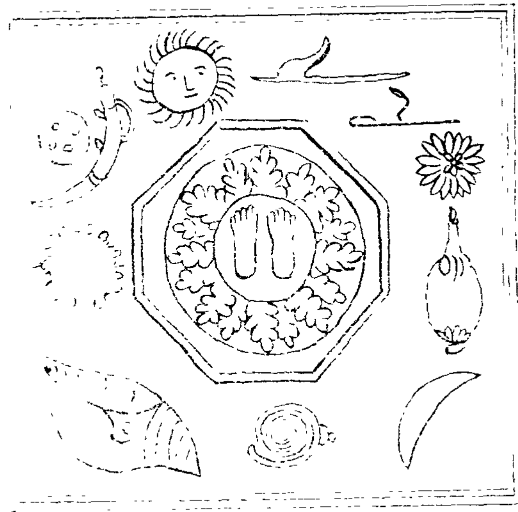
Mr. Rivett-Carnac, when describing the four monoliths on Paṇḍakolî, Plate VII., figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, says, "No priest lives on the hill, which is too cold, jungly and inaccessible for a lengthened sojourn, but a fair is, I learn, held there in the spring, when many pilgrims visit it, chiefly childless women." He goes on to say: "Fig. 1 has a mark upon it which was perhaps intended for the Moon, on Fig. 3 is what looks like a Sun. Fig. 2 is a monolith of the same nature from the summit of Paṇḍakolî. Fig. 4 is another stone from Chandeśwar in the same district." Fig. 5 is a stone from Tartary given in front and side face, and Fig. 6 is from the island of Naxos in Greece. The two last bear a strange resemblance to each other; but it is a still more singular circumstance to find the same type of stones existing in Europe, and still used as a place of pilgrimage by women.[13] A specimen is given in Plate X. taken from a sketch made for me by a friend some years ago. This statue is known as the Venus de Quinipily, and is situated near Baud Morbihan in Brittany. Black, in his *Guide to Brittany*, describes it thus:—"It is a nude rudely-formed stone statue, about eight feet high, standing against a slab. The thighs are disproportionately thick, and the arms disproportionately thin. Round her waist is a narrow girdle, the ends of which fall down in front. The hands are crossed over the body. The statue stands on a pedestal nine feet high rising from the front of a terrace over a dilapidated fountain. From the flatness of the features some have supposed it to have an Egyptian origin, but the probability is that it does not date later than the 16th Century, when it was an object of impure rites among the Bretons."

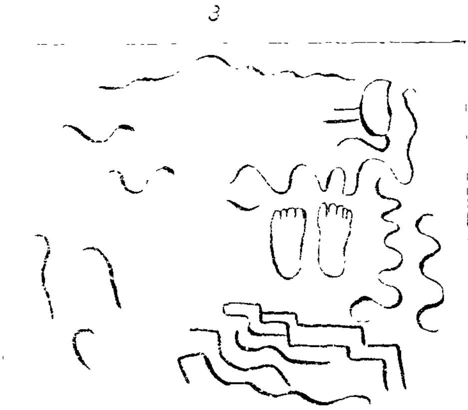
In Brittany, certain upright blocks of stone called *menhirs* have in some districts been placed in rows of ten or even more lines, forming thus an avenue leading to a *dolmen*, or tomb of some ancient chief and his family. Other stones again have been placed singly in elevated positions and are somewhat conical in form. They much resemble the Śaiva stones of India.

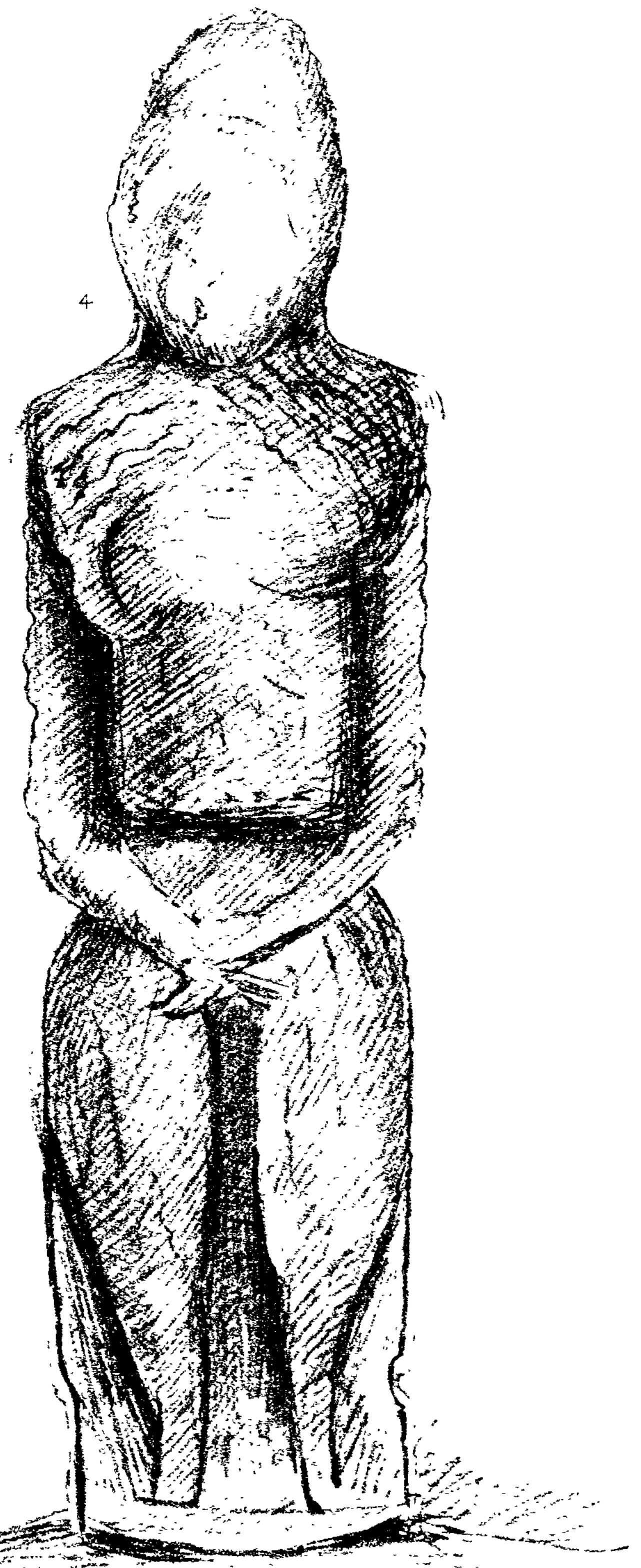
Near St. Renan, and about 12 miles from Brest, is a monolith called the Menhir of Kergloas, said to be the finest in Brittany. It is a quadrangular stone of brownish granite, 19 feet in circumference and 39 feet in height above ground, tapering slightly towards the top. It is about 2 feet thick at the ends, and 4 feet at the centre. On its east and west sides, at a height of from 2 to 3 feet from the ground, is a circular protuberance or boss. On and

[13] At any rate this is the case with the Menhir of Kergloas in France.





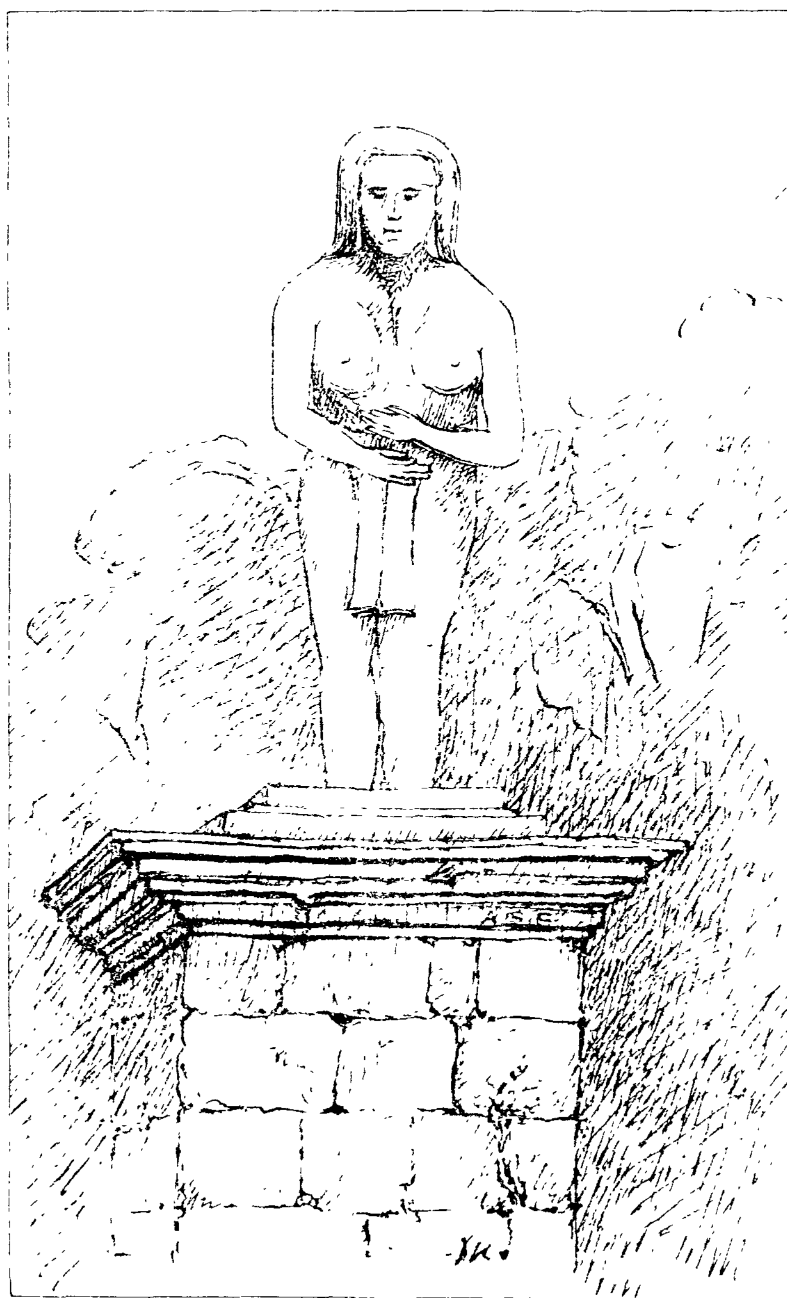




1. FROM BENARES. 2. FROM GOVARDHAN.

3. FROM ARZON, MORBIHAN, BRITTANY.

4. TYPE OF MONOLITH COMMON IN SOUTHERN RUSSIA.



LA VENUS DE QUINIPILY, NEAR BAUD MORBIHAN
BRITTANY.

around these two places it has an almost polished appearance, whereas the rest of the stone is covered with a fine short species of lichen, caused by the action of the winds from the Atlantic. Female pilgrims are said to visit it at the present day, and very probably a habit of rubbing the lower part of the monolith has produced its peculiar appearance. It is worthy of remark that the eastern boss seems to be the favoured one. The Rev. W. C. Lukis, in his *Guide to the Chambered Barrows of South Brittany*, when speaking of an enormous *menhir* near Locmuriquer, now broken into three fragments, but which would, if entire, be 67 ft. 6 in. long, 13 ft. 6 in. in its widest part, and 7 ft. 6 in. thick, says: "About 658 A.D. the Council of Nantes decreed that all venerated stones or objects of superstitious devotion amongst the people should be demolished. Some have thought that this *menhir* was rudely thrown down and broken in pieces in obedience to the order of this Council;—others again, that it either fell or was injured by lightning."

The following description of a cromlech on the Island of Anglesea, by Captain Lukis, brother of the author just quoted, is a most interesting one in the present connection. Captain Lukis, who is of the opinion that such monolithic monuments of Great Britain were connected with the religious worship of the prehistoric stone builders, wrote in 1860: "I have had another day at Brin-celle Dhu, as it is styled in the Ordnance Map, or Yr Ogof (The Cave), as it is called on the Island of Anglesea. I found a rude pavement of rough slabs and immediately beneath it a thick bed of small beach pebbles.[14] I also measured an extraordinary stone pillar, which is on the right side of the chamber in a slanting direction towards the South, and found it to be exactly 9 feet in length, with a circumference in its thickest part,—for it tapers upwards,—of 14 feet 10 inches. This leaning pillar bore evidence of having been disturbed at the base on the southern side, but I do not conceive that when in its proper upright position it could have touched the under surface of the covering stones. On reasoning on the singularity of this pillar within the principal chamber, so very unlike the props of construction around the place, it cannot be considered to be for the purpose assigned to stone pillars or supports, which are sometimes found in cromlechs. In the monument of Dehus (or De Tus) in the Island of Guernsey, the rude pillar beneath the second cap-stone was evidently placed therein to support a flaw or crack which was found to endanger the covering stone—in other instances also this has been the case—but in all of them the reason of the cromlech builders is clear and evident. At Yr Ogof we find a pillar with a regular abraded surface, *almost polished* in some parts, and gradually reduced upwards. Its character is so different from those on record, that we are forced to assign some other reason for its introduction into the main chamber. Another abraded pillar stands at the eastern end of the avenue-covered way. It is more rude and irregular than that of the chamber, and stands near a small side cist which appears to be an addition to the chief cromlech. . . . . I can only say that the pillars at Yr Ogof assimilate greatly with the *styles* of the Hindûs, although there may be some deeper meaning in placing them within the chamber of the dead."

Plate XI. is a sketch of a *menhir* discovered some years ago near Pont l'Abbé in Brittany. It was found buried in a field near the village of Lescomil, and is now in the grounds of the Chateau de Kernuz, belonging to M. de Chatellain. The height of this monolith is about 10 feet, it is about 4 feet 2 inches in diameter at the base, and 18 inches in diameter at the top. Its base is encircled by sculptured figures, each about 4 feet 3 inches in height, and arranged in four compartments. In one is the figure of Mercury, in another of Hercules, in a third of Mars, and in a fourth, which is much defaced, are the figures of Venus and Adonis (?). In Plate VIII. figs. 1 and 3, are representations of two rude sculptured stones in the Island of Guernsey. Fig 1, the Lady of St. Martin's, now stands at the entrance to St. Martin's church-yard, and fig. 3 is beneath a tree in the church-yard of Câtel parish. This last was found a few years ago under the flooring of the chancel of Catel Church, when it was being relaid. It is similar in character to the Lady of St. Martin's, but is much more defaced. One cannot fail to be struck with the great resemblance in type

[14] Similar ones form the flooring of some of the *dolmens* in Brittany

which these two figures bear to those from Tartary and Greece shown in Plate VII. Plate VIII. fig. 2 is a monolith in the parish of St. Peter's in the Wood, Guernsey. Fig. 4 is a stone with a boss, upon which an incised cross, now let into a low garden-wall belonging to a house in St Martin's parish. Fig. 5 is another incised stone built into an old archway at St. Clare on the same Island.

In the South of Russia similar rude stone statues abound, and Plate IX. fig. 4 is a reproduction of a drawing sent to me from the neighbourhood of Ekaterinoslav. Stone images of this character have also been found in great numbers on mounds in the Steppes. Most of them are still upright, and as far as I have been able to learn, are all female figures; but my informant, a Russian lady, imagines that they were not all intended to represent the same goddess. Her reason is that these statues, for such they are apparently, are of different dimensions and are not much alike, in so far as their obliterated features allow a likeness to be traced. The hair behind, too, is not always arranged in the same manner;—some have one plait, others two plaits, not unfrequently tied together at the ends. My informant further tells me that "These idols were certainly worshipped in our country (Russia) at a very remote period, and it is even thought that human beings were sacrificed to them, because in many places quantities of bones have been found heaped up near them." The statues are from seven to eight feet in height, but I have been unable to ascertain of what kind of stone they are made. The only information I have been able to procure on this head is, that the material is of a dark-brown colour, and has a yellowish tint in places; also that the stone appears to be of a slightly porous nature: but neither this nor any other kind of stone exists on the Steppes in question. There is a great deal of granite in the bed of the Dneiper, but in the district now under discussion for hundreds of miles there is no material even for making roads, yet an immense number of these statues on mounds exist there and are the only landmarks which the traveller meets with.

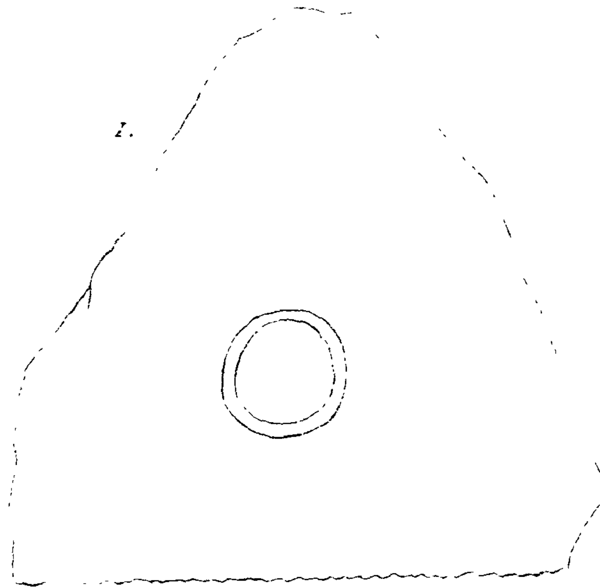
Within the last few years, the attention of Europeans in India has been drawn to the celts, and other stone implements of various kinds and forms to be found there. Captain Lukis, who was in India at the time of the Mutiny, and had been accustomed from his earliest childhood to such objects, told me that during his residence there he recognized some celts in a grave near Allâhâbâd placed on a rectangular altar. This altar was built up of square stones surmounted by a thin slab, and from its centre rose a short *stylus* against which the five celts were leaning;—three firmly fixed and two detached. Mr. H. Rivett-Carnac, Head of the Opium Department in the North-West Provinces, and a keen observer during his annual camping tours over various parts of those Provinces, has kindly permitted me to make use of a paper he wrote on this subject, and which was published in the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1882. The celts, figured in Plate XIII., were, I believe, all found by him in the Bândâ district, and their preservation is very possibly owing to their having been used as Śaiva stones.

As far as his investigations have as yet been carried, no such stone implements have been found in use in the present day, even amongst the most backward of the aboriginal tribes in India. None of the natives seem to understand or to be able to explain their use, they rather regard them as wonderful, mysterious, and even holy—in fact, with the same feeling as they regard anything old and rare—just as of certain beads which they occasionally find in Oudh after the rains, the people say, "We did not make them, God made them." When turned up deep out of the earth by the plough, the celt is supposed by them to be a thunderbolt fallen from heaven. The finder usually places it under the village *pîpal* tree (*ficus religiosa*), sometimes sanctifying it with a daub of red paint, and thus converting it into one of the emblems of Śiva. Curious to relate, the older people in the Island of Guernsey when they find a celt look upon it as a thunderbolt. Within living memory they used to build such a stone into the wall of a new house or barn, in the belief that thus the building would be protected from lightning. It is said that the younger generation are becoming more enlightened, and that this superstition is dying out by degrees. In Plate XIV. are celts found in Guernsey for comparison with those of India.

A friend, now residing in Guernsey, obtained, a few years ago, a small celt from a farmer in the island of Sark, which this latter firmly

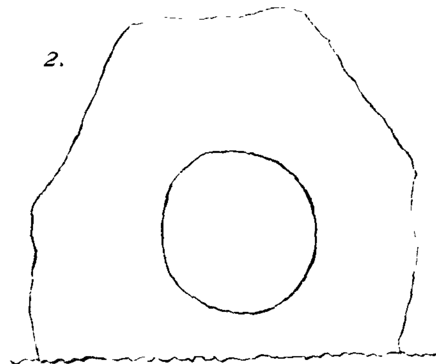


MONOLITH NEAR PONT L'ABBÉ, BRITTANY.
SCALE .05



SCALE. 3125.

THE TOLVEN.
NEAR GWEEK, CONSTANTINE
CORNWALL.



SCALE. 416.

THE MEN-AN-TOL, MADRON, CORNWALL.
LOOKING S.W.

believed was a thunderbolt. Not long previously, during a heavy thunderstorm, one of the farmer's cows, which was grazing in a field, was struck on the shoulder by lightning and killed instantly. The animal was afterwards found sunk on its knees, stiff and rigid. Its owner's immediate impulse was to dig into the earth round about this spot to find the thunderbolt which had caused the cow's death. Strange to say, the celt, a small green one, which my friend now possesses, was found near the head of the cow, and the farmer and his wife were both fully persuaded that it had fallen from heaven and destroyed the animal, nor did my friend's reasonings to the contrary have any effect in disabusing them of this idea.

In one of the carvings from the Sâñchî *Stûpa*, as reproduced by Mr. Fergusson in his *Tree and Serpent Worship*, is a figure holding an axe which is fixed on to the handle by cross bands, in the same manner in which it is believed the stone celts were hafted. Mr. Cockburn, Mr. Rivett-Carnac's coadjutor in his labours, found a carving at Kâlañjar, which is evidently very ancient. It represents a human figure holding in the right hand an implement which closely resembles a stone celt fixed into a wooden handle. But Mr. Rivett-Carnac seems puzzled to conceive how a very large celt in his collection, which weighs upwards of 8 lbs., could have been hafted and used as a stone implement. May not this object, however, have been intended not for use, but for ornament, and planted before the hut of a chief on a bamboo pole as a symbol of authority, as is customary with the people of the South Sea Islands? Similar large celts have been found in Scandinavia, and the Director of the Ethnological Museum in Copenhagen conjectured that such was their use. I have recently had the pleasure of finding that this idea is probably correct, from viewing in a private collection some colossal celts brought from the South Sea Islands by one who had seen them thus employed.

Plate XIII. fig. 9 is a polished celt, which from its form is one of the most interesting in this collection. It has two notches about half way from the cutting edge which were evidently made for the purpose of binding it to a handle, and the opposite directions of the planes of the notches indicate that the binding was carried round it.

Both in India, in Scandinavia, in Brittany, and in the Channel Islands, the stones of which celts have been made are of various kinds, and consequently of various degrees of hardness. Some are of sandstone, others of flint or of diorite, others again of hard black basalt, or of a kind of stone which does not exist at all in the neighbourhood in which the celts have been found: *e.g.*, a celt found in Guernsey is made of a material known to exist in no nearer country than Hungary, which would seem to indicate that certain implements of this nature were much prized and carried about on the person. The manufacture of celts gradually increased in perfection. The earliest specimens had no polish, but to some of the later ones, in spite of the hardness of the material, a very high degree of polish has been given. In Captain Lukis' collection is a most beautiful and typical celt of this kind; it is made of a very hard kind of stone, deeply grooved on either side, and highly polished. The Comte de Limur, a well-known French antiquarian, has said of some of the Indian celts that they so closely resemble in this respect those dug out of the tumuli of Carnac and other parts of Brittany, that had they not been marked out for him, he would not have been able to distinguish the one from the other.

Mr. Rivett-Carnac says that one or two partly polished basalt celts have been found in the South Mirzâpûr district. They are about the length of the fore-finger, and resemble in shape and size a jade knife from the Lake-dwellings of Constance, which Dr. Fischer sent him, and which is now in the Indian Museum for comparison with the Indian types.

Plate XIII. fig. 12, is a celt of polished diorite from Robert's Ganj in the Mirzâpur District which considerably resembles in form a village Mahâdeo, and this may account for its being found in a shrine so far to the East of India, as the habit of preserving celts under trees is not general in the Mirzâpur district.

Sometimes a number of ordinary celts are found in India heaped up beneath or near a *pipal* tree in the manner above described, which the owners will (so Mr. Rivett-Carnac says) readily part with, but they will not give up any which they have decorated with colour. Mr. Cockburn once found as many as 23 celts during a search of one hour, and altogether,

since their attention has been drawn to this subject, he and Mr. Rivett-Carnac have found some hundreds of all types and sizes, and similar in form to many which have been discovered in Europe and America. Mr. Rivett-Carnac's later finds appear to differ slightly in form from the flint implements and arrow-heads which he found in Central India in 1864, but I would venture to assert that all have their counterparts in objects of a like nature, which have been found in most countries and may be seen in almost every museum in Europe, and which were used as weapons by primitive peoples before they became acquainted with metals.

One of the smaller celts found by Mr. Rivett-Carnac has been fixed into a handle of stag's-horn, like those found in the Swiss lake-dwellings. He had it sharpened, and says that it now chops wood as efficiently as a small iron axe.

It is well known that the Buddhists of Western Tibet and of the Lâhaul Valley make walls of stones at the entrances to their villages styled *manis*, which are occasionally a quarter of a mile in length, but are never more than four feet in height and the same in width.[15] On the top of these walls numerous inscribed stones are loosely laid, placed there as memorials of the dead, or when starting on a journey, registering a vow, or entering upon any important undertaking. The person who requires one for any of the above purposes, chooses a smooth stone, and takes it to one of the local monasteries, where a priest usually engraves upon it the sacred sentence "*Oṁ maṇi padmê huṁ*" which has been translated to mean "All hail to the jewel in the flower of the lotus." This sentence appears to be an unmeaning one at first sight, but the key to its meaning is, I believe, to be found in Ceylon, where a supposed tooth of Buddha, kept in a temple at Kandy, in seven or more cases of gold or silver gilt, in the form of a *stûpa* or tumulus, is an object highly venerated. This tooth, which some Europeans have imagined from its shape and size to be that of an alligator, rests within a golden lotus flower and may well be likened to a *jewel in the flower of the lotus*. From its peculiar mode of shedding its seeds the natives of India have always regarded the lotus as a symbol of creative power. It has from all time been held sacred by them and might consequently be considered by the Buddhists a suitable receptacle in which to deposit such a precious relic. Again, a curious old brass object in my possession, bought in the *bâzâr* at Benares, seems to afford an almost certain proof that this explanation is a correct one. At the base of it is a bull, an emblem of Śiva, from whose back rises a lotus bud, which, on a couple of turns being given to it, opens its petals and discloses a small agate egg. Behind the bull is a cobra [illegible]h its body elevated as if in the act of st[illegible] A ring which it holds in its mouth, serves to support a small pointed vase which is perforated at its lower end. If this vessel be filled with water, the liquid slowly drops upon the egg in the centre of the flower, and thus a libation is poured on the *jewel in the flower of the lotus*.

About the word *maṇi* as signifying a sacred stone or lines of stones: it seems to me to survive in Europe in place names. If we study a local map of Brittany, we cannot fail to be struck with the frequent recurrence of *Mané*, as the prefix to various sites on which are *dolmens* or megalithic monuments. M. Henri Martin, in his *Etudes Archæologiques Celtiques*, explains *Mané* to be the augmentation of *men* or *maen*, stone :—*e.g.*, *menhir*, great-stone. And he adds that it designates equally an artificial mound, or the summit of a mountain.

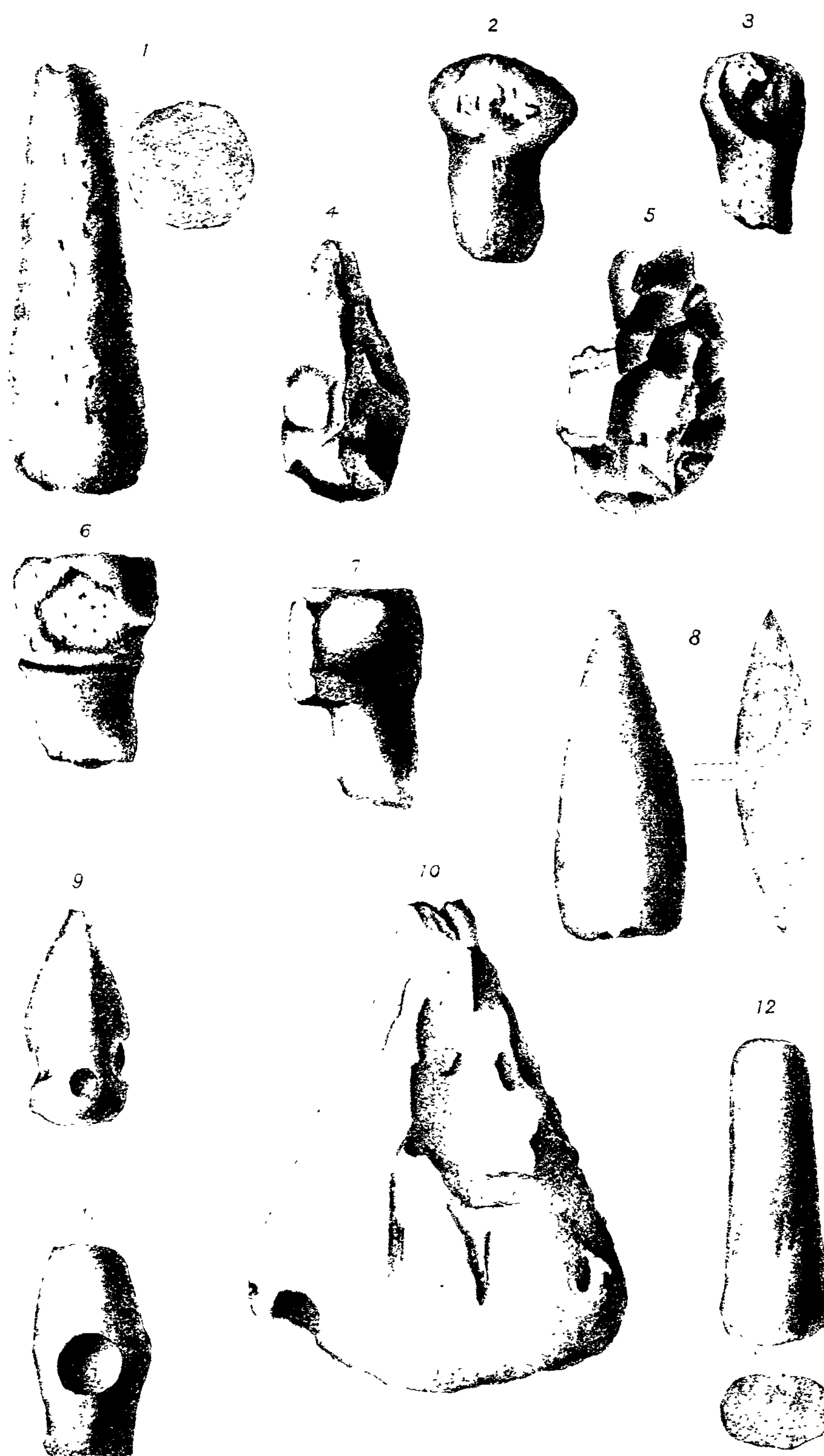
No. V.

Some Ideas about the Future Life.

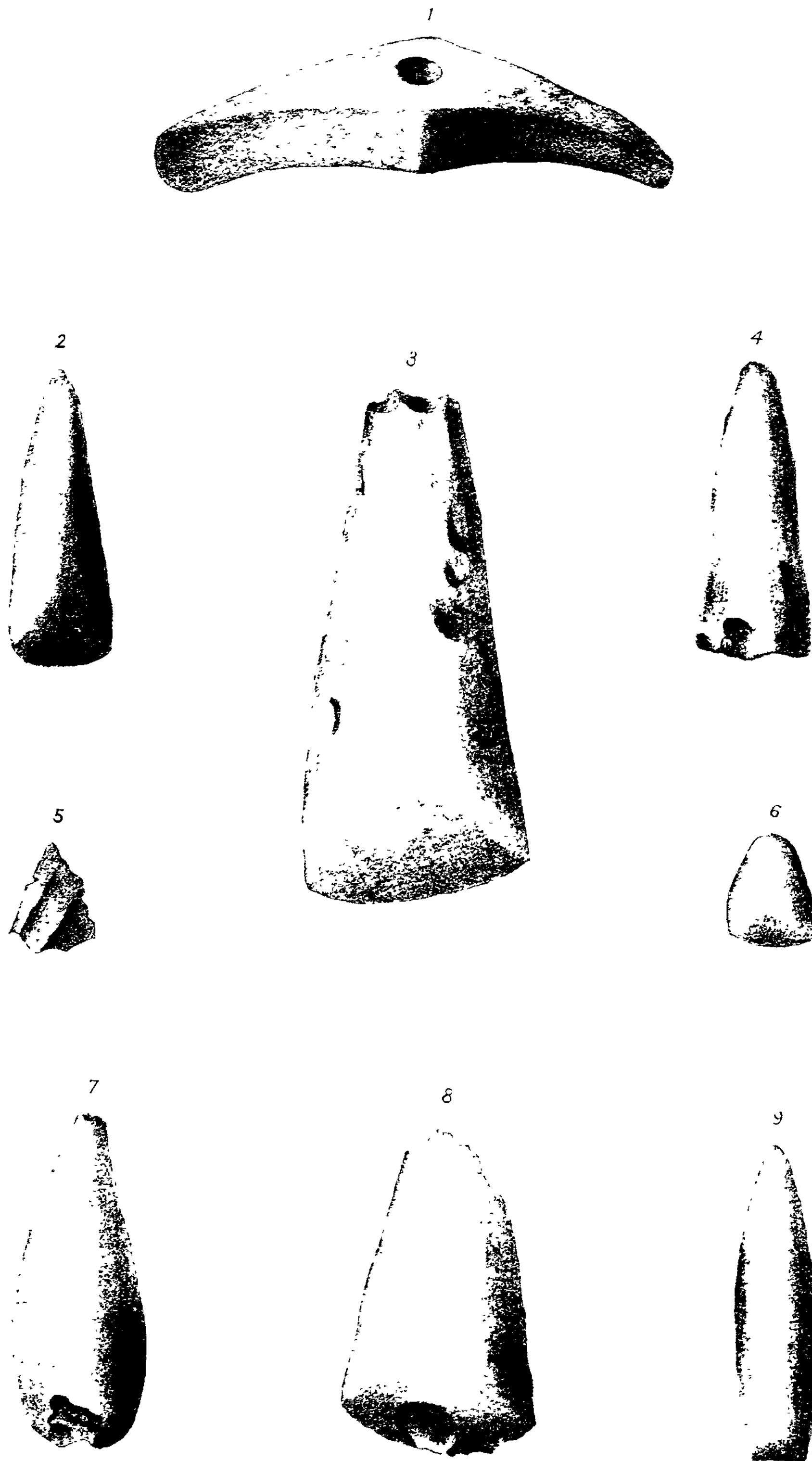
Wherever the doctrine of annihilation has not prevailed, mankind has had in all ages, and still retains, the belief that the soul and the body are distinct, and that the soul has to go through a process of purification, or a season of probation after the decease of the body, in order to atone for evil deeds committed by the latter when on earth. These ideas are most widely spread. We find them amongst Musalmâns and Hindûs, amongst the ancient Greeks, in Sweden, in Germany, in Northern America, in the Island of Formosa, in the Fiji Islands, and in many other portions of the world.

The process of atonement in a future world implies a journey thither, and the nature of that

[15] The natives of the districts of Hangrang in the Satluj Valley, of Spiti and of Ladâk,—in short wherever Buddhism prevails in the Himâlayas.—always pass these piles of stones so as to have them on their right hand.



STONE CELTS FROM THE BÂNDÂ AND MIRZÂPUR DISTRICTS.



STONE CELTS FROM GUERNSEY.

journey has naturally been a source of speculation and thence of belief. This belief has in its turn given rise to ceremonies mainly aimed at giving relief to the traveller along the dreaded and unknown road. I will here only refer to that form of the ghostly journey which makes the body pass over water. Thus Greeks had their Styx, Akherôn and Kôkytos, over which souls were ferried by Charon, and it was their custom to plant asphodel around the tombs of the deceased, as its seeds were believed to be capable of affording nourishment to the dead.

The northern nations of Europe formerly believed that their dead had to cross over water to the future home in boats or ships. In Scandinavia bodies were for this reason sometimes buried in ships, and a large boat containing the bones and weapons of a deceased chief was found a few years ago near the Sonde Fjord in Norway. Sweden has popular legends to the same effect. Thus Odin is fabled to have conveyed the slain from Brâhalla to Valhalla in a golden ship. Popular opinion of old, again, in Germany, assigned Great Britain, as being across the water, as the Land of Souls. To this day also it is said to be the custom in the parish of Plougnel on the River Treguire in Brittany, for corpses to be conveyed to the churchyard by boat over a narrow arm of the sea, called *Passage de l'Enfer*, instead of taking them by the shorter land route. It is still a common notion in the East that the souls of the dead must pass over water, or over a bridge before they can arrive at their final resting-place. In the native State of Chambâ, in the Pañjâb Himâlayas, there is such a bridge, over which all corpses must be carried on their way to the burning *ghât* near the river where the bodies are cremated, and though there is another perfectly easy and safe path, the bearers of the dead always traverse this perilous causeway, which is hardly more than eighteen inches wide and not protected at the sides in any way. The people of Chambâ are Hindûs.[16] The Muhammadans have also their *As-Sirât*, a sharp bridge, which they believe to be laid over the middle of hell, and which must be crossed by all at the close of the solemn judgment, whether they are destined for paradise, or for the place of torment.[17] A profession of faith in this is as follows: "We most heartily believe and hold it for certain that all mankind must go over the sharp bridge, which is as long as the earth, and no broader than the thread of a spider's web, and of a height proportioned to its length. The just shall pass it like lightning, but the wicked, for want of good works, will be an age in performing it. They will fall and precipitate themselves into hell fire with blasphemers and infidels, with men of little faith and bad conscience, with those who have not had virtue enough to give alms. Yet some just persons will go over it quicker than others, who will now and then be tried upon the commands which they have not duly observed in this life. How dreadful will this bridge appear to us! What virtue, what inward grace of the Most High will be required to get over it! How earnestly shall we look for that favour! What deserts, what venomous creatures shall we not find on our road! What hunger, drought, and weariness shall we endure! What anxiety, grief and pain shall attend those who do not think of this dangerous passage! Let us beg of God to grant us, with bodily health, the grace not to go out of this life loaded with debts, for the Arabians often say, and with good reason, that no obstacle is so hidden, as that which we cannot overcome by any expedient or artificial contrivance whatever."

The Egyptian Land of the Dead was in the West, and they placed their tombs, whenever it was possible, on the West bank of the Nile. As the funeral procession of the mourners moved forward, their constant cry was, "To the West, to the West." "When the tombs were, as in most cases, on the West bank of the Nile, the Nile was crossed, when they were on the Eastern shore, the procession passed over a sacred lake."[18] The soul of the dead man was supposed to journey to the under world by a *water progress*.

This notion of a journey over water after death is common also to savage races of the present day. The inhabitants of the Island of Formosa imagine that the souls of wicked men are

[16] [This custom must evidently arise from the old Hindû belief in Vaitarani, the swift river of hell, composed of filth, blood, and ordure, which must be crossed by holding on to a cow's tail as it swims over a belief which has given rise to many death-customs in use at the present day.—ED.]

[17] [The notion of *As-Sirit* is to be found also in the Zoroastrian and Jewish systems; whence no doubt Muhammad borrowed it.—ED.]

[18] R. S. Poole—*Contemporary Review* for Aug. 1881.

tormented after death, and cast headlong into a bottomless pit full of mire and dirt, and that the souls of the virtuous pass with pleasure and safety over it upon a narrow bamboo bridge which leads directly to a gay paradise, where they revel in all kinds of sensual enjoyment, but that when the souls of the wicked attempt to pass along this bridge, they fall over on one side of it. Some of the American Indians have a tradition that they must go southwards to seek the Land of Souls. According to the Euroes, an untutored tribe in Northern California, the bright rivers, sunny slopes and great forests of their paradise are separated from the earth by a deep chasm, which good and wicked alike must cross on a thin slippery pole. The former soon reach the goal, aided doubtless by the Good Spirit as well as by the fire lighted on the grave by mourning friends; but the latter have to falter unaided along the shivering bridge, and many are the nights that pass before their friends venture to dispense with the beacon, lest the soul miss the path, and fall into the dark abyss. Nor do they hold that retribution ends with the peril and anxiety of the passage, for they think that many are liable to return to the earth as birds, beasts, and insects. After 40 years' residence as a missionary in Samoa, one of the Pacific Islands, Dr. George Turner, in a work recently published, says "that the inhabitants of this Island held that the souls of dead Samoans started for Pulotu—the spirit world, through two circular holes near the beach, the larger hole being for the souls of chiefs, and the lesser one for those of commoners. They went under the sea till they came to a land where all things were very much as they had been on earth. Chiefs looked forward with pride to the use of their bodies as pillars in the house of the Samoan Pluto."

Connected with this journey of the dead is another belief, whose existence is believed in East and West in widely separated lands. It is a popular belief throughout all that part of France [illegible] that [illegible] of their [illegible] the parish priest of Brasparts,[19] whose dog escorts them to Great Britain. In [illegible] Scandinavian mythology a fabulous dog called Garmr was believed to guard the

[19] [illegible]

entrance to the infernal regions. In Asia also the dog is associated with the death or funeral ceremonies. The Parsis place a dog in the chamber of a dying person to serve as the soul's escort to heaven. According to their belief, the soul arrives at the bridge Chinavat, where the gods and the unclean spirits fight for the possession of it. If the soul be that of a righteous person it is defended by the other pure souls, and by the dogs that guard the bridge. In Buddhist countries, too, a somewhat similar idea prevails. A very large and savage breed of dogs is kept in certain of the *vihâra-sarâis* or monasteries in order that they may eat the bodies of the dead,[20] which is deemed the most honourable form of burial in Ladâk or Western Tibet. In 1876 when passing through Lâma Yuru, a few marches only from Leh, I went over the Lâma Monastery there. Some of these fierce dogs tried to spring out upon our party, and it seemed to us that even their owners did not trust them, and had much difficulty in restraining their ferocious instincts.

A very curious instance of the idea that some form of absolution is necessary after death for sins done in the body occurred in India in the 14th century: the actors were Muhammadans. Tughlaqâbâd, near the modern city of Dehli, was founded by Ghiâsu'ddîn Taghlaq Shah, who reigned 1321-1325 A.D., and was succeeded by his son Muhammad Shah Taghlaq, an accomplished prince, but a man most unscrupulous in his actions. He is credited with having [illegible] passed the death of his father. When he came to the throne he was the most inhuman and tyrannical of all the Pathan Sovereigns of India, and many of his cruelties were witnessed by his cousin Firoz Shah Tughlaq (called also Barbak) who ascended the throne on his death in 1351 A.D., and sought by a most [illegible] method to [illegible] some of his predecessor's [illegible]. The words of Firoz himself, as [illegible] by Farishta, who took them from an inscription on a large Mosque at Firozâbâd, are as follows:—

"I have taken pains to discover the surviving relations of all persons who suffered from the wrath of my late Lord and Master, Muhammad Tughlaq, and having pensioned and provided

[20] Only the bodies of the richer people can afford this.

for them, have caused them to grant their full pardon and forgiveness to that prince in the presence of the holy and learned men of this age, whose signatures and seals as witnesses are affixed to the documents, the whole of which, as far as lies in my power, have been procured and put into a box and deposited in the vault in which Muhammad Tughlaq is entombed." These papers[21] were intended to serve as vouchers of free pardon from all whom the dead man had deprived of a nose, of a limb, or of sight, and were placed near him in order that he might pick them up at the last day: for according to Muhammadan belief every offence has a double aspect—in its relation first to God, and then to man. In the latter case, pardon given by the injured one is believed to reduce some portion of its future punishment.

I have read that a somewhat similar custom is in use among the Christians of the Greek Church, and that they are in the habit of putting into the hands of a deceased person at his interment a written form of absolution, which is understood to be a discharge in full from all the sins which he has committed during life.

The notion of certifying to the Deity the virtues of the deceased is widely spread. It is said to be customary amongst the Laplanders for six of the most intimate friends of the deceased to place a dead body in a coffin, after wrapping it in linen, with the face and hands left uncovered. In one hand they put a purse with some money to pay the [illegible] porter at the gate of Paradise, in the other a certificate signed by the priest, directed to St. Peter to witness that the deceased was a good Christian. A superstition of the same nature is held by the people of the Fiji Islands. They worship a god they call Ndengei under the form of a large serpent, and believe that immediately after death the spirit of the deceased person goes to him for purification or to receive sentence, but that it is, however, not permitted to all spirits to reach the judgment-seat of Ndengei. They say that an enormous giant, armed with an axe, is constantly upon the watch on the road thither, ready to attack and wound all who attempt to pass him, and that no wounded person can go forward to Ndengei, but is doomed to wander about in the mountains. To escape unscathed from the giant's axe is ascribed solely to good luck. Another development of the idea is to be found in India, where a portion of the *pûjâ* or worship gone through occasionally by Hindûs[22] is called *tarpan*. It is a form of absolution for the souls of deceased ancestors and friends, but it can be performed by the male sex only.

The Brahmans have long ago made use of the notion of the necessity of providing for the needs of a future life to further their own present comforts, and Maurice rightly remarks, "Great rewards are promised to those that are charitable (towards the Brahmans), inasmuch as they believe that if a man performs the first kind of *dân* (*pûjâ* or worship which consists in giving away his own weight in gold or silver) he is ordained to remain in Paradise for one hundred million *kalpas* or periods of Brahmâ, and that when he re-assumes a human form, he will become a mighty monarch." This particular phase of "good-works" has in modern times taken a most eccentric and objectionable form. There is a class of Hindû ascetics in the Pañjab, who call themselves Suthreshahis, from their founder, a *faqir* named Suthrâ, who lived in the time of Aurangzeb (1658 to 1707 A.D.). Their legend is, that hearing that he could perform wonders, the Emperor summoned the [illegible] to his presence and told him that any [illegible] he might ask should be granted, on [illegible] [illegible] His followers [illegible] trade, and are noted for their [illegible] intemperance and excesses. They [illegible] together till money is given them [illegible] they pass on till they get [illegible], as it is called, for hours or [illegible] is satisfied. On [illegible] they say to the shopkeeper: "May [illegible] Nanak Shâh (the [illegible] Sikh [illegible]) [illegible]

[21] [illegible]
[22] [illegible]
[23] This is the ordinary Hindû expression for 'salva-[illegible]

[illegible] 541 612 [illegible] p. 125 [illegible] Vatican.—ED.]

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(*Continued from* Vol. XIV. *p.* 274.)

XXXII.

The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* tells us that Chinghiz Khân on his return from his western campaign encamped again on the Irtish, and in the autumn of the year of the Hen, *i.e.* 1225, he returned once more to his head-quarters in the black forest on the river Tula.[1] He was on his way home when news reached him of the death of his eldest son, Juchi. We have seen how after the capture of Khwârizm Juchi had retired to the steppes of Kipchak in an irritated mood. There he spent his time in hunting instead of subduing the neighbouring tribes inhabiting Ibir Sibir, Bulgaria, Kipchak, Bashguardia, Russia, and Circassia, as his father had ordered him.[2] Irritated at him for not obeying his commands in this respect, Chinghiz had sent several summonses to him to go to his presence. He had excused himself on the ground of his ill-health, and he was, in fact, unwell. One day when he was changing his camp he reached a place where there was plenty of game, and being himself ill he ordered his *beks* to go hunting. A Mangut, who had recently been in his country and seen this hunt, in which he supposed Juchi was taking part, reported that he was not really ill. Chinghiz, who was naturally enraged, prepared to compel his obedience by force, and Chagatai and Ogotai had already set out with some troops, and he was preparing to follow when news arrived that he was dead. This was in 1224, and Juchi was then 48 years old. He was buried near Seraili.[3] We are told Chinghiz was greatly distressed at his son's death, and wanted to punish the Mangut who had brought false intelligence, but he could not be found.[4] The *Shajrat'ul-Atrak* says, "Chinghiz would never hear anything to the disparagement of Juchi, and when the news of his death arrived none of the *amîrs* had the hardihood to inform him of his loss, for he had threatened that anyone who mentioned his death should himself be put to death. They at length all assembled, and it was determined that Alugh Jirji or Georgi (?), who was one of Chinghiz's companions, should tell him while he was performing the duties of *bejur* (?); and therefore on that occasion he said to him, 'O king! the sea is defiled or troubled, and who can purify or compose it? O my king! a great commander has fallen from his throne, and who has power to raise him up and restore him?' Chinghiz replied, 'If the sea is troubled my son Juchi is the only person who can still it, and if a great commander has fallen from his throne Juchi alone can raise him up and re-establish him.' Alugh Jirji having repeated what he had said with tears in his eyes, Chinghiz asked him why he wept, and what was the occasion of his sorrow, which made him also sorrowful. Jirji replied, 'I have no power to disclose the cause of my grief. Thou hast said it; thy orders be with thyself, O king; thy penetration has disclosed my secret.' Thereupon it is reported that Chinghiz Khân said, 'Like the wild ass pursued by hunters and separated from its young, so am I, and like a fool who seeks friendship among his enemies, and abandons his friends, so am I, separated from my brave and worthy children.' The *amîrs* thereupon each took his station, and performed the mourning ceremonies for the death of Juchi Khân."[5]

Chinghiz now prepared for his last campaign, in which he revenged himself upon the king of Hia or Tangut for various grievances, of which we have the following accounts:—In the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* we read that before he set out on his western campaign he sent a messenger to Burkhan, the ruler of Tangut, saying, "You have promised to be to me as my right hand. Now that the people of Khoikhoi (the Muhammadans), have killed my envoys, and I go to require satisfaction from them, be my right hand."[6] One of the grandees of Tangut, named Ashaganbu, then sneeringly said, "If you are not strong enough, then do not be a king." Aid was accordingly refused, and Chinghiz, when he heard of this, had declared that although it

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 149.

[2] Rashidu'd-din, quoted by D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 353, note.

[3] Serai on the Akhtuba. *Abu'lghazi*, Ed. Desmaisons, p. 141 and note 1.

[4] D'Ohsson, p. 354.

[5] *Op. cit.* pp. 222-224.

[6] *i.e.* send a contingent.

was difficult for him to revenge himself then, he would not fail to do so on his return from the west.[7] But according to the *Yuan-shi-lei-pien* the king of Tangut had given refuge to two great enemies of the Mongols, one called Sunkoenki, and the other Chelaho. Chinghiz complained bitterly of this, but the king of Hia made no amends, and even employed these two runaways.[8] The *Yuan-shi* says that Chinghiz accused him of sheltering his enemy Shilgaksankhona, and of refusing to give his son as a hostage.[9] According to the *Sisia Shu-shi* or special history of Tangut, during the absence of Chinghiz Khân in the west there had been a conspiracy against him among the Tatars with black carts,[10] who tried to secure the aid of the people of Tangut in their revolt. The account adds that the ruler of Hia had secretly plotted against Chinghiz, and sought aid outside, and in consequence Bolu, son of Mu-khu-li, had been ordered to wage war against him.[11] The *Altan Topchi* and *Ssanang Setzen* report a curious saga to the effect that the king of Tangut had a brown-coloured dog with a black muzzle which was a *khubilghan*, and had the power of foreseeing things. When it barked with a loud voice it meant that no danger was impending, while when it whined it signified that some foe was threatening. During Chinghiz Khân's absence in the west, this dog had continually whined. The king, who fancied all danger was passed, urged that the dog was getting old and had lost its cunning, and lived accordingly in a false security.[12]

Li-tsun-hiu, king of Hia, had died in 1223, and been succeeded by his son Li-te', called Terwang by Douglas, who says his father abdicated in his favour.[13] Erdmann says that in the tongue of the Tangutans he was called Iran.[14] Rashîdu'd-dîn agrees with the *Altan Topchi* and *Ssanang Setzen* in calling him Shidurgho. This name also occurs, as we shall see, in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*. Palladius says the word means an owl or a fierce bird.[15] Schmidt says it is a Mongol word meaning straightforward, open, and answering to the Tibetan *srong*.[16]

Tangut with Tibet have long been lands of romantic interest to the surrounding nomads from their quasi-sacred and mystical character as the homes of the most flourishing forms of Northern Buddhism, and this is reflected in the sagas that have been reported about it by the later writers, such as the author of the *Altan Topchi* and *Ssanang Ssetzen*. They both connect Chinghiz Khan's last campaign there with a romantic story about a beautiful wife of the Tangutan ruler. They tell us that when the latter heard how Chinghiz had conquered China he sent Tortong, son of Bayan Sartaghor, with proposals to pay tribute, and to become his right-hand man. Chinghiz accepted this, and sent the messenger back with presents. On his return the Envoy passed the night at the house of Yabugha, of the tribe Taijiut, as they sat together in the evening he spoke to his host and said, "Your Khakan seems indeed to be a son of the Tengri,[17] but his wives are not so fair to look upon. The wife of our ruler Shilughun Kurbeljin Goa, the daughter of the Chinese *janjiun* Setzen Umadi, is so fair that with her light there is no need of a lamp." Chinghiz Khân, we are told, had had an intrigue with Môngulun Goa, Yabugha's wife, and she informed him of what she had heard about the beauty of the queen of Tangut, and added that she must become his wife. Chinghiz now sent Shidurgho a message to say he was going on a campaign against Sartaghol,[18] and asking him to march with him. Whereupon Shidurgho replied, "Such a Khakan as this, who has subdued all peoples, is not surely in need of help. The lion, the king of beasts, is the strongest of all, and thou, valiant Bogda and king of men, why dost thou need help?" Chinghiz, enraged at this answer, replied: "If I am spared I will give thee a fitting answer. The Tengri, my father, be my witness." Thereupon, says *Ssanang Setzen*,[19] Wajir Setzen of the Khongkirad said, "My Lord, so long as boys are born and men come into being · so long as an iron

[7] *Op. cit*, p. 150.
[8] Gaubil, pp. 48 and 49.
[9] Hyacinthe, p. 133; D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 270.
[10] They are identified with the Merkits by Palladius, on the ground that the latter in one passage in the *Yuan-shi* are qualified as *Koko* i.e. blue or dark. This identification is, however, exceedingly doubtful
[11] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, note 600
[12] *Altan Topchi*, p. 140; *Ssanang Setzen*, p. 97
[13] DeMailla, Vol IX p. 108; Douglas, p. 97
[14] *Temudschin* &c p. 439.
[15] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* note 614.
[16] *Ssanang Setzen* pages 382 and 383, note 39
[17] i.e. of Heaven
[18] i.e. Khwarizm.
[19] *Altan Topchi*, pp. 138-339, and *Ssanang Setzen* p. 85

stirrup holds together speak not thus. Why do you speak of dying? May your life be prolonged! May all your enemies be conquered! May the number of your subjects increase! May the fame of your name spread everywhere!"[20]

The *Altan Topchi* has at this point a curious saga in reference to a supposed rivalry between Chinghiz and his brothers. It says that after his campaign in the west the Khormuzda[21] Tengri[22] sent him a jade vessel full of wine, an *arshin* in size. As he began to drink his younger brothers remarked, "The proverb says, 'To the oldest ten, to the youngest four.' Having appropriated the greater part of the contents of the vessel will not the commander leave us the dregs." Thereupon Chinghiz replied, "At my birth by order of Buddha there appeared in my hand a jade seal from the Empire of Dragons. Now I have received a great jade vessel full of wine. It appears to me I am its owner, but if you wish to drink take it. His brothers thereupon took the vessel and began to drink, but they could not swallow it. They thereupon returned it saying, "We unjustly demanded our portion when it was not ordained above that we should have it. Drink it yourself, and appoint us divisional commanders." He accordingly emptied the vessel, which made him somewhat drunk, and continued, "At my birth the jade seal of the ruler of the Dragons appeared in my hand. Now the powerful Khormuzda has sent me down a jade vessel full of wine, an *arshin* in size. I am the ruler appointed by God: we will go to war against the Tangutans."

The kingdom of Hia was then both powerful and populous, and Chinghiz Khân made corresponding preparations, and, we are told, collected an army of 180,000 men; of these 40,000 Mongols were commanded by Chagatai; 30,000 others by Subutai and Chepe; 20,000 Khwârizmians under Ilenku, 20,000 Indians under Bela Noyan, 30,000 Jats and Kipchaks, under Badra'd-dîn, whose grandfather had been put to death by Muhammad Khwârizm Shâh, 30,000 other Khwârizmians under Dânishmand, and a body of irregulars under the chief of the Uighurs.[23]

The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* says that Chinghiz set out in the autumn of the year of the Dog (*i.e* 1226), taking with him his wife, Yesui. During the winter he occupied himself with hunting in the district of Arbukha. The brick-coloured horse on which he rode, taking fright at a wild horse, threw him, and he fell and hurt himself. The army at once halted in the district Sarkhat. On the next day his wife Yesui said to the princes and grandees, "During the night your sovereign was in a high fever; you had better hold a consultation." Thereupon they assembled, and one of them, Tolun, said, "The Tanguts are a settled people living in towns: they cannot move away: let us therefore return, and when our ruler has recovered we will come back again." The nobles all approved of this, and informed Chinghiz. The latter said, "If we retire the Tangut people will inevitably think I am afraid of them. I will rest here and recruit. Let us send a messenger to them and hear what they say." A man was accordingly sent to the Tangutan ruler, who is here called Burkhan by our author, with the message, "You formerly promised to be to us as our right hand, but when I went against the Khoi-khoi,[24] you did not go with me: more than that, you reviled me. Now having conquered the Khoi-khoi, I demand satisfaction for your insults." Burkhan replied: "I never spoke defamatory words of you. Ashagambu it was who made it appear I had done so. If you wish to fight with me then come to Kholanshan,[25] but if you wish for gold, silver, and stuffs, for tribute in fact, come to Siliang for them."[26] When the messenger returned and reported these words to Chinghiz he said, "Is it possible for us to retire after hearing such haughty words? If I die he shall pay for them. This I vow before the eternal heaven."[27] *Ssanang Setzen* does not refer to these negotiations, but he has a saga referring to the hunting that took place at this time. He calls the place Khangkhai Khân, by which the range which forms the watershed between the Orkhon on the north, and the Onghin,[28] and says that while hunting there Chinghiz remarked, "In this place there is a blue wolf and a white doe.[29]

[20] The phrase is not in the *Altan Topchi*.
[21] i.e., the God Khormuzda.
[22] *Ssanang Setzen*, p. 85.
[23] Erdmann, p. 45[illegible].
[24] *i.e.*, the Muhammadans.
[25] *i.e.*, the mountain range west of the Yellow River, near which was the capital of Hia or Tangut.
[26] More to the west, says Palladius.
[27] *Op. cit.* pp. 1[illegible]9-130.
[28] The Tazar on the south is doubtless meant.
[29] In the original Burte-chino and Goa, meaning the two ancestors of the Mongol royal house.

You must capture them alive, and not kill them. You will also meet a black man on a blue-grey horse. Take him also alive, and bring him to me." The three were duly captured and brought before him. Chinghiz asked the man who he was, and why he was there. "I am a trusted friend of Shidurgho," he said, "and he has sent me to reconnoitre. My name is Khaturakchi Khara Budang,[30] and in all Tangut there is none superior to me. I was captured unwares, while I laid my black head down to rest, and while my grey horse Gün Bolod,[31] a racer, which no creature that has feet can catch, was tethered to the ground by his fore-feet." Then said Chinghiz, "You seem to be a brave man," and spared his life, adding: "They say your Khakan is a *khubilghan*; into what form can he change himself?" The man answered, "In the morning he is a black-striped snake, then you cannot catch him; at noon a tawny-striped tiger, and then also he is safe: but at night he converts himself into a beautiful youth and plays with his wife, then you can secure him."[32]

The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* tells us that Chinghiz first attacked Ashaganbu, who fled into a mountain fortress. His warriors were killed and his wealth appropriated, while his people were divided among the army.[33] The same authority continues with a paragraph which is an anachronism, since Mu-khu-li was at this time dead. It says that while Chinghiz was passing the summer in the snowy mountains he sent the army in pursuit of Ashaganbu, which captured him and his people, who had retired more into the mountains. Chinghiz, we are told, presented Burchi and Mu-khu-li with some of the treasures, allowing them to take what they would, and he further said to them, "I have not yet distributed the prisoners taken from the Kin. You two divide equally the relatives of the Kin sovereign,[34] let the fair youths be your falconers, and the pretty girls the servants of your wives. The former Kin rulers trusted them, and had them near their persons. They used to harm our ancestors. You are both akin to me, let them therefore serve you."[35]

The snowy mountains of this notice answer apparently to the M o r n a K h a n mountain of the *Altan Topchi*, and *Ssanang Setzen*, who report a characteristic saga in connection with it. They tell us that Chinghiz remarked of the place, "This would be a good rallying place for a broken people, and a good camping-ground for a peaceable people. It is a capital haunt for roebuck and bears."[36] Noticing an ill-omened owl sitting on a tree Chinghiz told his brother, Juchi Khazar, who was a splendid shot, to shoot it. He fired, but the owl escaped and instead a magpie, which had dropped into the line of fire, was transfixed through the wing. This was deemed an ill-omen, and Chinghiz was very angry and had his brother arrested. Then came the Orluk princess to him, and said, "Master, the stains of the vile ought not to foul the purity of the good. The most worthy and distinguished often meet the fate of the worthless. The fate of the ill-omened owl has fallen upon the magpie. Let thy brother go." But Chinghiz had had his jealousy aroused by another incident, and would not consent. We are told that during the campaign one of his servants, named Bogol Mechin, said to him, "Thy brother, Khazar, being drunk, held thy wife, Kulun, by the hand." Thereupon Chinghiz sent his informer to Khazar to demand some eagles' feathers which he won. Khazar replied: "Although he is supreme I can get heron's feathers more easily than he" and gave him the feathers, but the messenger would not take them on the ground that they were dirty. Presently Chinghiz sent again to demand some heron's feathers. Seeing a hawk flying by he asked the messenger where he should shoot it. "In the black and yellow spot on his head," said the messenger. Khazar shot off the bird's head. Again the servant refused, saying that what they really wished for were eagle's feathers, which were more suited to a sovereign than those of the heron, besides, these were stained with blood.[37] Chinghiz now upbraided Khazar with having insulted his wife, with having killed the magpie, and with not sending him such feathers as he wished. He had him bound

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[30] Called Kara Boton in the *Altan Topchi*.

[31] Called Kusbalat in the *Altan Topchi*.

[32] *Altan Topchi*, pp. 97-99. *Ssanang Setzen* or Schmidt seem to have misunderstood the concluding clause and thus made nonsense.

[33] *Op. cit.* pp. 150-151.

[34] *i.e.* the In-jun or so-called natural relations, who numbered 30,000.

[35] *Op. cit.* p. 157.

[36] This is the version of the *Altan Topchi*. *Ssanang Setzen* converts the haunt for bears into a charming resting place for an old man.

[37] *Ssanang Setzen* calls the first feathers those of a heron and the second of a hawk.

by five people and led to a fence and fed on the flesh of the wild Tibetan Yak.[38]

The details of the campaign are so variously told that it is not easy to follow them. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* says that Chinghiz on leaving the snowy mountains passed through the town of Urakhai.

In February 1226 according to the *Yuan-shi-lei-pien* he captured E t z i n a, described by Marco Polo as situated a 12 days' ride from Kan-chau, towards the north on the verge of the desert. De Guignes and Pauthier say Etzina is found in a map of Hia, of the Mongol period, and the latter adds that the text of the map names it as one of the seven *lus* or circuits of Kan-suh.[39] Klaproth says the river Thao-leu-kho, after joining the Khe-shui, which comes from the south-east from Kan-chau, takes the name Etzina and falls into the lakes Sabo and Sogo, the latter of which was in the Ming period still called I-dsi-nay-khai.[40] He, with great probability, puts the town of Etzina on this river.[41] The *Yuan-shi* seems to refer to this town under the name Khe-shui-chin,[42] and Colonel Yule independently has suggested that a town called Hoa-tsiang, placed on the river Etzina in D'Anville's map, is to be identified with Etzina. It is possibly the town called T u r m e g a i in the *Altan Topchi* and *Ssanang Setzen*. During its siege they relate that an old woman who was descended from a monster, and who was called Khara Khang, used to mount the walls of which there was a triple circle about the place, and pronounce horrible curses and exorcisms over the besiegers, by which disease was scattered among them, and many men and cattle perished. Thereupon Subutai Baghatur implored Chinghiz that he should release his brother Khazar, who had been put in confinement as I have described, lend him his dun-coloured horse, Jigürtu Khula, and order him to go and shoot the old witch. Khazar soon after shot her in the knee cap. She fell on her side, and as she was dying pronounced a curse upon Khazar's descendants, declaring that the males would be affected with sores, while the females would be deserted by their husbands.[43] The *Yuan-shi-lei-pien* further says Chinghiz captured all the fortresses, which were very numerous, between Etzina, N i n g h i a,[44] Kiayukoan[45] and Kan-chau.[46]

Chinghiz now seems to have gone to pass the summer heats in the mountains of Khun-chu and then captured the towns of Su-chau and Kan-chau, situated respectively on the two rivers named above, which combine together to form the Etzina. The siege of Kan-chau was, according to the *Kang-mu*, marked by a curious incident. We are told it was governed by Kia-yêkielîn, the father of the boy Chakhan[47] who had been adopted by Chinghiz Khan as I described in an earlier chapter. Chakhan was ordered to communicate with his relatives. He accordingly wrote a note to his younger brother, saying he wanted to speak to him, which he fastened to an arrow and fired into the town. The boy was only 12 years. He appeared on the ramparts, but they would not let him leave the place. Chakhan then sent a confidential person to communicate with his father. The latter it seems was agreeable to surrender the place, when Achu, who was second in command, fell upon him at the head of 36 men, and killed him with his son, and also the envoy. He then prepared for a vigorous defence, but all in vain. The place was taken by assault and a general butchery was only avoided by the pleading of Chakhan. The only people executed were Achu and his 36 accomplices.[48]

Chinghiz now captured Si-liang-fu Cholo and Kholo in Kan-suh. The first of these towns, says Gaubil, was at that time a very big place. It is now a fortress and known as Yong-chang-wei, in lat. 38° 10′ long. 14′ 10° W. of Peking.[49] It is possibly the Erguiul of Marco Polo. Advancing again across the Shato or Stony Desert he arrived at Ki-ya-tu, or the Nine Fords over the Yellow River, and captured the town of Ing-li-sien, called Yingle by Douglas.[50] The *Yuan-shi* says he traversed the Shato, went by way of Tsi-du and the river, and

[38] *AltanTopchi*, pp. 141-142; *Ssanang Setzen*, pp. 99-101.

[39] Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I. p. 226.

[40] *i.e.* Lake of Idsinai.

[41] Klaproth, *Beleuchtung*, etc., p. 65, note.

[42] Hyacinthe, p. 133.

[43] *Altan Topchi*. pp. 142 and 143; *Ssanang Setzen*, p. 101.

[44] *i.e.* The capital of Hia.

[45] *i.e.* The western part of the great wall

[46] Gaubil, p. 49. [47] Called Saha by DeMailla.

[48] DeMailla, Vol. IX. p. 117; Douglas, p. 100.

[49] *Op. cit.* p. 49 note. D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 371.

[50] DeMailla, Vol. IX p. 117; Douglas, p. 101.

captured Yar and other towns of the second rank.[51] The Yar of this notice is apparently the Ing-li-sien of De Mailla's authority. Thence we are told Chinghiz despatched Silitsienpu and Khutu Timur to summon Sha-chau, situated on the river Sirgaldzin in the west of Kan-suh, and nearly directly south of Khamil. Its people pretended to submit to the Mongols, and prepared meat, wine, spirits, and other refreshments for their army, but meanwhile they planted their best troops in ambush with the intention of surprising them. Khutu Timur, supposing that their submission was sincere, marched to take possession of the place. He fell into the ambush, and was nearly captured, as his horse stumbled and threw him, but Silitsienpu allowed him to mount his own charger, and showed altogether such a bold front that he defeated the enemy, and withdrew without material loss.[52]

In July, 1226, Li-te, the king of Hia, died of grief at seeing his country the prey of the Mongols, and was succeeded by his son, called Li-hien by De Mailla and Le-seen by Douglas. In November of the same year, says the *Kang-mu*, Chinghiz Khân captured nearly all their towns from the people of Hia. In vain the inhabitants sought shelter in the caves of the earth, hardly two people in a hundred escaped, and the ground was covered with bones.[53] At this time Chinghiz attacked Ling-chau, situated on the Eastern bank of the Yellow river, a little south of Ning-hia, the capital of Hia. An army was sent to its rescue under Vei-min, but Chinghiz having crossed the Yellow River put it to flight.[54] The Vei-min of this notice is apparently the Seouming-ling-kong of DeMailla, who tells us that the king of Hia having determined to make a supreme effort sent him against the Mongols, but Chinghiz crossed the Yellow River and defeated him.[55] This is apparently the struggle referred to by Rashidu'd-dîn, who says that the Mongols having captured many towns laid siege to Dersekai (perhaps the native name of Ling-chau), when they heard that Shidurghu, whose Chinese name was Li-wang had left his capital, Irkai, and advanced at the head of 50 *tumans*, *i.e.* 500,000 men! Chinghiz Khân went to meet them, and encountered the enemy in a plain dotted with lakes formed by the overflow of the Kara Muran, *i.e.* the Upper Hoang-ho, which was then frozen over. The battle was so bloody that 300,000 (!) Tangutans perished. Three of the corpses were standing on their heads, for, says Rashîd, it is established among the Mongols that among ten *tumans* of corpses there is sure to be one standing on its head. This D'Ohsson explains by a reference to the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais, to which we owe so much interesting information about the Mongols, Book xxix, ch. 83, and Book xxx, ch. 95, where we read that the Tatars when they put a hostile population to the sword, and wished to have a census of the dead were in the habit of standing a corpse on its head for every thousand victims on elevated ground. Thus after the sack of Tiflis in 1221 seven bodies were placed on their heads in various places to show that 7,000 people had perished.[56] The town of Ling-chau was speedily captured and sacked. We are told that while the troops thought only of securing women and children, gold and silver, and other booty the famous statesman Yeliu-chutsai, whose origin we have previously considered, took charge of the government archives and of two mule-loads of medicinal rhubarb which was of great service to the army in an epidemic which ensued. He cured all those who were attacked by means of this specific alone.[57] We elsewhere read that during the siege of Ling-chau the five planets having appeared in conjunction in the south-west it was deemed a bad omen, and Chinghiz determined to retire for a while to the valley of Yen-chau, where he encamped.[58] According to the *Yuen-shi-lei-pien* he encamped 30 or 40 leagues north of Ning-hia the capital of Tangut.[59]

During the year 1226, Ogotai, his third son, with the general Chakhan, marched into Ho-nan and attacked Kai-fong-fu, the Nanking of

51 Hyacinthe, p. 133; D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 371.
52 De Mailla, Vol. IX. pp. 117-118.
53 Id. p. 118; D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 371.
54 D'Ohsson, Vol. I. pp. 372-373.
55 Op. cit. Vol. IX. p. 122.
56 D'Ohsson, Vol. I. pp. 373-74. So that 5,000 and 3,000 would be nearer the mark than the above figures.
57 De Mailla, Vol. IX. pp. 121-122.
58 Douglas pp. 101-102; Hyacinthe p. 133; D'Ohsson Vol. I. p. 375.
59 Gaubil, p. 49.

southern capital of the Kin Tartars, and sent Tang-king to summon it to surrender, but they had to raise the siege.[60]

Chinghiz soon reopened his campaign against Hia, and having left a division to besiege Ning-hia he crossed the Yellow River in February, 1227, and captured Tsi-shi-chau or He-chi-chau,[61] and sacked Lin-tao-fu.[62] Then going to the north-west he ruined Chasho,[63] called Towcho by Douglas, who says it was in the modern Taou-chau-ting. He then captured Si-ning.[64] DeMailla says these successes were secured by Hiuese, the prince of Liau-tung, who was sent across the river with an army by Chinghiz.[65] Gaubil says one division at this time secured the country of Kuku-nor, Kua-chau, and Sha-chau.[66] Meanwhile another army under Chinghiz Khân's brother Ochigin, occupied Sin-tu-fu in the province of Chih-li.[67] After capturing Si-ning Chinghiz advanced upon Lung-ti,[68] situated to the west of Pia-liang-fu in Kan-suh, and captured Te-shun-chau,[69] and other towns.[70] He now sent an envoy named Shang-tsin to the Sung court at Nanking, and prepared to pass the summer-heats in the mountains of Liu-pan.

A kind of presentiment, we are told, seized him that he was about to die, and summoning his officers he said to them, "My time has come. Last winter, when the five planets appeared together in one quarter was it not to warn me that an end should be made of slaughter? And I neglected to take notice of the admonition. Now let it be proclaimed abroad where our banners wave, that it is my earnest desire that henceforth the lives of our enemies shall not be unnecessarily sacrificed."[71] This is referred to at greater length by the Muhammadan writers, such as the author of the *Jahân Kashî*, by Rashîdu'd-dîn, etc. We are told that while he was encamped at Ongu-talan-kuduk,[72] a dream foretold to Chinghiz his coming end. He summoned, according to D'Ohsson, his two sons, Ogotai and Tului, who were encamped 5 or 6 miles away,[73] together with his generals and grandees. Abulfaraj says that he summoned Chagatai Baith, Ogotai, Tului, Kulkan, Shargatai, and Arushar.[74] Turning to the last of these,[75] he said that he wished to speak privately and confidentially with his sons and grandsons, and begged the rest to withdraw. He then addressed them saying, "Beloved children, the strength of my youth has given place to the feebleness of old age, and the firm step of the boy has been followed by the tottering of the old man. The last journey, whose command is so exacting, the summons of death, is at my door. By the power of God and the aid of heaven I have conquered this vast and far-reaching realm, which is a year's journey from its centre to its circumference, for you, my dear children, and have also duly ordered it. My last unconditioned will is that in fighting with your enemies and in exalting your friends you will be of one mind and one purpose, thus securing for yourselves a long and happy life, and also enjoyment and profit from the kingdom. If you hang together you will be able to administer the government thoroughly, and will be in a position to fight your foes, to overwhelm your antagonists, and to live in peace. If, on the other hand, you become stubborn and disagree, you will tear the mantle of the state asunder and it will perish." When he had thus expressed his will he went on to say, "Which of you must I name my successor?" His sons thereupon went down on their knees unanimously before him and said: "Our illustrious father is master and we are his servants, we are entirely in his hands."[76] According to the older Muhammadan authorities, followed by D'Ohsson, he then nominated Ogotai as his successor, and expressed a hope that Chagatai, who was not according to them present, would not raise any questions about this.[77] Mirkhavand

[60] Gaubil p. 49; Douglas, p. 102.
[61] Tsi-shi, west of the modern Ho-chau
[62] In the modern Teih-tan-chau.
[63] Gaubil calls it Ho-chau, and says it was 14 or 15 leagues north-west of Lin-tao-fu. Lin-tao-fu is in the modern Teih-taou-chau.
[64] In the modern Ke-chau.
[65] *Op. cit.* Vol IX. p. 125.
[66] *Op. cit* p 50
[67] Hyacinthe, p. 136, Douglas, p. 102
[68] The Lungter of Douglas
[69] The Ter-sun of Douglas

[70] D'Ohsson. Vol. I. p. 374. [71] Douglas, p 103.
[72] *i. e.* Springs of the steppe of the Ongu, by which the mountains running north of Shen-si giving their name to the white Tâtars are doubtless meant. D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 379.
[73] Erdmann says his three sons, Chagatai, Ogotai and Tului, and his grandsons the children of Juchi.
[74] *Chr. Syr.* p 498
[75] Raverty calls him Baisuku Aka, the son of Juchi Khazar
[76] Erdmann, p 441.
[77] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. pp 379 and 380.

and the other writers who had to be deferential to Timur and his family, bring in the ancestors of that hero on this occasion. They have a story which is quite unknown to the older authorities that Kabul Khakan made a compact with Kajuli Baghatur (the ancestor of Timur), conferring on the latter and his descendants exceptional dignities. At this time the head of this house was Kharajar Noyan, and we are assured that Chinghiz had the old compact produced, confirmed Kharajar in his honours and ordered his sons to do so, and to attach their *tamghas* to the official document containing these his last wishes.[78] Chinghiz then went on, according to the Western writers, to point the moral of his advice by the familiar anecdote of the strength of a bundle of sticks when contrasted with a single one, and then used a more probable simile in quoting the story of the snake with one tail and many heads, which, when the frost came, began to dispute as to which hole was the safest shelter; meanwhile it was killed by the cold, while the snake with one head and many tails, which having only one person to please, dragged itself in time into a safe retreat.

Chinghiz having nominated his brother Ochigin to prosecute the war in China, and also appointed his other sons their due positions, set out on his last campaign.[79] At this point the authorities differ. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* says that the ruler of Tangut appeared before him and presented him with golden idols, golden and silver vessels, boys, girls, horses and camels, altogether to the number of nine times nine. Chinghiz allowed him to do homage, but he himself sat behind the screen. While this was going on he became sick. On the third day he changed the name of Burkhan into Shidurgho, and commanded Tolun to kill him. He said to Tolun, "When at the beginning of the Tangutan war I fell from my horse during a hunting expedition, you being troubled about my health suggested that I should return, but in consequence of the insolent remarks of my enemy I waged war on him, and by the aid of heaven I have subdued him. Take for yourself the movable property of Burkhan, together with the vessels."[82] The *Yuan-shi* says that Li-hien, king of Hia, surrendered and was taken prisoner to Mongolia.[81] The *Yuan-shi-lei-pien* says that Li-hien found himself driven to the last pass in Ning-hia, and surrendered at discretion in June, and set out for Liu-pan to humiliate himself before Chinghiz. He had hardly left the town when he was massacred, and his palace and the city were sacked.[80] DeMailla says it was in May when the Tangut ruler surrendered, and that Chinghiz wishing to pass the summer heats in the north put chains upon the unfortunate prince and took him with him, and thus the kingdom of Hia came to an end.[83]

The author of the *Kang-mu* thus apostrophizes this event:—"From the beginning of the world no barbarous nation has been so powerful as the Mongols. They tear up nations as if they were plants, to such a degree has their power grown. Why does heaven permit it?"[84] The Muhammadan writers, who wrote under the patronage of the Mongols, tell us that after his great defeat Shidurgho withdrew to his capital Artakhin, whence he sent envoys to Chinghiz, begging that a respite of a month might be allowed him, when he would surrender if his life was spared, and he were counted among the chief's sons. Chinghiz consented to this, and promised to treat him as his son. This month, it seems, had not expired when Chinghiz died, and he left orders to his generals to keep his death a secret, and when the king came out of the city as agreed upon, to kill him and put the people of Ning-hia to the sword. This was faithfully carried out after his death.[85]

Minhaj-i-Saraj has a curious account of this last campaign of Chinghiz. He tells us the ruler of Tangut had a large army and war materials without end, and on account of the number of his troops, the power of his servants, the width of his dominions, and the vastness of his wealth and treasures, he had adopted the name of Tengri Khân.[86] The Mongols had several times invaded his borders, but had not subdued him, while he had more than once defeated Chinghiz Khân in battle. When the

[78] Erdmann, pp. 442 and 443.
[79] Erdmann, pp. 442 and 443
[80] *Op cit* pp 151-152.
[81] Douglas, p 103
[82] Gaubil, pp 50 and 51.
[83] *Op. cit*, Vol IX, p. 126.
[84] D'Ohsson, Vol. I, p 381, note.
[85] D'Ohsson, Vol. I, pp 380-381. Erdmann, p. 44[illegible].
[86] i.e. the Divine Khân.

latter returned home from his western campaign, he took counsel with his grandees and suggested that as he had come back with greatly increased strength, and was contemplating an attack upon Tamghaj[87] that he should make peace with him and offer him an alliance. Peace was accordingly made. Presently Chinghiz Khân having advanced across the Kara Muran, in a campaign against "Chin and Khita,"[88] Tengri Khân[89] joined him. Some Mongol *noyans* objected to the alliance, saying that if they were defeated the Tengri Khân would be sure to turn upon them, as he was their enemy, and as his territory would be in the rear of the Mongol army it would be a great source of danger; and they counselled that Chinghiz should have his ally put to death. He accordingly had him seized. The Tengri Khân, conscious of his approaching doom, said, "Tell Chinghiz Khân I have not shown any perfidy towards you. I came to you under a treaty. You are acting treacherously towards me, contrary to our covenant, now listen to me. If when you slay me blood of the colour of milk flows from me know that in three days your death will follow mine." When this was reported to Chinghiz Khân he laughed and said, "This man is mad, blood like milk never comes from the wound of a slain person, nor has any one ever seen white blood. It is most necessary to put him to death quickly." When the executioner struck the Tengri Khân white blood like milk in fact came from the wound. When Chinghiz heard of this he went to verify it, and thereupon his strength forsook him, and on the third day in the graphic words of Minhaj-i-Saraj, "his heart broke and he went to hell."[90] The same author adds that Chinghiz, before dying, left as a last legacy the duty of exterminating the subjects of the Tengri Khân, irrespective of age or sex, and after he died Ogotai carried out this duty and duly put to the sword the unfortunate inhabitants of the land.[91] The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* tells us that Chinghiz having overcome the people of Tangut and killed their ruler Burkhan, and having exterminated his parents, children, and grandchildren, commanded that at every meal he should be reminded of this with the words, "The Tanguts are extinguished." Having thus fought with the Tanguts for the non-fulfilment of their promises he returned."[92]

To turn to the other authorities. The mountain of Liu-pan above mentioned, where Chinghiz spent the summer of 1227, is, according to Hyacinthe, in the district of Ping-liang-fu and Dr. Bretschneider says it still bears the same name, and is marked on modern maps in the department of Ping-liang in Kan-suh, south of the city of Ku-yuan-chau. The *Yuan-shi* does not name the mountain, but says the Mongol army was encamped at Tsing-shui-hien, a place on the banks of the river Si-kiang about twelve leagues east of the town of Tsin-chau.[93] Rashîdu'd-dîn says Liu-pan was situated on the borders of Churchê,[94] Nangeas[95] and Tangut.[96] While Chinghiz was there two envoys from the Kin emperor named Wanian-khu-[illegible] and Otung Aguch arrived with propositions of peace. Among the presents which they took was a salver filled with beautiful pearls. Chinghiz had them distributed among those of his officers who wore earrings. The rest had their ears pierced in order to be able to share in the distribution. What remained over after the distribution were scattered among the crowd and scrambled for.[97] It was while at Liu-pan that Chinghiz also received the homage of the princess of Liau-tung to which I have previously referred. While encamped here the great chief was taken dangerously ill. Tului was the only one of his sons who was by him. On his death-bed he drew out for his officers plans for securing the Nanking or Southern capital of the Kin empire. "The picked troops of the Kin," he said, "are guarding the defile of Tong-kuan, a most powerful fortress, guarded on the south by a precipitous mountain, while the Yellow River bathes its walls on the north, and acts as a great natural ditch. In order to turn this position you must ask permission from the Sung to traverse a portion of their territory, permission which will be readily granted, as

[87] *i.e.*, China.

[88] *i.e.* China.

[89] *i.e.* the ruler of Tangut.

[90] *Tabakat-i-Nasiri* [illegible] p. [illegible]

[91] *Id.*, p. 109.

[92] *Op. cit.* [illegible]

[93] The [illegible] at 34·12 N. [illegible] W. [illegible] Vol. [illegible] 578.

[94] [illegible]

[95] [illegible]

[96] [illegible]

[97] [illegible]

the Sung have for a long time been the mortal enemies of the Kin. You will then advance by Tang-chau and Teng-chau.[98] whence you will march straight upon Ta-liang.[99] To relieve his capital the Emperor will have to withdraw the garrison of Tong-kuan. They will arrive worn out with the fatigues of a long march, and it will be easy to vanquish them."[100]

The *Yuan-shi* says that Chinghiz died near Sali-kol in his camp of Karatuski. These two names, says D'Ohsson, are Mongol names, given by the invaders to Chinese localities.[101] This, according to the Chinese authorities, took place on the 18th of August 1127, when Chinghiz was 66 years old, and when he had reigned 22 years.[102] Rashîdu'd-dîn makes his age at the time of his death to be 72 years, and says that he had reigned 41 years. In another place he says that Chinghiz was born in a Swine year and died in a Swine year, and that he died on the 15th of Khunai of the year of the Swine, answering, he adds, to the 4th of Ramazân 624, Hij. *i.e.* 18th August 1227,[103] which is no doubt the correct date. He says that he died in the mountains called Liung-Shan, by which no doubt he meant the range so called in Shen-si.[104]

The *Altan Topchi* and *Ssanang Setzen* make out that Chinghiz Khân was the victim of the beautiful wife of the Tangutan ruler, and embellish their story with the romantic surroundings available to the professors of Tantra Buddhism. We read in their pages that when Shidurgho changed himself into a serpent Chinghiz became the famous bird Garuda. When Shidurgho became a tiger, Chinghiz became a lion, and when he became a boy Chinghiz became an old man, or according to *Ssanang Setzen* became Khormuzda, the king of the *tengri* or spirits, and thus the former easily fell into the latter's grasp. He said to the Mongol conqueror, "Do not kill me, for I represent the morning star, and will destroy all your enemies. I will put meat before you and you will not have either hunger or thirst. If you kill me it will be worse for you, while, if you let me live it will be worse for your descendants." Chinghiz then shot at Shidurgho and tried to cleave him down with his sword, but he could not wound him, thereupon, according to the *Altan Topchi*, the Tangutan ruler said, "You have shot at me and struck at me, but have done me no harm. In the sole of my boot you will find a grey thrice-twisted cord, take it and strangle me with it, and your descendants will be similarly strangled. As to my wife, Kurbeljin Goa, take care you examine her to her black nails."[105] Whereupon he died. According to *Ssanang Setzen*, Shidurgho said to Chinghiz, "With a common weapon you cannot injure me, but between the soles of my boot is a triple dagger made of magnetic steel, with which I may be killed." With these words he offered him the weapon, saying, "Now you may kill me; if milk flows from the wound it will be an evil token for *you*, if blood then for your *posterity*.[106] He also says that he bade Chinghiz probe his wife's previous life diligently. Chinghiz having pierced Shidurgho in the neck killed him and appropriated his wife and people. Every one was surprised with her beauty, but she said, "Formerly I was much fairer, I am now grimy with dust from your troops. If I could bathe I should renew my good looks." Chinghiz thereupon ordered her to bathe. The *Altan Topchi* says she had meanwhile caught a swallow, tied a note to its tail, and sent it to her father. In this letter she told him she meant to drown herself, and he must look up the stream and not down for her body. Following out her directions they accordingly sought up the stream, and having found the body each brought a bag of earth with which they covered it. The hillock so formed was called Holkho Kuzgan, and the river Khatun Gol. *Ssanang Setzen* has a different version, apparently pointing here, as elsewhere, to a somewhat different tradition. He tells us the river where the princess bathed was the Kara Muran, that she refused to do so till the Mongols had withdrawn, that then a bird from her father's house hovered by her and she caught it and tied a letter to its neck, saying in it what she meant to do. When she came out of her bath

[98] Two towns dependent on Nan-yang-fu in the western part of Ho-nan. [99] *i.e.* Kai-fong-fu.
[100] Gaubil, pp. 51 and 52; D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 380.
[101] *Op. cit.* Vol I. p. 378.
[102] D'Ohsson, Vol I p. 381 · Gaubil. p. 52.
[103] Erdmann, note 33. pp. 572-574.
[104] Yule's *Marco Polo*, Vol. I p 240, note.
[105] A Mongol idiom, meaning examine her thoroughly.
[106] Compare the saga told by Minhaj-i-Saraj above quoted.

she was much more beautiful. The following night while Chinghiz lay asleep, she bewitched him, and he became feeble and weak. She then went down to the Kara Muran and drowned herself, whence, says *Ssanang Setzen*, the Kara Muran is called Khatun Eke to this day. When the bird returned to her father, who was called Shang-dsa-wang-ya, and was of the family U, from the Chinese town of Irghai, he went to look for his daughter's body, but found only one of her pearl-embroidered socks. On this he raised a mound of earth still called Timur Olkho.[107]

Ssanang Setzen says that as the great Chief's life ebbed away he apostrophised those about him thus:—"My fortune-bearing and excellent wife Burte Jujin, my three beloved ones Khulan, Jissu and Jissuken, my unchangeable loyal companion Küluk Boghorji Noyan, you nine Orloks, my incomparable mates, my four brave brothers, my four indefatigable sons, my unyielding flint-like officers and generals, my great people, my noble kingdom, all you children of my wives, my beloved subjects, my dear fatherland." As he was thus giving way to human weakness, Kiluken Baghatur of the Sunids, said to him, "Thy beloved wife Burte Jujin may die, thy administration, admirable as the precious jade stone, may fall into disorder thy united people may be scattered asunder; Burte Jujin the wife whom thou didst wed in thy young days may die; thy laws, held in such high esteem may be degraded. Thy two sons Ogotai and Tului may become orphans. Thy subjects, the inheritance of thy children, may be lessened. Thy excellent wife Burte Jujin may die. Thy two brothers Ochigin and Khajikin may fall to the ground. Thy great people ruling so widely may be scattered. Its very spirits, thy friends, Boghorgi and Mu-khu-li will collapse with grief, and when we reach the further side of the Khang-ghai Khân, thy wives and children will meet us, wailing and weeping with the words, 'Where is the Khakan, our Lord?' Therefore, O my master, do be a man and look hither." As Kiluken Baghatur thus addressed him Chinghiz raised himself on his bed and replied, "Be you a faithful friend to my widowed Burte Jujin and to my two orphan sons, Ogotai and Tului, and be ever true to them without fear. The precious jade stone has no crust, and polished steel has no rust upon it. The body that is born is not immortal. It goes away without a house or a place to return to. This keep in everlasting remembrance. The glory of an action is to complete what you have begun. Firm and unbending is the heart of a man who keeps his plighted word. Be not guided by the wishes of others, so will you have the confidence of many. This is clear to me, that I must be severed from you and go hence. The words of the boy Khubilai are very weighty. Do you all weigh his words. He will some day occupy my throne, and he will, as I have done, bring you prosperity." When he had spoken these words," continues our author, "the master raised himself to God his father, in the town of Turmegei in the sixty-ninth year of his age in the *Ting* (swine's) year (1227) the 12th of the seventh month.[108]

Plano Carpini states that Chinghiz was killed by a thunderbolt,[109] while Marco Polo, no doubt confusing his death with that of his grandson Mangu, says he was killed by an arrow which hit him in the knee at Caaju.[110]

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

(Continued from p. 113.)

BENGAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S PLATE OF THE MAHARAJA VINAYAKAPALA.

(HARSHA)-SAMVAT 188.

No. 161.

This inscription appears to have been discovered by General J. C. Stacy, and was first brought to notice in 1848, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XVII. Part I. p. 70ff., when, under the heading of "Inscription from the Bijaya Mandir, Udayapúr, &c.," the Secretary of the Society published Dr. Rajendralal

[107] *Erdmann, Temudschin*, p. 144; *Ssanang Setzen*, p. 103. Schmidt remarks in a note that the upper Kara Muran or Yellow river, is still undoubtedly called Khatun Muran, or the Queen's river by the Mongols, and that he has found the name in Mongol writings.

[108] *Ssanang Setzen*, pp. 103-105.

[109] *Op. cit.* Ed. d'Avezac, p. 664.

[110] Hocheu in Suchuan. Yule's *Marco Polo*, Vol. I. p. 240.

Mitra's reading of the text of the plate only, and his translation of it. In 1862, in the same Journal, Vol. XXXI. p. 1ff., as an accompaniment to his paper entitled "Vestiges of Three Royal Lines of Kanyakubja," Dr. FitzEdward Hall published his own reading of the text (*id.* p. 14f.), which was in some respects an improvement on the previously published version. And, with the exception of subsequent discussions as to the reading of the date,—in the course of which, in 1864, a rough and by no means accurate lithograph of it was published with Dr. Rajendralal Mitra's notice of Mahêndrapâla's grant in the same Journal, Vol. XXXIII. p. 321ff.,—this latter rendering of the inscription has remained the standard published version of it up to the present time. I now re-edit it, with a lithograph, from the original plate, which, having been presented by General Stacy, is in the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society, and was there examined by me. I have not succeeded in obtaining any information as to where it was found; and from the entry in the *Index*, published in 1856, to the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, p. 208, it appears that the locality never was known. It has usually been spoken of as the "Benares Plate;" but this seems to be due only to the mention of the Vârâṇasî (Benares) *vishaya* in line 10, where the locality of the village granted is specified.

The plate, which is engraved on one side only, measures about 1′ 9¼″ long by 1′ 5⅜″ broad. The edges of it were fashioned somewhat thicker than the inscribed surface, and with a slight depression all round just inside them, so as to serve as a rim to protect the writing; and both the surface of the plate, and the inscription on it are in a state of excellent preservation throughout; but some of the letters are so hopelessly filled in with hard rust, which it was impossible to remove, that they do not shew quite perfectly in the lithograph.—As in the case of Mahêndrapâla's grant (No. 169, p. 105ff. above), onto the proper right side of the plate there is soldered a thick and massive seal, with a high raised rim all round it, measuring about 8¼″ broad by 1′ 1¼″ high, and shaped like the seal of [Mahê]ndrapâla's grant. In the arch at the [top there] is a similar standing figure, facing [full-front, of] a goddess, doubtless the Bhagavatî of the inscription; and below this, across the surface of the seal, there are the sixteen lines of writing, *a* to *p*, transcribed below. Here, again, unlike the body of the grant, the letters of this legend on the seal are in relief; and, though they are fairly well preserved almost throughout, it was impossible, for the same reasons as in the case of Mahêndrapâla's grant, to include the seal also in the lithograph.—The characters are of precisely the same type as those of Mahêndrapâla's grant; *viz.* North Indian Nâgarî of about the eighth century A.D. They include forms of the numerical symbols of the period for 8, 9, 80, and 100. The execution of the engraving is excellent throughout; and the mark for *ê* in conjunction with consonants, both as *ê*, and as one of the components of *ai*, *ô*, and *au*, is formed with more care than in Mahêndrapâla's grant. Many of the letters shew, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The plate is very massive and substantial; so that the letters, though fairly deep, do not shew through on the back of it.—The language is Sanskrit, and the inscription is in prose throughout, except for the half *ślôka*, evidently intended as such, which is introduced in line 16, and records the name of the person who drew up the record.—In respect of orthography, all that calls for notice is the use of the *upadhmânîya* in [illegible], line 8 (and line *o* of the seal);—the *jihvâmûlîya* of line 1 of the seal;—and, as in Mahêndrapâla's grant, the [illegible] of lines 3, 5, and 6, (and lines *e*, *i*, and *k* of the seal); the use of *va* for *ba*, e.g. [illegible] and *prativaddha*, line 10, though the distinct form for *ba* occurs in [illegible] line 15; and the doubling throughout of *t* in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. *pattra*, line 2, and [illegible] line 13.—I had no opportunity of taking the weight of this plate; but it is probably rather heavier than Mahêndrapâla's plate.

As in the case of Mahêndrapâla's grant, the charter recorded in this inscription is issued from the camp, complete with many cows, elephants, horses, chariots, and foot-soldiers, situated at [illegible] (line 1). Then follows the paren[tal] [illegible] words

(l. 7). His son, begotten on Dêhanâgâdêvî, was the illustrious *Mahârâja* Bhôjadêva (l. 8), a most devout worshipper of the god Vishṇu. And Bhôjadêva's brother,—by which method of mention it is intended to denote also his successor,—another son of Mahêndrapâladeva, begotten on Mahîdêvîdêvî, was the illustrious *Mahârâja* Vinayakapâladêva (l. 9), a most devout worshipper of the Sun, who meditated on the feet of his father and brother.[1] The inscription then proceeds to record that the village of Tikkarikâgrâma,[2] in the Pratishṭhâna[3] *bhukti* (l. 9), and attached to[4] the Kâśipâra *pathaka* which belonged to the Vâraṇasî *vishaya*, was given by Vinâyakapâla, in order to increase the religious merit of his parents, after bathing on the sixth lunar day in the river Gaṅgâ (l. 14), to the *Bhaṭṭa* Bhullâka, of the Darbhi *gôtra*, a student of the *Atharva-Vêda*. Line 16 contains the record that the charter was drawn up by the illustrious Harsha.[5] And the inscription concludes in line 17 with the record of the date, in numerical symbols, on which it was assigned,[6] *viz.* the year 188, the ninth day of the dark fortnight of the month Phâlguna (February-March). The era is not specified in the record: but, applying the date to the era of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, the result is A.D. 794-95.

TEXT.[7]

The Seal.

a Paramvai[8]shṇavô mahârâja-śrî-Dêvaśaktidêvas=tasya pa-
b ttras=tat-pâd-ânudhyâtaḥ śrî-Bhûyikâdêvyâm=ut[panna]ḥ para-
c mamâhêśvarô mah[âr]âja-śrî-Vatsarajadêvas=tasya
d puttras=tat-pâd-ânudhyâ[ta]ḥ śrî-Sundar[î]dêvyâm=utpannaḥ para-
e mbha[9]gavatîbhaktô mahâ[ra]ja-śrî-Nâgabhaṭadêvas=tasya pu-
f ttras=tat-pâd-anudhyâtaḥ śrîmad-Îsaṭâdêvyam=utpannaḥ
g paramâdityabhaktô mahârâja-śrî-Râmabhadradêva-
h s=tasya puttras=tat-p[â]d-ânûdhyâtaḥ śrîmad-Appâdêvyâm=u-
i tpannaḥ parambha[10]gavatîbhaktô mahâraja-śrî-Bhôja-
j dêvas=[t]asya puttras=tat-p[â*]d-ânudhyâtah śrî-Chandrabhaṭṭâ-
k rikâdêvyam=utpannaḥ parambha[11]gavatîbhaktô mahârâ-
l ja-śrî-Mahêndrapâladêvas=tasya puttras=tat-p[â*]d-ânudhyâta-
m h śrî-Dêhanâgâdêvyâm=[u]tpannaḥ paramavaishṇavô ma-
n hâraja-śrî-Bhôjadêvas=tasya bhratâ śrî-Mah[ê]ndrap[â*]ladêva-pu-
o tt[r*]as=tayôḥ=pâd-ânudhyâtaḥ ś[r]î-Mahîdêvîdêv[yâ]m=[u]tpannaḥ
p paramâdityabhaktô mahârâja-ś[r]î-[V]inâya[ka]pâ[la]dê[vaḥ] ||

The Plate.

1 Ôm Svasti Mahôdaya-samâvâsit-ânêka-gô-hasty-a[śva*]-ratha-patti-sampanna-skaddhâ-(ndhâ)vârât=paramavaishṇavô mahâ-
2 raja-śrî-Dêvaśaktidêvas=tasya puttras=tat-pâd-ânudhyâtaḥ śrî-Bhûyikâ[12]dêvyâm=utpannaḥ paramamâhêśvarô mahâ-

[1] *Tat-pâd-ânudhyâta*, line 8.—The expression *tat-pâd-ânudhyâta* is applied to the relation of each son to his father throughout the succession.

[2] Probably the modern 'Tikree' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88, four miles almost due south of Benares, and on the same side of the river.—R. Mitra (*Index* of 1856 to the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, p. 209) first pointed out the identification, writing the modern name 'Tikkari.' F. E. Hall (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 5, note ...) ... the modern name 'Tikarî,' and said it is ... miles from Benares ... in such ... on the Gôdâvarî, it was also "the name of a town at the confluence of the Gaṅgâ and the Yamunâ, on *the left bank* of the Gaṅgâ, *opposite to* Allahâbâd, the capital of the early kings of the lunar dynasty."

[4] *pratibaddha*. This, and the word *sambaddha*, which I have tentatively rendered by "connected with," are evidently technical territorial terms the full purport of which, as contrasted with each other, is not apparent.

[5] "(*This is the edition*) of the firm and long-enduring charter that has been drawn up by the illustrious Harsha."—For *prayukta*, 'drawn up,' see page 107 above, note 9.

[6] *nibaddha*.

[7] From the original seal and plate.

[8] Read *paramavai*.

[9], [10], and [11] Read *paramabha*.

[12] R. Mitra read *Bhûyika* correctly in ... converted it into *Bhûmikâ* in the translat...

Bengal Asiatic Society's Plate of the Maharaja Vinayakapala.—The Year 188.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

SCALE .46

J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

3 râja-śrî-Vatsa[13]râjadêvas=tasya puttras=tat-pâd-ânudhyâtaḥ śrî-Sundarîdêvyâm=utpannaḥ parambha[14]gavatîbhaktô mahâ-

4 râja-śrî-Nâgabhaṭa[15]dêvas=tasya puttras=tat-pâd-ânudhyâtaḥ śrîmad-Îsaṭâ[16]dêvyâm=utpannaḥ paramâdityabhaktâ(ktô) mahâ-

5 râja-śrî-Râmabhadradêvas=tasya puttras=tat-pâd-ânudhyâtaḥ śrîmad-Appâ[17]dêvyâm=utpannaḥ parambha[18]gavatîbhaktô mahâ-

6 râja-śrî-Bhôjadêvas=tasya puttras=tat-pâd-ânudhyâtaḥ śrî-Chandrabhaṭṭârikâdêvyâm=utpannaḥ parambha[19]gavatîbhaktô

7 mahârâja-śrî-Mahêndrapâladêvas=tasya puttras=tat-pâd-ânudhyâtaḥ śrî-Dêhanâgâ[20]dêvyâm=utpannaḥ paramavaishṇa-

8 vô mahârâja-śrî-Bhôjadêvas=tasya bhrâtâ śrî-Ma[21]hêndrapâladêva-puttras=tayôḥ=pâd-ânudhyâtaḥ śrî-Ma-

9 hidêvî[22]dêvyâm=utpannaḥ paramâdityabhaktô mahârâja-śrî-Vinâyakapâladêvaḥ ||[23] Pratishṭhâ-

10 na-bhuktau Vârâṇasî-vishaya-samva(mba)ddha-Kâśîpâra-pathaka-prativa(ba)ddha-Ṭikkarikâgrâma-sa-

11 mupagatân=sarvvân=êva yathâsthâna-niyuktân=prativâsinaś=cha samâjñâpayati | Uparili-

12 khita-grâmas=sarvv-âya-samêta â-chandr-ârkka-kshiti-kâlam=pûrvvadatta-dêvavra(bra)hmadêya-varjji-

13 ta(tô) mayâ pittrôḥ puṇy-âbhivṛiddhayê Darvbhi(rbbhi)sagôttra Atharvva[24]sa-vra(bra)hmachâri-bhaṭṭa-Bhullakâya

14 shashṭyâṁ Gaṅgâyâ[ṁ*] snâtvâ pratigrahêṇa pratipâdita iti |[25] viditvâ bhavadbhis=samanumanta-

15 vyaḥ prativâsibhir=apy=âjñâśravaṇa-vidhêyê(yai)r=bbhûtvâ sarvv-âyâ asya samupanêyâ iti |(||)

16 Śrî[26]-Harshêṇa prayuktasya śâsanasya sthir-âyatêḥ ||

17 Saṁvatsrô[27] 100 80 8 Phâlguna va(ba) di 9 niva(ba)ddham ||

A PASSAGE IN THE JAIN HARIVAMSA RELATING TO THE GUPTAS.

BY K. B. PATHAK, B.A., MIRAJ.

In the Jain *Harivaṁśa*, a work which is not to be confounded with the Brâhmanical *Purâṇa* of the same name, I have lately come across an interesting passage purporting to bear on the Gupta era. I do not wish, however, to make this passage the basis of any speculation; I place it before the reader, simply for what it may be worth. To do justice to the Jain writer, I must say that this work has a decided advantage over other Indian *Purâṇas*, in the fact that it gives the precise date of its composition; thus, in the colophon the author says.

शाकेष्वब्दशतेषु सप्तसु दिशं पंचोत्तरेषूत्तरं(रां)
पातींद्रायुधनान्ति(म्नि) कृष्णनृपजे श्रीवल्लभे दक्षिणां ।
पूर्वां श्रीमदवन्ति(न्ति)भूभृति नृपे वत्साद्दिराजै(जे) परां
सौर्याणामधिमंडलं जययुते वीरे वराहे(हे)वति(ति) ॥ 51
कल्याणैः परिवर्द्धमानविपुलश्रीवर्द्धमाने पुरे
श्रीपार्श्वालयनन्नराजवसतौ पर्याप्तशेषः पुरा ।
पश्चाद्दोस्तटिका[1]प्रजाप्रजनितप्राज्यार्चनावर्धने
शांतेः शांतिगृहे जिने सुरचितो वंशो हरीणामयं ॥ 52

[13] R. Mitra read *Vanya* in both text and translation.

[14] Read *paramabha*.

[15] R. Mitra read *bhaṭa* correctly in the text, but converted it into *bhaṭṭa* in the translation.

[16] See page 112 above, note 46.

[17] R. Mitra read the text correctly, but gave the name as *Madappâ* in the translation.

[18] and [19] Read *paramabha*.

[20] R. Mitra read *nâsâ* in both text and translation.

[21] This *ma* was at first omitted, and then inserted below the line.

[22] In line 9 of the seal, this *akshara* is written, as is optionally allowable in composition for a proper name, with the short vowel i.

[23] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary

[24] Read *sagôttr-Âtharvva*.

[25] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[26] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); the verse consists, however, of only one *pâda*.

[27] Read *saṁvatsarî*, for *saṁvatsarâṇâm*.—R. Mitra, apparently treating the numerical symbols as decimal figures, read the date *sambatsarâh* 65 *bhâs-Phâlgu va di* 6,—"the sixth day of the dark half of the moon, in the solar month of Phâlgûna, in the year 65." F. E. Hall did not offer any interpretation of them.

[1] Another reading, noticed by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, is पश्चाद्दास्तैाटकी.

व्युत्सृष्टापरसंघसंततिबृहत् पुन्नाट²संघान्न(न्व)ये
प्राप्त· श्रीजिनसेनसूरिकविना लाभाय बोधे[:] पुनः ।
दृष्टोयं हरिवंशपुण्यचरितः श्रीपार्श्वतः सर्व्वतो
व्याप्ताशो(शा)मुखमंडल[:] स्थिरतरः स्थेयान्पृ(त्पृ)थिव्यां
श्चिरं ॥ 53

(Verse 51) "In Śâka seven hundred and five;—when Indrâyudha was ruling over the North;—when Śrîvallabha,[3] the son of king Krishṇa, was governing the South;—when king Vatsarâja,[4] the glorious ruler of Avanti, was ruling over the East;—(and) while the victorious (and) brave Varâha was governing the West, the kingdom of the Sauryas;—(52) In the town of Vardhamânapura, whose great prosperity was increasing on account of auspicious things,—in the basti, (erected) by king Nanna,[5] which was the abode of the glorious Pârśvanâtha,—this (history of the) lineage of the Haris was formerly finished; and it was afterwards well-composed in the quiet temple of Śânti(nâtha), when Jina was offered ample worship on a large scale by the people of Ôstaṭikâ(?)[6]—(53). This sacred history of the lineage of the Haris was composed again, for the attainment of supreme wisdom, by the glorious and learned poet Jinasêna, who obtained eminence in the line of the great Punnâṭa-saṁgha which has abandoned all other saṁghas. May this work, by the grace of Pârśva, pervade the regions in all directions, and endure steadily for a long time on the earth!"

The passage relating to the Guptas is in chap. lx. and runs thus,—

वीरनिर्वाणकाले च पालकोत्राभिषेक्ष(क्ष्य)ते ।
लोकेवंतिसुतो राजा प्रजानां प्रतिपालकः ॥ 83
षष्टिवर्षाणि तद्राज्यं ततो विषयभूभुजां ।
शतं च पंचपंचाशद्वर्षाणि तद्दीरितं ॥ 84
चत्वारिंशन्मुरु(रुं)डा(डा)नां भूमंडलमखंडितं ।
त्रिंशत्तु पुष्पमित्राणां षष्टिर्वस्वग्नि(ग्नि)मित्रयो[:] ॥ 85
स(श)तं रासभराजाना(नां) न(ना)रवाहनमप्यतः ।
चत्वारिंशत्ततो द्वाभ्यां चत्वारिंशछ(च्छ)तद्वयं ॥ 86
भट्टुवाणस्य तद्राज्यं गुप्तानां च शतद्वयम् ।
एकत्रिंशच्च वर्षाणि कालविद्भिरुदाहृतम् ॥ 87
द्विचत्वारिंशदेवातः कल्किराजस्य राजता ।
ततोजितंजयो राजा स्यादिंद्रपुरसंस्थितः ॥ 88

(Verse 83.)—"And at the time of the *nirvâṇa* of Vîra,[7] king Pâlaka, the son of (*the king of*) Avanti, (*and*) the protector of the people, shall be crowned here on earth. — (84) His reign (*shall last*) sixty years. Then, it is said, (*the rule*) of the kings of the country[8] (*shall endure*) for a hundred and fifty-five years. — (85) Then the earth (*shall be the*) undivided (*possession*) of the Muruṇḍas,[9] for forty years; and, for thirty, of the Pushpamitras,[10] and, for sixty, of Vasumitra and Agnimitra. — (86 and 87) (*Then there shall be the rule*) of the "Ass-kings" for a hundred years. Next (*the rule*) of Naravâhana for forty (*years*). After (*these*) two, (*the sway*) of Bhaṭṭubâṇa[11] (*shall last*) two hundred and forty (*years*); and the illustrious rule of the Guptas shall endure two hundred and thirty-one years. This is declared by chronologists. — (88) After this, the sovereignty of Kalkirâja (*shall last*) just forty-two years; and then king Ajitaṁjaya[12] shall establish himself at Indrapura."[13]

The following table gives the gist of the above passage:—

The year of Pâlaka's coronation	=	The year of Mahâvîra's *nirvâṇa*.	
Palaka	ruled	60	years.
Vishaya-bhûbhujaḥ	,,	150	,,
Muruṇḍas	,,	40	,,
Pushpamitras	,,	30	,,

[2] Read वृहत्पुन्नाट.

[3] [Perhaps the Râshṭrakûṭa king Gôvinda II., the son of Krishṇa I.—J. F. F.]

[4] *i.e.* "who had (*the name of*) *râja* with *vatsa* at the beginning."

[5] This king Nanna is alluded to in ll. 9-10 of a Râshṭrakûṭa inscription published by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* for 1883):—

लक्ष्मीसनाथवपुरब्जसुचक्रशंग-
निर्वाच्यविक्रमनिवद्धबलि क्षितीश ।
गोविंददेव इव नन्नभुजंगदर्पो
गोविंदराज इति तस्य सुतो बभूव ॥

[6] See note 1 above.

[7] *sc.* Mahâvîra.

[8] *Vishaya-bhûbhujaḥ* may perhaps mean 'native rulers,' as distinguished from foreign conquerors.

[9] Vatsarâja, the lover of Vâsavadattâ, was a Muruṇḍa:—

तीक्ष्णस्यारेरस किल कलहे युद्धशौंडो मुरुंडः
प्रद्योतस्य प्रियदुहितरं वत्सराजोत्र जहे

Priyadarśikâ[?] — printed *Pirśe?bhyud?ya.*

[10] The original, being in Nâgarî characters, does not shew for certain whether we should read *Pushpamitra* or *Pushyamitra*.

[11] Bhaṭṭubâṇa, though used in the singular, must be the name of a dynasty, not of an individual sovereign.

[12] Ajitaṁjaya was the son of Kalkirâja:—

तनूजः कल्किराजस्य बुद्धिमानजितंजयः ॥

Uttarapurâṇa.

[13] Indrapura can very easily be identified with the modern town of Indûr or Indor in Central India.

Vasumitra and Agnimitra	ruled	60	years.
The "Ass-kings"	"	100	"
Naravâhana	"	40	"
Bhaṭṭubâṇa	"	240	"
Guptas	"	231	"
Kalkirâja	"	42	"

Then Ajitaṁjaya began to rule.

According to this account, the Guptas began to rule after the lapse of seven hundred and twenty years from the *nirvâṇa* of Mahâvîra. The date of this latter event has not as yet been satisfactorily and finally settled; but the majority of Orientalists accept B.C. 527-26. If we reckon from this date we arrive at A.D. 193-94 as the initial date of the Gupta rule, which then, according to this *Purâṇa*, extended over a period of two hundred and thirty-one years.

NOTE BY MR. FLEET.

In order to apply the above passage properly for chronological purposes,[14] we ought to know what date Jinasêna assigns to Ajitaṁjaya, the last of the kings mentioned by him, and then calculate backwards from that date, instead of forwards from the time of the *nirvâṇa* of Mahâvîra. Mr. Pathak, however, tells me that Jinasêna does not make Ajitaṁjaya contemporary with himself (Śaka-Saṁvat 705; A.D. 783-84), and gives no hint whatever as to the interval that had elapsed between Ajitaṁjaya and himself. And I have not been able to obtain any other mention of this king Ajitaṁjaya, or of his father and predecessor Kalkirâja, whose name, occurring elsewhere only as that of the tenth and future *avatâra* of the god Vishṇu, is peculiarly suggestive of this part of the passage, at any rate, being purely imaginative.

Jinasêna has hit off pretty accurately the duration of the Gupta power; for the latest inscription dated in the Gupta era, which specifically associates the era with the continuation of the Gupta rule, is that recorded in the Khôh plates of the Parivrâjaka *Mahârâja* Saṁkshôbha of the year two hundred and nine[15] (A.D. 528-29.) But the information given by him in the preceding lines, even if right in respect of the succession of dynasties, must be wrong as regards the duration of each of them. For, calculating backwards from A.D. 319-20, the known commencement of the the Gupta era,[16] the result, according to Jinasêna, for the *nirvâṇa* of Mahâvîra, is B. C. 401-400, later by a century and a quarter than the generally accepted date referred to by Mr. Pathak above.

AN ENGLISH-GIPSY INDEX.

COMPILED BY MRS. GRIERSON, WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY G. A. GRIERSON, B.C.S

(*Continued from p.* 116.)

HOPE,—Nŏdĕzhdi, (M.)

HORN,—Shing, (Tch); shingh, (Psp M.); shĕng, (M.); shing, (M 8)

HORNED.—Shingalò, (Tch.)

HORNY,—Shinghêsgoro. (Tch)

HORSE,—Grestur, gristur, gry, (Eng.); gras, grastĕ. (Span. Gip.); davâri, grast, gras, gra, (dim.) grastorô, grai, (Tch.); grâst, (Psp. M.); agôri, agôra, (As Tch.); grast, (M); gara, grast, (M 7)

HORSE, draught,—Telegâre, (M.)

HORSE, of or belonging to,—Grastanô, grastês-koro, (Tch.)

HORSE-DEALER,—Gry-engro, (Eng.)

HORSE, A KICKING—Del-engro, (Eng)

HORSE-KEEPER,—Herdelezhîu, (M.)

HORSE-RACING,—Gry-nashing, (Eng)

HORSE, A GREY,—Parnô, (M.)

HORSE-SHOE,—Petul, (Eng.); nalchâs, pètalo, (Tch.); nal agôri, (As. Tch.); sâster, sastrî, sâstri (M.); petalo, (M. 8)

HORSE-SHOE, maker of—Petul-mengro, (Eng)

HORSE-STEALING,—Gry-choring, (Eng)

HOSE,—Kholov, (M 7)

HOST,—Ġazhô, gazhû, (M.)

HOSTESS,—Gazhî. (M)

[14] This passage has also to be compared with the extract, commencing with Palaka, from the Prâkrit *Gâthâs*, given by Dr. Buhler, *ante*, Vol II. p. 362f.

[15] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p 15. The expression is *Nav-ôttarê-bda-śatadvayê Gupta n ipa-râjya-bhuktau srîmati pravardhamâna-vijaya-râjyê Mah-â rayaja-saṁvatsarê &c.*—We have very much later dates in the era; *e g.* in Nêpâl, without any name being allotted to it, up to A.D 854 (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 345. inscription P.); and in Kâṭhiâwâd, under the name of the Valabhî-Saṁvat, up to A.D. 1264 (*ante*, Vol. XI. p. 241.) And one of the Kâṭhiâwâd inscriptions, *viz.* the Môrbî plate of A.D 904, actually associates the name of the Guptas with the era, if in line 17 (*ante*. Vol. II. p. 258), where there is obviously an error of some kind or another, *gôpt'* is a mistake for *gauptê*.—But the instance given above is the latest one in which the duration of the Gupta sovereignty is connected with the era.

[16] *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 342, note 1.

HOT,—Tatto, (Eng.); tablô, tattô, (Tch.); tattêi, (As. Tch.)

HOUR.—Ora. yora, (Eng.); ôra. (Tch.); chas, (M.)

HOUSE,—Ken. keir. ker, (Eng.); kher. kfer. her. ker. (dim.) kerorô. (loc.) kerê. (Tch.); guri, gur (As. Tch.); ker, (Psp. M.); khĕr, (dim.) khĕrorô. (M.); kher. (M. 7)

HOUSE OF A JUSTICE OF THE PEACE.—Pokiniskoe ker. (Eng.)

HOUSE-BREAKING.—Keir poggring. (Eng.)

HOUSEMAID.—Keir-rakli. (Eng.); pokoyôva, pokoyôvĕ, (M.)

How.—Sar. sau. (Eng.); sar. (Tch.); sar. (M.); ani. (M. 7)

HOW MANY? } Kebôr, (Psp. M.); sôden, sodèn,
HOW LONG? } sòde. sodi. sûde. (M.)

HOW MUCH?—Sau kisi. kisi. (Eng.); quichi. (Span. Gip.); abôr. kebòr. keti, (Tch.); keti. (Psp. M.), sôden. soden. sôde. sôdi. sûde. (M.), kazom, keti. (M. 7)

HULK FOR CONVICTS,—Berro, bèro. (Eng.); bero. (Span. Gip.)

HUMAN,—Lachighiô-koro. (Tch.)

HUMANITY.—Manushipè. (Tch.)

HUMBLE.—Kharnô. siknò, (Tch.). kharno, (M. 7). sikno. (M. 8)

HUMBLE ONESELF. to.—Khârniovàva. (Tch.)

HUMBLE ONESELF. to cause to.—Kharniarâva. (Tch.)

HUMILITY.—Kharnipê. (Tch.)

HUMP.—Khòchika. (Tch.)

HUNDRED,—Shel. shil. shevĕl (Tch.); shil. shel. (Psp. M.), shĕl (M.); shel. (M. 8)

HUNDREDWEIGHT.—Cŏgnâri. (M.)

HUNG.—Nashado. nash'ko. nasho. (Eng.)

HUNGER.—Bokh. (M.), (M. 8)

HUNGRY.—Bokkalo. buklo. (Eng.); buklo tan. (Hun. Gip.), bokhalò. (M.)

HUNGRY, to be,—Bokĭliovàva. (Psp. M.). bokhal'ovàva. (M.)

HUNT,—Pol'uvâne. vĕnât. (M.)

HUNT. to.—Pal'ûdâva. (Tch.)

HURLER,—Wusto-mengro. (Eng.)

HURT, to,—Dukâva, dukèva. (Eng.), musarâva. (M.), (M. 8)

HUSBAND.—Rom. rommado, (Eng.); rom. (M.)

HUT,—Kolyba (Tch.), koliba. (M.)

HUT, little.—Kolibŏ. (M.)

HUT, of or belonging to,—Kolybèngoro. (Tch.)

I

I,—Me, [illegible] (Eng.), me, (Tch.), me, mi. (M.), me. (M. 8)

I ALONE.—Mi kokoro (Eng.)

I AND—Méya. (Tch.)

I MYSELF,—Mi kokoro, (Eng.)

ICE,—Buziâ. (Tch.)

IDIOTIC,—Levavdô, (Tch.)

IF,—Is, (Eng.); te, (Tch., M. 8)

IF IT WAS.—Sas. (Eng.)

IGNORANT.—Yosmâs, (Tch.)

IMAGE.—Dikkipen, (Eng.)

IMMEDIATELY.—Endâtŏ. ĕndàta, (M.)

IMMERSE, to,—Bolâva. (Tch., M. 7)

IMMORTAL,—Vimulô. (M.)

IMPLEMENT OF IRON,—Chinkerdô. (Tch.)

IMPOSSIBLE.—Nâstis. (Eng.)

IMPRECATION.—Armàn, armaniâ, (Tch.)

IMPRISONED.—Pandlo, stardo. (Eng.)

IN,—Inna. inner. drey. ando, (Eng.)

IN NO MANNER.—Asarlas. (Eng.)

IN THAT MANNER,—Dov-odoyskoenœs, (Eng.)

IN THIS MANNER,—Kavokoiskoenœs. (Eng.)

INCREASE.—Bariovâva. (Psp. M.)

INDEBTED.—Pazorrhus. (Eng.)

INFANT,—Tiknô. (Psp. M.)

INHABIT, to,—Lodàva, (Tch.), beshâva. (Psp. M.)

INJURY,—Kushipê. (Tch.)

INJUSTICE,—Band'imâs, (M.)

INSIDE.—Andrâl, (M.)

INN,—Kitchema. (Eng.); traktêrna, traktèrne. (M.)

INN-KEEPER,—Hanlo, kitchema-mengro, (Eng.). anglanò. (Span. Gip.); cf. LANDLORD.

INQUIRE, to,—Puchâva. (Eng.); puchàva. pachâva (Tch.)

INSECT,—Pishen. (Eng.)

INSIDE.—Wendror, (Eng.)

INSTRUMENT OF MUSIC.—Sâzi. (Tch.

INSULT, to,—Kushâva. (Tch., M. 7)

INTELLIGENCE.—Goti. godi. gudi. (Tch.

INTELLIGENT.—Godialò. godiâvèr. godiakor. (Tch.)

INTO.—Adrey. (Eng.)

INTOXICATED.—Matto. (Eng.). mattò. mattò mâmini. mattò gargâshi. mattò korè. matticanò, (Tch.); zerkò-hi. (As. Tch.). matò. mat'àrno. (M.)

INVALID.—Naisvâli. (Psp. M.)

IRASCIBLE,—Jungàlo. (Tch.

IRON.—Saster (Eng.), shastir. sastir, sâster, sastrì. (Tch.), lui, (As. Tch.), shastir. shastrì. (Psp. M.), sâster. sastrì. sâstrì. (M.), shastir. (M. 8)

IRON, of or belonging to,—Shasturnô. (Tch.), sastrunô (M.)

IRONMONGER.—Saster-mengro. (Eng.)

IS.—Se. (Eng.)

IT,—Lou. li. i. (Eng.)

IT IS POSSIBLE.—Astis (Eng.)

ITCH.—Eargo, (Eng.), ghel, gher. (Tch.), khanitri, (As. Tch.), ghèr. (Psp. M.), ger. (M. 7)

ITCHY.—[illegible] (Psp. M.)

J

Jest,—Figl'uri, (M.)
Jew,—Jut, (dim.) jutorô, (Tch); jut, (Psp. M., M. 7); zhîdovu, zidos, (M.)
Jewel,—Minriclô, (Tch.)
Jewellery,—Rupuibê, (Tch.)
Jewess,—Zhidôŭka, (M.)
Jewish,—Jutnô, (Tch.)
Join oneself, to,—Ĕnt'egosard'ovâva, (M.)
Joined,—Ĕnt'egomi, ĕntegomi, (M)
Joke, to,—Shĕguisarâva, (M.)
Journey, to,—Jalâva, (Eng.)
Joy,—Loshanibê, (Tch.)
Joyous,—Loshanô, loshanutnô, (Tch.); loshano, (M. 8)
Joyous, to be,—Loshâniovâva, (Tch)
Judge,—Borobeshemeskeguero, (Eng)
Jump, to,—Hoktâva, (Eng.)
Just so,—Huey, (As Tch.)
Justice,—Chechepi, chechipi, chechimâs, kanônu, zhudekâta, (M.)
Justice of the peace,—Poknies, (Eng.)

K

Keep, to,—Garâva, (M)
Keep up, to,—Atchâva oprê, (Eng.)
Kerchief,—Diklô, (M.)
Kernel,—Shiru, (M.)
Kettle,—Kekkauvi, (Eng); kakkavi, kakkâvi, (Tch.); kakavi, kakâvi, (M , M 7)
Kettle-iron,—Kekkauviskey saster, (Eng.)
Key,—Klism, klisn, (Eng.); kilidi, klidi, (Tch); jup, (As. Tch.); key, (M.); klidi, kulcho, (M 7).
Keyhole,—Klism-hev, (Eng)
Kick,—Lakhki, lakhti, (Tch , M 8)
Kick, to,—Lakhki dâva, lakht dâva, (Tch.); laht dâva, (Psp. M.)
Kid leather,—Khel, (As. Tch.)
Kill, to,—Morêva, morâva, (Eng.); chinâva, (Tch.); mudarâva, (M)
Killed,—Moreno, (Eng.)
Kind, (subst.)—Shêhi, shêkhi, (Tch.)
Kindle, to,—Tarâva, (Tch.); phabarâva, (M.); tharâva, (M 8)
Kindness,—Lachipê, (Tch.)
King,—Krallis, (Eng); dakâr, dakhâr, takâr, takhâr, taghâr, krâlis, (Tch.); tahkâr, taakâr, (Psp. M.); kirayi, krâyu, krul'u, krûlu, (M.); dakar, kralis, (M 7)
King's son,—Krulevich, (M.)
Kingdom,—Dakaribê, (Tch.); ĕmpĕrĕcîe, ĕmparacîya, ĕmparacîye, ĕmpĕrĕcîye, (M.)
Kiss,—Chûmia, (Eng); chupendi, (Span. Gip.); cham, chumi, chumidibê, (Tch.); mutis, (As. Tch.); chumi, châm, (Psp. M.); chumb, (M. 7)
Kiss, to,—Chûmâva, (Eng.); chumidâva, (Tch., Psp. M., M)
Kite,—Zmĕu, zmiy, (M)
Kitchen-utensils,—Khârkoma, (Tch.); kharkoma, (M. 7)
Kitten,—Mĕcĕshôra, mecĕshoarĕ, (M.)
Knead, to,—Ushlerâva, (Tch)
Knee,—Chong, (pl.) chongor, (Eng); koch, chidini, (Tch); kôch, (Psp M); chang, (M.), koch, (M. 7)
Knife,—Churi, (Eng); chori, churi, chindali, kupidi, (Tch.); churi, (Psp. M., M. 7); shuri, (M.)
Knife-grinder,—Churi-mengro, (Eng.)
Knit, to,—Kuvâva, khuvâva, (Tch); khuvâva, (M. 7)
Knob, knot,—Kochak, (M. 7)
Knock down, to,—Pashliâ kerâva, (Tch.)
Know, to,—Jinâva, (Eng.); pinjarâva, pincharâva, janâva, (Tch); (pres. 1) janêmi, (As Tch.); zhanâva, (M.); janâva, (M 7); prinjanâva (M. 8)
Known, to be,—Pinjârghiovâva, (Tch.)
Knowing-fellow, a—Jinney-mengro, (Eng)
Knowledge,—Jinnepen, (Eng.), vêste, (M.)
Kreuzer, (a coin)—Griycâr, (M)

L

Labour,—Kairipen, (Eng)
Labour, to,—But'arâva, (M.)
Lace,—Dori, (Eng); shnûru, (M.)
Lacerate, to,—Flekuisarâva, (M.)
Lackey,—L'ôkay, l'okây, l'ok'âyi, l'okâyi, l'ôkayu, l'ôkayos, (M.)
Lad,—Chal, mushipen, raklo, (Eng); mursh, mrush, (dim.) murshorô, raklô, (Tch); mursh, (M. 8)
Ladle,—Polonîku, (M.)
Lake,—Yâzo, yâzu, (M.)
Lady,—Aranya, rawnie, araunya, (Eng.); aranye, (Hun. Gip), rânni, khulanî, (Tch.); rayî, stĕpĕnĕ, (M)
Lady, young,—T'ira, (M.)
Lamb,—Bakrorô, bakrichô, (Tch); bakrishô, (M)
Lamb, of or belonging to,—Bakrichanô, (Tch.)
Lame,—Lang, lango, (Eng.); pankô, pangô, (Psp. M.); lang, (M., M. 8)
Lame, to,—Pangherâva, (Psp. M.)
Lamp,—Likhnâri, fanâri, fenghiardô, (Tch.)
Lancers,—Bustiâkoro, (Tch)
Land,—Cĕnûtu, cĕnûto, t'em, (M.)
Landlord,—Hanlo, (Eng.); gâzda, gazhô, gazhû, gospodâr, (M.); *see* Innkeeper.
Language,—Sbôra, sbôros, (Tch.)
Lantern,—Mûmli-mengro, (Eng.); diklô, (Tch.)
Lap,—Pusĕt'i, puset'i, (M.)

Large,—Barô, (comp.) baredêr, (Tch.); adicĕ, adĭca, (M.); baro, (M 7)
Last,—Palalunô, palalutnô, (Tch.)
Laugh, to,—Salâva, (Eng.); asâva, (Tch., Psp. M., M., M. 7); khastiri, khesti, (As. Tch.)
Laugh,—Asaibê, (Tch.)
Laugh at, to,—Khokhavâva, (Tch., M. 7)
Lawyer,—Rokrenguero, (Eng.)
Lay, to,—Shuvâva, (M.)
Lay down, to,—Tovâva, pâshliovâva, (Tch.); thoâva, (M.); thovâva, (M. 8)
Lay down, to cause to,—Pashlerâva, (Tch.)
Lay, to (eggs),—Biâva, (Tch.); kĕrâva, karâva, (M.)
Lead,—Archich, plûmbu, plumb, (M.); moliŭ, (M. 8)
Lead, to,—Anâva, (Tch.); ĕngĕrâva, (M.)
Leaf,—Pattin, (pl.) pattinor, (Eng.); patia, (Span. Gip.); patrìn, patr, patî, patrî, fillo, (Tch.); chîlo, (As. Tch.); patrîn, (Psp. M., M.); patr, (M. 8)
Leap, to,—Hoktâva, (Eng.); dukhkiâva, (Tch.); dekhviti, dekhavti, (As. Tch.)
Leaper,—Hokta-mengro, (Eng.)
Learn to,—Shikliovâva, (Psp. M.); set'ovâva, (M.)
Learning,—Sherro's kairipen, (Eng.)
Least, at,—Makâr, mŏkâr, (M.)
Leather,—Cham, (Eng.); morti, perchâs, (Tch.); meshîn, mezin, (As. Tch.); mortî, (Psp. M., M. 8); cipa, (M. 7)
Leave, to,—Mekâva, (Eng.); mukâva, mukhâva, (Tch.); mekâva, shudâva, (M.); mukâva, (M. 8)
Leave behind to,—Mekâva, (M.)
Leech,—Pivavîcha, (Tch.)
Leek,—Purrum, purrun, (Eng.)
Left,—Bango, (Eng.); stŏngo, (M.); styng, zervo, (M. 8)
Leg,—(pl.) Heres, heris, (Eng.); jerias, (Span. Gip.) chang, chank, (Tch.)
Legs, one who has,—Changunô, (Tch.)
Lend, to,—Ĕmprumutiâva, ĕmprumutisarâva, (M.)
Length,—Duripê, (Tch.); lúngo, (M.)
Let,—Mekâva, (Eng.)
Let down, to,—Hularâva, (M.)
Let go, to,—Mekâva, (M.)
Letter,—Lil, china-mengri, (Eng.); lil, (M., M. 8)
Liar,—Hoffeno, huffeno, (Eng.); khokhavnô, khokhamnô, khokhannô, (Tch.); elketri, (As. Tch.); khokhamnô, (M.)
Lick, to,—Charâva, (Tch. M., M. 7)
Licks his lips, one who,—Chardicanê-vustên-goro, (Tch.)
Lie—Hokkano, (Eng.); khokamnibê, khokhaimbê, (Tch.); elki, (As. Tch.); khohaimpê, (Psp. M.)
Lie, to,—Hokkâva, (Eng.)
Lie down, to,—Sovêva tuley, (Eng.)
Life,—Merripen, mestipen, jibben, (Eng.); jibê, (Tch.); mejende, (As. Tch.)
Lift up, to,—Lazdava, (Tch.); (imperat. 2) lishdê, (As. Tch.); musarâva, vazdâva, (M.)
Lift oneself up, to,—Pornisard'ovâva, (M.)
Ligature,—Bandipê, banloipê, (Tch.)
Light (adj.)—Lokô, (comp.) lokodêr, (Tch.); lokô, (Psp. M., M. 8); linu, (M.)
Light, a,—Dudê, (Eng.); mumelî, (M.
Light, to,—Alavâva, tarâva, (Tch.); yak lekâva, (As. Tch.); sfinciâva, (M.); tharâva, (M.
Light a fire, to,—Hatchâva, (Eng.)
Lightness,—Lokipê, (Tch.)
Lightning,—Malûno, maloney, (Eng.)
Like, (adv.)—An, anî, in, enî, (Tch.); varî, (As. Tch.)
Like, to,—Kamâva, (M.)
Likewise,—Asâ, asau, (Eng.)
Linden-tree,—Tey, t'êyu, kyêyu, (M.
Linen,—Pokhtân, (Tch.); yîsmata, (Psp. M.); pokhtan, (M. 8)
Linen-maker, or seller,—Pokhtanêskoro, (Tch.
Linguist,—Lav-engro, (Eng.)
Link,—Zâves, (Tch.)
Lip,—Vusht, vust, vush, usht, (Tch.); osht, (As. Tch.); vûst, (Psp. M.); (pl.) usht, (M.); vusht, (M. 8)
Lip, (dim.)—Vustorò, (Tch.)
Little,—Beti, tawno, tawnie, tikno, (Eng.); chinoro, (Span. Gip.); khurdô, dim. khurdorô, (comp.) khurdedêr, tikno, (comp.) tiknedêr, (Tch.); khandi, (Psp. M.); cĕgnô, cĕnonô, cĕnunû, cĕnônu, khurdô, (M.); khurdo, (M. 7); tikno, (M. 8)
Little, a,—Cĕra, cĕrâ, cĕrĕ, (M.)
Live, to,—jibâva, (Eng.); jivâva, (Tch., Psp. M., M. 7); beshâva, (M.)
Lived, to have,—Jivghiovava, (Tch.)
Livelihood,—Jibben, mestipen, (Eng.)
Liver,—Bûko, bukka, (Eng.); vendery, (M.)
Liver complaint,—Bukka, naflipen, (Eng.
Living, (adj.)—Zhudô, (M.)
Living, (sub.)—Mestipen, (Eng.); mestipen, bestipen (Span. Gip.)
Lizard,—Kholistrâva, (Tch.)
Load,—Behri, (As. Tch.)
Load, to,—Ladavâva, (Tch., M.); shuvâva, (M.
Load a pistol, to,—Marâva, (M.
Loaded, to be,—Ladâvghiovâva, (Tch.)
Loam,—Chik, (M.)
Lock,—Klism-engri, (Eng.)
Locust-bean,—Shengûri, (Tch.)
Log,—Kasht, (M.)
London,—Boro-gav, Lundra, (Eng.)
Long,—Dugo, (M. 7)

LONGING,—Dôru, (M.)
LOOK, to,—Dikâva, (Eng.); akushâva, rodâva, (M.)
LORD,—Raia, rye, (Eng.); khulâi, râi, (Tch.); ray, râyu, stĕpĕn, stĕpĕnu, (dim. rayorô, (M.)
LORD, of or belonging to,—Khulanô, (Tch.); rayikanô, (M.)
LOSE, to,—Nashâva, Eng.; najabar, Span. Gip.; nashavâva, nashâv kerâva, (Tch.) nashavâva, (Psp. M.); khasarâva, (M. M. 7.)
LOSS,—Ziyan, (M. 8)
LOST,—Nashado, (Eng.)
LOST, to be,—Nashâvghiovava, (Tch.)
LOUSE,—Ju, (pl.) juvior, (Eng.); juv, (Tch., Psp., M., M. 7), Cf. NIT.
LOUSY,—Juvalo, (Eng.); juvalô, (Tch.)
LOUSY, to become,—Juvâliovâva, (Tch.)
LOVE,—Dukaibè, dukanibè, (Tch.); manghishè, (As. Tch.); drag, (M.)
LOVE, to,—Kamâva, kamellòva, kamòva, (Eng.); dukâva, (Tch.); kamâva, (M.)
LOVE ONE ANOTHER, to,—Ĕndragostisard'ovâva, (M.)
LOVE-AFFAIR,—Drâgoste, (M.)
LOVELY,—Lînu, (M.)
LOVER, a,—Kamo-mesero, (Eng.), dukanô, châino, (Tch.); piramnô, (f. piramnî, (M.)
LOW,—Siknô, (Tch., M. 8); buna, bunoz, (As. Tch.)
LOWER, to,—Teliovava, (Tch.); mekâva, (M.)
LUCK,—Bokht, mestipen, (Eng.); mestipen, bestipen, (Span. Gip.); bakht, (Tch.)
LULLABY,—Suttur-gillie, (Eng.)
LUMP,—Boc, (M.)
LUTE,—Lâuta, (Tch.)
LYING down,—pashlo, (Tch., M. 8)

M

MAD,—Diviou, (Eng.); denilô, dinilô, dilinô, (Tch.); lùvali, (As. Tch.); hegedûsh, (M.); divio, (M. 7)
MAD, to become,—Denîliovâva, (Tch.); d'il'ovava, (M.)
MADHOUSE,—Diviou-ker, (Eng.)
MAGAZINE,—Magazinu, magazĕnu, (M.)
MAGNATE,—Raia, rye, (Eng.); khulâi, râi, (Tch.)
MAGPIE,—Rokrenchericlo, kakkaratchi, (Eng.) karakâshka, kakarâshka, (Tch.)
MAID-SERVANT,—Hargâta, (M.); sluga, (M. 8)
MAIDEN,—Rakli, (M.)
MAINTAIN, to,—Zabaviâva, (M.)
MAIZE,—Kukurûzo, kukurúzu, kut'alô, (M.)
MAJOR,—Mayòru, (M.)
MAKE, to,—Kerâva, (Eng., Tch., Psp. M., M. 7); gherâva, kĕrâva, karâva, thòava, (M.)
MAKE, to cause to,—Kerghiâ kerâva, (Tch.)
MALE,—Nère, (As. Tch.)
MALL-BIRD,—Bosno, boshno, (Eng.)
MALEDICTION,—Beddaa, (As. Tch.)
MALICIOUS,—Tippoty, (Eng.)

MISCELLANEA.

THE VIJAYANAGARA GENEALOGY.

In the course of certain correspondence with a literary opponent, Dr. G. Oppert[1] has referred to my two papers on the Karnâta dynasty,[2] and,—though condescendingly admitting that my reprint of the two grants "is on the whole pretty correct,"—adds that "Dr. Hultzsch, being led astray by foregone conclusions, perhaps also misled by the repeated re-occurrence of a similar succession of names, committed himself to a series of blunders."

The accusation directed against me by Dr. Oppert recoils on himself. The names printed in italics in his genealogical table, are mere repetitions of persons previously named. A grant of Ranga III[3] and five grants of Venkata II, ink-impressions of which I owe to the kindness of Dr. Burgess, are identical with the two published grants down to Tirumala III., the father of the two donors.[4] As the dates of these six grants range between Śaka 1497 and 1535, Pedavenkata, whose grant is dated in Śaka 1558, cannot have belonged to the fourth generation after Ranga III. and Venkata II., which he did according to Dr. Oppert's table. The key to the difficulty is supplied by stanza 28 of the Kondyâta grant (= stanza 25 of the Kallakurśi grant), which runs thus:—

पूर्वं विश्रुतरामराजनृपतेः श्रीरामभद्राकृतेः
कल्याणोदयशालिनस्तनुभवा[:] पञ्च प्रपञ्चावने ।
दक्षा नीतिपथानुगाः समभवन्क्षीरापगाकामिनो
गीर्वाणालयभूरुहा इव बुधश्रेणीष्टदानोत्सुका ॥

"Formerly from the famous king Râmaraja, who resembled divine Râmabhadra in appearance, and who possessed prosperity and majesty, there sprang five sons, who were able to protect the world, who followed the path of policy, and who longed to grant the desires of the crowd of wise men, just as the (*five*) trees of paradise (*which had sprung*) from the milk ocean."

The word *pûrvam*, 'formerly,' suggests that the genealogist refers to another Râma than Râma VI., *viz.* to Râma II.; and the correctness of this supposition is proved by two facts:—

1. Venkaṭâdri (styled Venkata I. by Dr. Oppert) is called the younger brother of

[1] *Epilogue to Ne Sutor Ultra Crepidam*, p. 76.
[2] *ante*, Vol. XIII. pp. 125, 153.
[3] In order to avoid confusion, I adopt Dr. Oppert's numbers.
[4] For particulars on these grants see *l. c.* p. 155.

Pedaveṅkaṭa's grandfather, in stanza 31 of the Kaḷḷakurśi grant:—

2. Dr Oppert's table furnishes an additional proof, as it gives the names of the four brothers of Ranga II., to whom each of the two grants published by myself alludes.

In this manner the miraculous double string of similar names disappears. Dr. Oppert's Raṅga VII. and his two sons Pedavenkata and Chinnavenkaṭa are identical with Ranga II. and his two sons Pedavenkaṭa and Chinnaveṅkaṭa (Pinavenkata in the grants); and Venkaṭa V, his son Ranga VIII, and his grandson Gopâla, with Venkata I (Venkaṭâdri in the grants), his son Ranga IV., and his grandson Gopâla.

These corrections having been made, Dr Oppert's table agrees, as far as I can control it, with my revised table of the Karnâta dynasty [5]

E. HULTZSCH

Vienna, 12*th March* 1886.

BOOK NOTICES.

JOURNAL OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, Vol. XVI. No. XLIII. 1885. Edited by the Secretary. Bombay: The Society's Library, Townhall; London: Trubner and Co. pp. 167 to 389, xix. to xliii., and Index i. to v.

Two full years elapsed between the issue of No. XLII., the first half of this volume, and the issue, at the end of February of this year, of the present Number which completes it. It is much to be wished that the Secretary would follow the example of the Royal and the Bengal Asiatic Societies, and issue smaller parts at frequent intervals, thus providing for the more speedy publication of the papers submitted to the Society, instead of keeping them locked up from the public for so long a time.—It is also desirable that the papers published in the Journal should invariably be headed by the dates on which they are read before, or submitted to, the Society. In previous volumes, it has been the custom usually, though not quite always, to give this information; in the present Number, it has been uniformly omitted.—The Index is meagre, and gives a very inadequate idea of the various contents of the Volume. It has been prepared, however, in accordance with the custom for previous volumes. The practical value of these volumes would be much enhanced by full and detailed Indices. The Editor himself can hardly be expected to do this work alone. But much might be done in this direction by securing the co-operation of the scholars whose papers are printed in the Journal; each of them would probably gladly assist by indexing his own contributions

As to the contents of this Number.—in the first paper, Art. XII. "On the *Auchityâlaṁkâra* of Kshemendra" (p. 167 ff.), Dr. Peterson draws special attention to a verse, cited in the *Mahâbhâshya*, and now found to be quoted by Kshêmêndra (A.D. 1050) and assigned by him to "Kumâradâsa, an author whose date is not "known, but who, from the specimens of his "style available in the later anthologies, cannot," Dr. Peterson contends, "be placed so far back as "B C. 150, the date now commonly accepted for "Patañjali"—To this paper Dr. Peterson has attached a "Note on the date of Patañjali" (p. 181ff.), with the object of showing that the grammarian in question lived in the time of a king Pushpamitra or Pushyamitra, who was conquered by the Early Gupta king Skandagupta: *i e.*, in accordance with Dr. Peterson's view of the epoch of the Gupta era (published by him in a subsequent paper and noticed below), about the middle of the fifth century A.D. The question depends in the first place upon a grammatical example, given in his *Mahâbhâshya* by Patañjali.—*iha Pushpamitraṁ yâjayâmaḥ*.—which indicates that Patañjali lived in the time, and perhaps at the court, of Pushpamitra. But, whatever may be shown hereafter to be the real truth as to Patañjali's date, the rest of Dr. Peterson's argument, as to the identity of this Pushpamitra, loses its validity, in consequence of the fact that the passage in the Bhitarî inscription, on which he relies, is —not *samudita-bala-kôshât=Pushyamitraṁ cha jitvâ*, as he gives it on Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's authority — but *samudita-bala-kôshân=Pushyamitrâṁś=cha jitvâ*. Skandagupta conquered, not a particular king named Pushyamitra, but the tribe, confederacy, or dynasty, of the Pushyamitras

Art. XIII. a "Note on Bâdarâyaṇa" p 194ff, by the Hon'ble K. T Telang, is directed against Professor Weber's inclination to identify this writer, the author of the *Brahma-Sûtras*, with Śuka, one of whose pupils was Gauḍapâda, the teacher of Gôvindanâtha, who again was the preceptor of Śaṁkarâchârya; on which identification Prof. Weber would refer Bâdarâyaṇa conjecturally to between 400 and 500 A.D. Mr. Telang's opinion is that "the *Brahma-Sûtras* "date back to a far remoter age than that which "Professor Weber assigns to them" as above; but he does not appear to be prepared at present to suggest an absolute date for them and their author.

Art. XIV. "The date of Patañjali; A Reply to Professor Peterson" (p. 199 ff), is a paper by

[5] *l. c.* p. 155.

Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, who, in respect of the more special point relied on by Dr. Peterson, applies himself to showing that the Pushpamitra (or Pushyamitra) in whose reign Patañjali lived, must have been Pushpamitra the Śuṅga, of the second century B.C. In a footnote on p. 217, he points out that, on my reading of the passage in the Bhitarî inscription, it refers to the Pushyamitras as a tribe, not to an individual king named Pushyamitra. He also quotes some other interesting historical allusions in the *Mahâbhâshya*, tending to support his (and the late Dr. Goldstücker's) selection of the middle of the second century B.C. as the proper date of Patañjali.

Art XV. "Five Copper-Plate grants of the Western Chalukya Dynasty from the Karnûl District" (p. 223ff.), is a paper by myself on four grants sent to me for examination by Mr R. Sewell, M. C. S., and a fifth obtained otherwise. The paper is accompanied by lithographs of the plates, executed very successfully in the Survey of India Offices, Calcutta. No. 1 is the revised text of the inscription dated in the first year of Âdityavarman, a son of Pulikêśin II., which was originally published by me in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI p. 66ff., and which brought Âdityavarman's name to notice for the first time. Nos. 2 and 3 are inscriptions of Vikramâditya I., another son of Pulikêśin II., now published for the first time, and dated in respectively the third and the tenth years of his reign. The chief interest of these two inscriptions is, that they are undoubtedly genuine inscriptions of Vikramâditya I. and show that he reigned for at least ten years; and that, in connection with Âdityavarman's grant, they shew that, in spite of the reverses which the Western Chalukyas appear to have suffered after the death of Pulikêśin II., the continuity of their rule was maintained over at any rate such portions of their dominions as lay in the Karnûl direction. No 4 purports to be another inscription, also now published for the first time, of Vikramâditya I., without date; it is possibly spurious. No 5, from Togarchêḍu, is the revised text of an inscription, previously published by me from somewhat imperfect materials in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI p. 85ff., of Vinayâditya, the son of Vikramâditya I., dated when Saka-Saṁvat [illegible] had [illegible] and therefore when Saka-Saṁvat 612 (A.D. [illegible]) was current [illegible] Kârttika in the tenth year of his reign.

Art XVI. [illegible] Development of Language [illegible] (p. 247ff.), Art XVII [illegible] Period (p. 275ff.), and Art XVIII [illegible] between Sanskrit, P[illegible] the Prâkrits, and the Modern Vernaculars" (p. 314ff.) by Dr R. G. Bhandarkar, are Nos. I. II. and VII. of the Lectures delivered by him as the First Series of the University of Bombay Wilson Philological Lectures. A foot-note on page 245 tells us that they have, on Dr. Bhandarkar's offer, been printed in this volume in connection with the controversy as to the date of Patañjali. The conclusions at which Dr Bhandarkar arrives, on linguistic development and similar grounds, are—that Pâṇini must be referred to about the eighth century B.C.; that Yâska must have flourished about the seventh or sixth century B.C.; that, as regards Kâtyâyana, we may accept the popular tradition which refers him to the period of the Nandas, *i.e.* to about the first quarter of the fourth century B.C.; and that Patañjali lived in the middle of the second century B.C. As regards the languages, his conclusions are—that the Middle Sanskrit, or the Sanskrit of Yâska and Pâṇini, continued without any important corruption down to Yâska's time. "After his time, however, *i.e.* about the seventh "or sixth century, the elaboration of the Pâli, or "Low Sanskrit as it might be called, began in a "decided manner, and the language continued "to be spoken up to the time of Patañjali." . "The Prâkrits must have begun to be formed "about that time; but they did not then attain "any distinctive character, and the vernacular "speech probably did not finally leave the Pâli "stage till a very long time afterwards." "The growth of the specific Prâkrits . . . must "be referred to the early centuries of the Christian "era" . . . "About the sixth or seventh century "the Apabhraṁśa was developed in the country "where the Brajabhâshâ prevails in modern times." . . . And finally—"The modern vernaculars "seem to have begun to assume a distinctive "character about the tenth century. In the "copper-plate inscription containing the name of "Bhâskarâchârya, dated 1128 Śaka or 1206 A.C., "which I once mentioned before, Marâṭhî appears "in its specific character, and so also does Hindî "in the work of Chand, who flourished about the "same time."—Coupled with their own intrinsic value, the bearing of these Lectures [illegible] though it is on the Patañjali controversy which is the subject of two of the preceding papers in this volume, may be [illegible] as sufficient reason for the [illegible] of them [illegible] the Society's Journal on this [illegible] special [illegible] But it is [illegible] is not to become a precedent for the [illegible] publication of all the Wilson Lectures [illegible] way. The [illegible] Lectures [illegible] Note attached to them [illegible]

hundred and one pages out of the two hundred and twenty-three of which this Number consists. The funds of the Society, as far as they are expended on its Journal, are intended for the publication of papers read before the Society itself, and for the cost of plates to accompany them; not for the publication of outside papers and lectures, which ought to be otherwise provided for.—Dr. Bhandarkar's first Lecture is headed by the invocation *Namaḥ Paramâtmanê*, 'Reverence to the Supreme Spirit!' This is quite out of place in an English Society's Journal; as also is the analogous *Om! Gaṇêśâya namaḥ!* "Om! Salutation to Gaṇêśa!" at the commencement of Count A. De Gubernatis' Sanskrit address, published at p. xxviii ff. of this Number. In both instances, these exclamations should have been cancelled by the Secretary in editing the volume.

In Art. XIX. "A Copper-plate Grant of the Traikûṭaka king Dahrasêna" (p. 346ff.), Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji gives an account, with text and translation, of a new and interesting inscription, now published for the first time, from some plates forwarded to the Society by Mr. J. G. White, Bo. C.S. Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji considers that the king's name as given here, Dahrasêna, is a corruption, or popular pronunciation, of 'Dharasêna.' The inscription is dated in the year 207 of some unspecified era, which he considers to belong to an era established by the Traikûṭakas, and commencing A.D. 249. He refers, in this connection, to Dr. Bird's Kanheri plate, as being dated specifically in the year 245 of the era of the Traikûṭakas. He also notices, in order to reject it on grounds which in themselves are scarcely sufficient, Dr. Bhandarkar's inclination to take this as the era of the Râshṭrakûṭas (*Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 55f.). But, in order to prevent the possibility of any suggestion as to a Râshṭrakûṭa era being thrown out again on the same grounds, he should have explained more fully why Dr. Bhandarkar is mistaken in this respect, and how the mistake arose. The original Kanheri plate has been lost sight of, and all that is now available [illegible] regarding it, is the engraving [illegible] published by Dr. Bird. In reading [illegible] No. 10 of [illegible] Archæological Survey of Western India [illegible] Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji read *T[illegible]* [illegible] which he took [illegible] like [illegible] but [illegible] Dr. Bhandarkar [illegible] the [illegible] of *Sarh[illegible]* [illegible] took [illegible] Sanskrit [illegible]

a mislection for. Râshṭrakûṭa; and hence arose his theory as to the Râshṭrakûṭa era. It is perfectly plain, however, that Dr. Bird has only given a somewhat imperfect representation of *tra*, in which the *t*, followed by *r*, is doubled in accordance with an early custom of orthography, and that the correct reading of his plate was *Traikûṭakânâṁ*.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's notice of a new inscription of so much interest should have been accompanied by a lithograph, for which the original plates afford very good materials.—In his text, he has twice (in lines 2 and 3 of the second plate) written the *upadhmânîya*, instead of the *jihvâmûlîya*, before *ka*; the mistake, of course, is a self-evident one, but it is one that should not have occurred. In the translation, the words *Buddhagupta-dûtakam-âjñâ* certainly do not mean "to my *Dûtaka*, Buddhagupta, these commands."—The text of this inscription is printed according to a peculiar arrangement which sacrifices nearly a quarter of the space available for each line, in favour of the remark "Line 1 ends" and the entries below it, and yet leaves it a troublesome matter to find out where the lines do end! The only practical method of editing inscriptions for the necessary purposes of reference to the lines, and of finding without trouble in a lithograph any doubtful passage that requires comparison, is to place the numbers at the commencement of the lines, and to begin each line of the original with a fresh line in the printed version. In the Number under notice, this same objectless arrangement is followed also in Art. XX. by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji and in Art. XXIII. by Dr. Peterson, though not in Art. XXI., another inscription by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, in which the proper method of arranging the lines is followed. In respect of prose passages, there is nothing whatever to be said in favour of this arrangement. In respect of passages in verse, there is perhaps no particular objection to an editor arranging them according to the lines of the verses, if he thinks it looks nicer; but nothing is achieved thereby, except waste of space and inconvenience of reference; and, when that arrangement is adopted, a better method of marking the commencement of each line of the original must be devised than that used in this Number.

In Art. XX. "The text and Translation of the Bhilsa [illegible] Inscription" (p. 355ff.), Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji gives his own reading of this inscription [illegible] from his personal [illegible].—This paper [illegible] of which [illegible] It gives a reduction of an [illegible] made by Dr. Bhagwanlal

Indraji in 1869; *i.e.* it represents, not the original as it exists, but the original as Dr Bhagwanlal Indraji saw it and succeeded in tracing it, which is a totally different thing. Lithographs of this description are now quite out of date.—This version may be a slight improvement on the last published, Dr. Bhau Daji's *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol X p. 5 ff.) But the general editing of the paper is careless to a degree, and destroys whatever value it might otherwise have possessed. Setting aside minor points, such as the omission to correct what may be assumed to be printer's errors; the use of *Lichchhivi* in line 3 of the text, but, in the translation, *Lichchhavi*, without any comment on the variation; &c. &c.—the verses are treated in the most erratic manner. In the text, they are numbered down to verse 4, but the remaining eight are left unmarked. In the translation, they purport to be numbered down to verse 7; but 1 includes the whole of verse 1 and half of verse 2, 2 includes the second half of verse 2 and the whole of verse 3; 3 represents in reality verse 4, 4 represents verse 5; 5 represents verse 6; 6 represents verse 7; 7 represents verses 8, 9, and 10, and verses 11 and 12 are left unmarked. On p. 253 we have the curious remark:—"We learn from this inscription that his" Samudragupta's "son and successor Chandragupta the second was named Lichchhavidauhitra." This involves a slight impossibility, since *L*[illegible] means "the daughter of Lichchhavi [illegible] Chandragupta [illegible] of the male sex [illegible] mistake [illegible] daughter's son of Lichchhavi [illegible] of Chandragupta II, but of his father Samudragupta [illegible] Pushpapura [illegible] Dr. Bhandarkar [illegible] *Pushyamitra* [illegible] the whole line [illegible] Mr. Fleet [illegible] ग [illegible] preceding remark, I have never adopted the reading of [illegible] that he attributes to me [illegible] the simple reason that they would be [illegible] unmetrical [illegible] Nor do I think it altogether certain that [illegible] Bhandarkar [illegible] attributed the alleged reading [illegible] What that gentleman says [illegible] 237 [illegible] "Here [illegible] पुष्यमित्रं but instead of [illegible] is in his copy गृहीत्वा distinctly. But [illegible] the whole line is quite capable of [illegible]

"समुदितबलकोषान्पुष्यमित्रान्गृहीत्वा." The second sentence certainly seems to attribute *grihîtvâ* to me; but not so the first, the plain grammatical meaning of which is that Dr. Bhandarkar himself saw *grihîtvâ* in the impression that I showed him; not that I read *grihîtvâ* to him. And this meaning is in accordance with his remark in the text of his paper, that he himself could read *grihîtvâ* in Dr. Bhau Daji's lithograph. This, however, is a matter that is not worth further discussion. The point that we were concerned with was the reading of the twelve *aksharas* before *cha jitvâ* Dr Bhandarkar wished to test, in order to corroborate or disprove it, Dr Bhau Daji's published reading of *samuditabalakoshân=Pushyamitrân grihîtvâ*, and Dr Bhagwanlal Indraji's proposed reading of *samuditabalakoshân*, &c. I told him that the passage certainly did introduce the base *Pushyamitra*, and that, though I was not prepared to give him then an absolutely final reading, I was inclined to prefer the accusative plural, *Pushyamitrâms=cha*, with a preceding accusative plural in apposition with it, to the accusative singular, *Pushyamitraṁ=cha*, with a preceding accusative singular, or with an ablative before it, and this is the point that he brings out in the second sentence quoted by me above from his footnote. This was in March or April 1885. Afterwards, in England, when working again on this inscription, I made up my mind finally that the reading was two accusatives plural in apposition, *samuditabalakoshân=Pushyamitrâms=cha*, [illegible] the only possible doubt being whether we should read *Pushya* or *Push*[illegible], and I notified [illegible] to Dr. Bhandarkar some months ago, soon after seeing his "Reply to Professor Peterson." I have entered into the point at some length here, because the passage really is one of some importance. I have to add that, [illegible] the readings of others, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji should make sure that his own [illegible] correct. In his translation, he gives "[illegible] conquered Pushya[illegible] he gives the nominative [illegible] which [illegible] what [illegible] not the meaning of [illegible] We might take this as a printer's error, overlooked by the author, for [illegible] but Dr Bhagwanlal Indraji [illegible] In connection [illegible] and 124 as the

earliest and latest dates for Kumâragupta. But we have the well-known Bilsad inscription of Kumâragupta, which is dated, in words, in the year 96 (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XI p. 10, and Plate viii); and General Cunningham quotes a coin of his which gives the date of 130 odd (*id.* Vol. IX p. 24, and Plate V No. 7).

Art. XXI. "An Inscription of Aśôkavalla" (p. 357 ff.), by Dr. Bhagwânlâl Indraji, gives his text and translation, with remarks, from an impression sent by General Cunningham. This is a Buddhist inscription of the twelfth century A.D., and is of interest as tending to support Dr. Bhagwânlâl Indraji's previous suggestion (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X p. 347) that the date of Buddha's *nirvâṇa*, relied on in the Gayâ inscription of the year 1813 from that event, is the Peguan date, B.C. 638.—Dr. Bhagwânlâl Indraji originally read the name of the king as Aśôkachalla. He now corrects this into Aśôkavalla, and is probably right in doing so. But what is his authority for saying that the second part of the name, *valla*, is a contraction of *vallabha*?—His treatment of the details of the date, in line 12, is wrong. He reads *Bhâdra di 8 ravi 29*, and translates "the 8th day of the dark half of Bhâdrapada, the 29th solar day." But there is nothing in the text, even as he gives it, to represent the "dark half"; nor is it explained by him how *ravi* comes to mean "the solar day." The real reading of the original is *Bhâdra-badi* 29.

Art. XXII. "Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche," (p. 361 ff.), by Pandit Durgâ Prasâda, gives, in a tabular form, the results of a careful examination, based on independent sources, of Professor Böhtlingk's collection of Sanskrit proverbs and lyrical pieces. The paper consists of emendations and brief notes which, judging from the two specimens to which particular attention is drawn on p. xxii., will be of considerable use to students of the original collection.

The concluding paper, Art. XXIII. "An Inscription from Kotah" (p. 375 ff.), by Professor Peterson, gives his revised version of an inscription edited by Professor Kielhorn in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 162 ff.—This paper is accompanied by a lithograph, which might as well have been omitted; apart from its peculiar colour, the details of it shew [illegible] that the [illegible] of it was not properly [illegible] probably, that it [illegible] impression.—I am not at present [illegible] say how far Dr. Peterson's reading [illegible] is an improvement on Prof. Kielhorn's [illegible] I notice that in the first line [illegible] Prof. Kielhorn's [illegible] of the *jihvâmûlîya*, [illegible] lithograph suffices to shew that the original has the *jihvâmûlîya*, as of course might be expected. *Śrêṭhalêkh dankôrîh=kvachid*, &c.—"This "inscription is dated in the 795th year of the "Lords of Mâlava," which corresponds, as Dr. Peterson tells us further on, to A.D. 740, since "it can be shown that this era of the Lords of "Malwa is no other than that now known as the "Vikramâditya era." The proof is furnished by an inscription at Mandasôr, discovered under my direction, and incidentally mentioned first by Dr. Bhandarkar on p. 219, note 10, which gives for Kumâragupta the date of the year 494 of this era; or, according to the original, "when four hundred and ninety-three years had elapsed by (*the reckoning from*) the tribal constitution of the Mâlavas." Dr. Peterson's proposed translation of this date (p. 381), is slightly different,—"when four-hundred and ninety-three years from the establishment [in the country?] of the tribes of the Mâlavas had passed away." He admits, however, that *gaṇa-sthiti*, which I render by 'tribal constitution,' may have another meaning than that which he has suggested for it. And, in passing, in connection with the understanding of these Mâlava dates, I would deprecate the translation of *Mâlavêśânâm* by the specific expression "of the Lords of Mâlava" (Prof. Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII p. 163; and Dr. Peterson, in the paper under notice, p. 380), or by "of the kings of Mâlava" (Dr. Peterson, in his translation, p. 389). It is safer at present to use the less binding expression of "the Mâlava Lords," especially as an inscription at 'Gyârispur' or 'Gyâraspur,' dated when the year 936 of the era had expired (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 33, and Plate xi), uses the simple expression "Mâlava-Kâla," in commenting on which General Cunningham in 1880 recorded his opinion that this Mâlava era must be the same as the era of Vikramâditya of Ujjain. Following Dr. Bhagwânlâl Indraji in erroneously quoting Gupta-Saṁvat 98 and 130 as the earliest and latest known dates of Kumâragupta, Dr. Peterson proceeds—"What is the era in the "494th year of which Kumâragupta was "ruling the wide earth? This is a question which "I take it there can be but one answer. It is the "era now known as that of Vikramâditya. Thus [illegible] [illegible] "Kumâragupta [illegible] "Vikrama [illegible] A.D. [illegible] "Kumâragupta [illegible] dates, [illegible] that is "the years A.D. [illegible]

"then the Mandosar inscription falls easily with-"in the time at which Kumâragupta is known "to have been reigning: and there is no other "era known to us which will give us the same "result. The Mâlava era and the Vikramâditya "era are therefore one and the same. It is taken "for granted in the above that the initial year of "the Gupta era is A.D. 319. But with Oldenberg "and Bhandarkar I hold that no apology is "required for such an assumption. Those who "still hesitate may rather fairly be challenged to "show how any other theory of the Gupta era "can be made to fit in with the Mandosar in-"scription." I fully agree with Dr. Peterson in his results. In spite of my previous inclination to accept General Cunningham's view of A.D. 166 as the epoch of the Gupta era, and consequently to accept, of Albîrûnî's rather ambiguous statement, that part as correct which says that it was the downfall of the Guptas that took place in A.D. 319-20, these results forced themselves upon me directly I obtained a complete and fully intelligible impression of this new Mandasôr inscription. And they must, I think, be apparent to any one who has the epigraphical data before him, and gives them due consideration. But I would avoid Dr. Peterson's method of taking for granted the points that have to be proved, and of ignoring several other points of importance that require to be disposed of. The case may be put briefly thus:—The Gupta inscriptions and coins give us, for Kumâragupta, the extreme limits of Gupta-Saṁvat 96 and 130 odd. We may take 113 as the mean of these. The result, for this mean, is—(1) according to the late Mr. Thomas' view A. D. 191; (2) according to General Cunningham's theory, A.D. 279; (3) according to Sir E. Clive Bayley's, A.D. 303; and (4) according to one interpretation of Albîrûnî's statement, A.D. 432-33. Then applying the Mâlava era to these results, we must look for its epoch close to respectively (1) B.C 302; (2) B C. 214; (3) B C. 190; and (4) B.C. 61-60. But the first three results each entail the supposition of a brand-new era, hitherto unheard of, and utterly unexpected. We must not overlook the fact of the existence of coins, first brought to notice by Mr. Carlleyle (see *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 165ff, and Vol. XIV. p. 149ff. and Plate xxxi. Nos 19 to 25), which have on them the legend *Mâlavânâṁ jayaḥ*, "the victory of the Mâlavas," in characters ranging, in General Cunningham's opinion, "from perhaps B.C. 250 to A.D. 250." These coins shew that the Mâlavas existed, as a recognised power, long before the time when, as I consider, their "tribal constitution" took place And, if we have to invent a new era, these coins might justifiably induce us to select as its epoch B.C. 223, as fixed by General Cunningham for the death of Aśôka (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I. p. vii.), or some point thereabouts. But this entails, as I have said, the invention of a brand-new era; a remedy that must, if possible, be avoided. And it further creates the palæographical difficulty—and, within certain limits, palæographical evidence must be accepted—that it forces the Kôtâ inscription of the Mâlava year 795, and the 'Gyârispur' inscription of the Mâlava year 936, back to respectively A.D. 572 and 713; periods to which, from their alphabets, they cannot possibly belong. The fourth result, on the contrary, brings us so very close to B.C. 57, the epoch of the already existing and well-known Vikrama era; and at the same time satisfies so well the palæographical requirements of the case; that we are compelled to find in it the solution of the question, and to adjust the equation of the dates thus,—Gupta-Saṁvat 113 (the mean date for Kumâragupta) + A.D. 319-20 = A.D. 432-33; and Mâlava-Saṁvat 493 - B.C. 57-56 = A.D. 436-37. This new Mandasôr inscription, therefore, proves two things:—(1) that Albîrûnî's statement that the Gupta era began A.D. 319-20 is certainly correct, but the rest of his statement, that this era marked the epoch of their downfall, not of their rise, is wrong:—and (2) that, under another name, the Vikramâditya era did undoubtedly exist anterior to A.D. 544, which was held by the late Dr Fergusson to be the year in which it was invented.

J. F. FLEET.

7th March 1886.

THE COINS OF THE GREEK AND SCYTHIC KINGS OF BACTRIA AND INDIA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, by PERCY GARDNER, LITT. D.; edited by REGINALD STUART POOLE, LL.D. Printed by order of the Trustees. London. 1886. 8vo. pp. lxxvi. and 193; and Plates i. to xxxii.

This valuable little volume contains a great deal more than might be assumed from its unpretending secondary title, a "Catalogue." The authors give us in the first place an introduction, dealing very fully with the Historical Outlines of the period to which these coins relate. This is followed by some brief remarks on the Inscriptions, Monograms, Types, and Weights of the Coins, supplemented by a list of the Normal Weights of Coins a table of the Aryan Pâli alphabet as found in the coins, and a sketch of some of the principal Prâkrit legends, with their Greek equivalents and English renderings. Then follows a very detailed and careful account of the coins themselves, supplemented by twenty-nine very fine autotype plates and three photolithographic. The book will be invaluable to numismatists, and to all others

who are interested in any way in the history of the period with which it deals.

The series commences with the coins of Andragoras, king of Parthia (?), *circa* B C. 300, and ends with those of Kanerkes (Kanishka), Hooerkes (Huvishka), and the "mysterious" Bazodeo (Vâsudêva).

Some of the historical problems involved are as yet hardly ripe for discussion. I notice, however, specially, that the authors follow Mr Fergusson in holding that the "Saka era," the epoch of which is A D 78, "starts from the date, not of the destruction of the Sakas, but of the establishment "of their empire in India under Kanerkes," or, as a footnote adds, "perhaps Kadphises II., as it is "Kadphises who begins the issue of Indo-Sythic "gold coins; and Kanerkes' earliest date is the "year 9."

In passing, I would notice a point suggested to me some little while ago by Dr. Hoernle, *viz.* that, instead of speaking of Kadphises I. and Kadphises II., it would be advisable to refer to them always by their full names of respectively Kozola- or Kujula-Kadphises and Ooemo- or Hima-Kadphises. No explanation of the syllables *kadphises* has ever yet been established; and, in speaking of these two kings as Kadphises I. and II., we may be, and very likely are, committing some such solecism as if we were to speak of, for instance, Diodotus and Apollodotus as respectively Dotus I. and Dotus II.

To return to the date of Kanishka and Huvishka,—the general set of opinion of experts now certainly is that Kanishka did establish the Saka era, or at least began to reign very shortly after the establishment of it by some member of his family. The chief obstacle to the general acceptance of this view is the theory that the Early Gupta coinage comes numismatically immediately after that of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vâsudêva; and, as it is now known that the Gupta era did begin A.D. 319, the interval of one hundred and forty years between this date and (on the Śaka era theory) A.D. 176, the latest date of Vâsudêva does not fit in with the theory. On this point I would remark,—and it cannot be urged too strongly,—that numismatic and palæographical) theories must be subordinated and adapted to such facts and dates as are established by definite epigraphical records. To adopt the reverse process, and interpret epigraphical records so as to suit numismatic and palæographical theories, is utterly unreasonable, and can only end, as it so often has, in hopeless confusion. In the present case, we have ample materials for filling up the interval between Vâsudêva and the Early Gupta kings, in the later Indo-Scythian coins of the Pañjâb, of which Mr. Thomas has given us some specimens in this Journal, Vol. XII. p. 6ff., and which are sufficiently numerous to overlap Chandragupta I. and Samudragupta (as is required), as well as to fill up the interval.

As regards the "mysterious" Bazodeo or Vâsudêva, the authors refer to one inscription of his, which, "if rightly read," would shew that "he "sometimes dates from year 5 of the era, which "will give to his reign the impossible length of 94 "years." This led Professor Dowson to suggest that Vâsudêva was a general name given to the kings of the Kanishka dynasty by their Indian subjects. Apart from this suggestion, the point is of considerable importance as bearing upon a theory which I can find no possible grounds for accepting as probable in respect of the early kings of India itself,—that Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vâsudêva recorded their dates on the same principle as the Kaśmirians in their Lôkakâla; *i.e.* with the omission of the hundreds. I think that neither this theory, nor Professor Dowson's suggestion, need be had recourse to, in order to explain Vâsudêva's supposed date of the year 5. A reference to the published lithograph (*Archæol Surv Ind.* Vol. III Plate xiii No 2); a comparison of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's Table of the ancient Nâgarî Numerals (*Ind. Ant* Vol VI. p. 44f.); and an unbiassed consideration of the requirements of the case, should satisfy anyone that what we have is, not the symbol for 5, but either an imperfectly preserved, or an imperfectly represented, form of the symbol for 70, which of course fits in perfectly well with Vâsudeva's other dates, ranging from 44 (but ? 74) to 98.

J. F. FLEET.

13th March 1886.

LISTS OF SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN PRIVATE LIBRARIES OF SOUTHERN INDIA. Compiled, arranged and indexed by GUSTAV OPPERT, PH. D. Vol II. 1885. Madras, Government Press. pp. ix. and 694.

This volume and the preceding, giving together a list of 18,797 manuscripts, would seem at first sight to offer a very promising field of research to Sanskrit Scholars, and thus to make a very ample return for the expense that they have cost the Government in publication, and for the time and trouble that the compilation of them has cost Dr. Oppert himself and—a more serious matter still—the various District Officers through whom he has obtained so many of the materials.

A closer examination, however, leads to very different results.

The full form of the Catalogue used by Dr. Oppert contains eleven columns. Cols. 6 to 11, however,—intended for respectively the Substance and Character, Pages; Lines, In whose Possession; Age of the MS; and Remarks,—are actually

printed only in the case of 4,996 manuscripts, *viz.* 3,368 out of 8,376 in Vol. I, and 1,628 out of 10,421 in Vol. II. The necessity for Col. 9, "In whose Possession," is hardly apparent, as it only repeats the entry prefixed as a heading to each separate list. Take, for instance, Vol. II. Nos. 7,469 to 7,856. These are preceded by the heading "His Highness the Mahārāja of Pudukōṭa;" and yet each of the 387 entries has opposite it, in Col. 9, either "His Highness the Mahārāja," or "Ditto," as the case may be; this, surely, is rather an unnecessary waste of space. Col. 10, "Age of the Manuscript," is filled in, pretty constantly, from the statement of the owners of the manuscripts, and may probably be taken as fairly correct in respect of such entries as Vol. II. No. 2106, fifteen years; No. 2110, twenty years; and even No. 2118, eighty years. But it nowhere contains any details of the dates, in support of the entries that are made; though we should like particularly to know on what authority Vol. II. No. 662 is entered as two thousand years old; No. 438, as twelve hundred years; Nos. 657 and 664 each as one thousand years; or even, to come down to comparatively modern times, Nos 1,962, 1,963, and 1,964 each as six hundred, and No 1,967, as five hundred years old. The first of these entries, Vol. II. No. 662, is one that specially attracts attention. For, if it can be substantiated,—as, from Dr. Oppert giving no special remark discrediting it, we might suppose it can be,—it will give an interesting corroboration of Dr. Rajendralal Mitra's theory, that the Hindus must have known the art of making paper at least two thousand years ago! But perhaps it is one of the "evidently incorrect" entries alluded to in general terms by Dr. Oppert in his Preface to Vol. I.? In Col. 11, "Remarks," the entries are so few and far between as to be practically none at all, and are confined almost throughout to such statements as "Two Copies," "Three Copies." In Vol. I. there indeed are a few entries of a more ambitious kind: such as No. 2, "Such works are also written by Rāmānujācārya and Mādhavācārya"; No. 4, "Vyāsa is the reputed Author of most of the Purāṇas," No. 749, "With a commentary; Parāśarabhaṭṭa is also called Bhaṭṭārya or Bhaṭṭar"; No. 812, "Vidyāraṇya is another name for Sāyaṇācārya." But neither of the two volumes contains in this column any entries of a practical and useful kind, as tending to give any hint as to the value and importance of the particular manuscript remarked on.

For the remaining 13,801 manuscripts, we have only the first five columns of—(1) No.; (2) Name of the MS. in Dēvanāgarī; (3) Name of the MS. in Roman; (4) Subject-matter; and (5) Author's Name. Of these, Columns 4 and 5 are avowedly filled in on speculation; as Dr. Oppert tells us in his Preface to Vol. I.—"The columns containing the subject-matter and the author's name having rarely been filled up by the Pandits, I have supplied this deficiency to the best of my ability; the contents of the columns are therefore enclosed in brackets." We may, of course, credit Dr Oppert with having filled in many of the entries correctly; *e g.* Vol. II. No. 1134, Mālatīmādhava, "(Nāṭaka) (Bhavabhūti);" No. 1697, Raghuvaṁśa, "(Kāvya) (Kālidāsa);" No. 3082, Siddhāntakaumudī, "(Vyākaraṇa) (Bhaṭṭōjidīkshita);" and No. 4145, Atharvaṇavēda, "(Vēda)." But his knowledge of subject-matters and author's names can hardly be universal, and his memory infallible. And it is quite impossible that the entries in these columns can be correct throughout.

The two columns in fact, simply resolve themselves into Cols (1) No. (2) Name of the MS. in Dēvanāgarī; and (3) Name of the MS. in Roman; or, in other words, into merely a long string of 18,797 titles, of the kind which is not of the slightest use for any practical purposes, and the insufficiency of which was commented on in very pointed terms by Mr. Whitley Stokes, in his note written on the 6th August 1868, when the question of Sanskrit Manuscripts was first taken up by the Government of India (see the Papers relating to the Collection and Preservation of the Records of Ancient Sanskrit Literature in India, Calcutta, 1878.)

There is nothing to be gained by going any further with the present series of volumes, which with the silence of their Prefaces as to anything of importance in the Lists, only give in a printed form the preliminary memoranda which Dr. Oppert should have kept to himself as the basis for detailed personal inquiries, and thus, eventually for the publication of useful lists. What we require for Southern India is a series of Reports like those given us by Dr. Buhler and Dr. Peterson for Western India and Rajputânâ, by the late Dr. Burnell for the Tanjore Library, and by Dr Rajendralal Mitra for Northern India and Bengal; bringing discoveries of importance to prominent notice, and giving, not simply mere strings of names, but full details of the authorship, contents, condition, and details of the date of each manuscript,—extracts sufficient to shew the recension to which it belongs,—and, in individual cases, such other information as will naturally suggest itself in the course of research. The work, of course, is one that entails a great deal of labour and patience, and can only progress slowly. But it deserves, and requires, to be done systematically and thoroughly, if it is done at all.

The present system, as exhibited in the volume now under notice and its predecessor, simply serves no practical purpose whatever: and it is a pity that Dr. Oppert's time and energy should be expended so fruitlessly.

J. F. FLEET.

23rd March 1886.

THE KIRATARJUNIYA OF BHARAVI, with the COMMENTARY OF MALLINATHA. Edited with various readings by N. B. GODABOLE, B.A., and K. P. PARABA. Printed and published by the proprietor of the Nirnaya-Sagara Press. Bombay: 1885.

Of the private publishing-firms of Bombay, none seems more anxious than is the Nirṇaya-Sâgara Press, to furnish the student of Sanskṛit with clearly printed, well got up, and moderately priced editions of the classical works of Sanskṛit literature. The list of books already brought out by that press, includes amongst others several works of Kâlidâsa, the *Ratnâvali*, the *Daśakumâracharita*, and the *Kirâtârjunîya*. Other works are in the press; and more are to follow, if sufficient assistance and encouragement be given by the public. The principal editors appear to be Mr. K. T. Paraba, and Mr. N. B. Godabole, B.A., and, if I remember rightly, formerly a Jagannath Shankershet scholar of the Bombay University. In Europe it is unfortunately somewhat difficult to get hold of books published in India But having succeeded in procuring a copy of the *Kirâtârjunîya* brought out by the Nirṇaya-Sâgara Press, I consider it right both to the public and to the enterprising publishers, to state plainly what opinion I have arrived at by an examination of a portion of this 'Edition.'

In a few words, it is this, that Messrs. Godabole and Paraba have given us in this 'edition' little more than a reprint of a Calcutta print,—that, as regards the commentary, they have taken no great trouble to understand what they have handed to their printers;—and that, for the part which I have had the patience to study, they do not appear to have consulted a single one of the many MSS. which must have been within reach.

A few examples out of many may prove this:—On II. 19, in which verse the word गत्वर occurs, we read the note "गत्वरश्च" इति क्वसन्तो निपातः. At first, we are inclined to consider क्वसन्तो, as a misprint for करबन्तो. but when we find the same misprint in the Calcutta Edition of 1875, we begin to suspect that the Bombay Editors have copied.

On II. 7 Mallinâtha is made to say "अस्तिर्भवतिपर. प्रथमपुरुषे ऽप्रयुज्यमानो ऽप्यस्ति" इति भाष्यकारः। भवतीति लट· पूर्वाचार्याणां संज्ञा. Here there are three mistakes. भवतिपरः should have been भवन्तीपरः; प्रथमपुरुषे, प्रथमपुरुषोः and भवतीति, भवन्तीति. The same mistakes occur in the Calcutta Ed. of 1875; but the Bombay Editors have corrected a fourth mistake of that edition.

On II. 17 we have the note उक्तं च न्यासोद्द्योतेन—"केवलं श्रूयमाणैव क्रियानिमित्तं कारकभावस्यापि तु गम्यमानस्यापि" इति. The Editors have copied from the Calcutta Ed., but, trying perhaps to give some sense to the passage, they have added a mistake in compounding the two words क्रियानिमित्तं of that edition. It should of course have been उक्तं च न्यासोद्द्योते—"न केवलं श्रूयमाणैव क्रिया निमित्तं कारकभावस्यापि तु गम्यमानापि" इति.

The Commentary on II. 27, as printed in the Bombay Edition, is a regular mine of mistakes. In the first place, a well-known definition has been, with two mistakes, thus copied from the Calcutta Ed.— अर्थैकत्वादेकवाक्यं सापेक्षा चेद्विभागे स्यात्. Secondly the interpunctuation of the whole passage, in which Mallinâtha discusses the compound अर्थगौरव, shows that the passage has not been understood; and the words शुक्कं for शुक्कः and बलाकायां for बलाकायाः prove that the Editors have again been copying. And lastly, the final remark अत एवाह वामनः—"अत्र पीतिमादिषु गुणवचनसमासो बली स्यात्" इति shows, not merely they have been copying, but also that they have taken no trouble to understand what they were putting before the public. Had they made any attempt to do so, they would probably have discovered that the words अत्र पीतिमादिषु of the Calcutta Ed stand for पत्रपीतिमादिषु, and बली स्यात् for बालिश्यात्.

Proof of copying may also be afforded by आक्रमति for आक्रामति on II. 20; by the sign of interpunctuation before कर्तृस्थे on II. 35; by लक्ष्म्याः for लक्ष्म्यः on II 39; and by other mistakes which have been reprinted.

To give the editors their due, I must add that they have appended to their edition an alphabetical index of the verses of the *Kirâtârjunîya*.

On the whole, the first edition of the *Kirâtârjunîya*, published at Calcutta in 1814, may be said to be still the best. Many of its mistakes have been repeated, while others have been added, in the later editions. May we hope that the Superintendents of the Bombay Sanskṛit Series will arrange to put us in possession of a trustworthy and correct text of Mallinâtha's excellent commentary on a poem which, for many reasons, is one of the most important and attractive works of the classical literature of India?

Göttingen. F. KIELHORN.

PRIDE ABASED.

A KASMIRI TALE.[1]

BY THE REV. J. HINTON KNOWLES, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S. &c.

IN times long past there lived a certain king, who was so occupied with, and so proud of, his own thoughts and words and actions, that his name became a proverb in the land. "As selfish as our king," "As proud as our king," the people used to say. As will be supposed, the courtiers and *Wazîrs* of this king were thoroughly tired of hearing him and of having to add fuel to the fire by assent and flattery.

"Ah! where is there such another country as this,—such soil, so well irrigated, and so fertile?" he would ask.

"Nowhere, O king!" the *Wazîrs* and courtiers would reply.

"Where are there such just and clever laws, and such a prosperous people?"

"Nowhere else, O king!"

"Where is there such a splendid palace as mine?"

"Nowhere anything to be compared with it, O king!"

"Ah! yes;" and then His Majesty would stroke his beard and draw a long breath, as though overburdened with a sense of his own greatness.

Nearly every audience of the king was disturbed by such performances as these. It was becoming very wearisome; and the more so as the king was a man of moderate attainments, and his country and people, also, were of an ordinary character. At length some of the *Wazîrs* determined to answer him truthfully the next time he put such questions to them. They had not long to wait for an opportunity. "Think you," said his Majesty, "that there is another king greater than I, or another kingdom more powerful and glorious than mine."

"Yes, O king, there are," they replied.

On hearing this unusual answer, his Majesty got very angry. "Where is this king? Tell me quickly," he said, "that I may take my army and go to fight with him."

"Be not hasty, O king," they replied. "Consider, we pray you, before you act, lest you be defeated and your country ruined."

But the king became more angry than before. He ordered his whole army to be assembled, and as soon as they were ready, he rode forth at their head, and sent messengers in every direction to challenge the people to fight.

For a considerable time he would seem to have inspired all countries and all peoples with awe, because nobody accepted the challenge, there being no pretext for such slaughter as there would be in a big battle, unless it was to satisfy this selfish and proud king. But at last another king appeared with his army and defeated the selfish and proud king; and took away all his kingdom and all his glory and all his power.

Here was an end to his pride. Crushed in spirit he disguised himself and escaped with his queen and two sons to some place by the side of the sea, where he found a ship ready to sail. He asked the captain to take him and his little family on board, and land them at the place whither he was sailing.[2] The captain agreed; but when he got a glimpse of the beautiful queen he changed his mind, and determined to fulfil only a part of the agreement —and to take the woman only. "What a beautiful mistress she would make!" he thought, "and what a lot of money I could get if I wished to sell her!" So when the moment for starting arrived the queen first embarked: and then, just as the king and his two sons were about to follow, some strong, rough men, who had been suborned by the captain, prevented them and held them tight, till the ship was well out to sea.

Loudly wept the queen when she saw that her husband and two boys were being left behind. She smote her forehead, tore her clothes and threw herself upon the deck in great distress; and finally swooned away. It was a long swoon, and although the captain used several kinds of restoratives yet for more than an hour she remained as one dead. At last she revived. The captain was very attentive. He arranged a nice bed for her, brought her the best of food, and spoke very kindly; but it was all to no purpose, for the queen refused to look at him or speak to him. This continued for several days, till the captain despaired of ever getting her love and therefore determined to sell her.

Now there was in the same ship a great merchant, who seeing the queen's exceeding beauty,

[1] Told me by a Brâhmaṇ named Mukund Bâyû, who resides at Suthû, Śrînagar.

[2] [Why are the Kaśmîrîs so fond of 'ship' stories? It is a point worth investigating.—ED.]

and hearing her refuse the captain's suit day after day, thought that perhaps he might buy her, and win over her affection. Accordingly he offered the captain a large sum of money for the woman, and she was handed over to him. Most earnestly and perseveringly the merchant tried to please her and make her love him, and eventually he so far succeeded, that when he told her that he had bought her for a large sum of money, and, therefore, she ought to consent to marry him, she said, "Although the bargain between you and the captain is void, because the captain had no right to dispose of me, I not being his, yet I like you and will marry you, if you will agree to wait for two years, and if during this period I do not meet my husband and sons again."[3] The merchant complied, and looked forward in blest anticipation to the completion of the period of probation.

As soon as the vessel was out of sight, the hired men released the king and his two boys. It was useless to seek revenge even if his Majesty had any desire for it; and so he turned his back on the sea, and walked fast and far with the two boys, who wept and lamented as they ran along by his side, till he reached a river, somewhat shallow, but swiftly-flowing.

The king wished to cross this river, but there was not any boat or bridge, and so he was obliged to wade it. Finding his way very carefully he got across safely with one of his sons, and was returning to fetch the other, when the force of the current overcame him and he was drawn down beneath the waters and drowned.[4]

When the two boys noticed that their father had perished, they wept bitterly. Their separation, too, was a further cause for grief. There they stood, the one on this side of the river and the other on that side of it, with no means of reaching one another. They shouted to each other, and ran about hither and thither in their grief, till they had almost wearied themselves to sleep, when a fisherman came by in his boat. Seeing the great distress of the boys he took them both into it, and asked them who they were, and who were their parents. And they told him all that happened.

When he had heard their story, he said, "You have not a father or mother, and I have not a child. Evidently God has sent you to me. Will you be my own children and learn to fish, and live in my house?" Of course, the poor boys were only too glad to find a friend and shelter. "Come," said the fisherman kindly, leading them out of the boat to a house close by, "I will look after you." The boys followed most happily and went into the fisherman's house: and when they saw his wife, they were still better pleased, for she was very kind to them, and treated them like her own real sons.

The two boys got on splendidly in their new home. They went to school, and in a very short time learnt all that the master could teach them. They then began to help their adopted father, and in a little while became most diligent and and expert young fishermen.

Thus time was passing with them, when it happened that a great fish threw itself on to the bank of the river and could not get back into the water. Everybody in the village went to see the immense fish and nearly everybody cut off a slice of it and took it home. Some few people also went from the neighbouring villages and amongst them was a maker of earthenware. His wife had heard of the great fish and urged him to go and get some of the flesh. Accordingly he went, although the hour was late. On arrival he found nobody there, as all the people had satisfied themselves and returned. The potter took an axe with him, thinking that the bones would be so thick as to require its aid before they could be broken. When he struck the first blow a voice came out of the fish, as of some one in pain. The potter was very much surprised. "Perhaps," thought he, "the fish is possessed by a *bhût*.[5] I'll try again; whereupon he again struck. Again a voice came forth from the fish, saying, "Woe is me! Woe is me!" On hearing this the potter, thought, "Well, this is not a *bhût* evidently, but the voice of an ordinary man. I'll cut the flesh carefully. May be that I shall find some poor distressed person." He began to cut away the flesh carefully, and presently he descried a man's foot—then the legs appeared—then the body and head, all entire.[6] "Praise, praise be to God," he cried aloud, "the soul is in

[3] Cf. *Wide-awake Stories*, p. 129, 'Points in Marriages.' Note E.

[4] Compare the legend of Sanvar and Nir, *Legends of the Panjâb*, Vol. III. p. 97 ff.—ED.

[5] *Bhût*, a malignant spirit haunting cemeteries, lurking in trees, animating carcases and deluding or devouring human beings.

[6] Cf. *Indian Fairy Tales*, pp. 75, 76, also *Wide-awake Stories*, p. 411, where instances of "Living in animals' bellies" are enumerated.

him yet." He carried the man to his house as fast as he could; and on arrival did everything in his power to recover him. A great fire was soon got ready, and tea and soup given. The joy of the potter and his wife was very great when they saw that the stranger was reviving.

For some months the stranger lived with these good people and learnt how to make pots and pans and other articles; and thus helped them much. Now it happened just then that the king of that country died (for kings die as well as other people), and it was the custom of the people in that country to take for their sovereign whosoever the late king's elephant and hawk might select. On the death of the king the elephant was driven all over the country and the hawk was made to fly here, there, and everywhere, in search of a successor, and it came to pass that before whomsoever the elephant bowed and on whosoever's hand the hawk alighted he was supposed to be the divinely-chosen one. So the elephant and hawk went everywhere, and in the course of their wanderings came by the house of the potter and his wife, who had so kindly sheltered the poor stranger that was found in the stomach of the fish. It chanced that as they passed the place the stranger was standing by the door,—and behold, no sooner did the elephant and hawk see him, than the one bowed down before him and the other perched on his hand. "Let him be king, let him be king," shouted those people who were in attendance on the elephant, as they prostrated themselves before the stranger and begged him to go before them to the palace.[7]

The ministers were glad when they heard the news, and most respectfully welcomed their new king. As soon as the rites and ceremonies necessary for the installation of a king had been fulfilled, his Majesty entered on his duties. The first thing he did was to send for the potter and his wife and grant them some land and money. In this and other ways, such as just judgments, proper rules, and kindly notices of any and all who were clever and good, he won for himself the best opinions of every subject and prospered exceedingly.

After a few months, however, his health gave way. Such strict attention to public affairs was too much for him; and, therefore, the court physicians advised him to seek relaxation in out-door exercise. So sometimes his Majesty went a-riding, sometimes a-shooting, and sometimes a-fishing. He got especially fond of the latter amusement. Knowing this, a fisherman came to him one day and said, "Be pleased, your Majesty, to accept this fish which came into my hands this day." The king was delighted to see such a large fish and inquired when and how it had been caught. The fisherman explained everything to the king, and manifested such knowledge of, and interest in, his calling, that his Majesty got to like the man, and ordered him to be ready at any time to go with him on fishing expeditions, that he (the king) might learn everything about the art, and be able to land big fish like the one just presented to him.

"Your Majesty is very good and gracious, and whatsoever your Majesty commands is accepted of all men as right and proper and just; but be pleased to listen for a moment to your servant. In my house are two sons, who are stronger and cleverer than I am. If your Majesty will order it, I will take care that they are always ready to attend on you."

The king agreed. Whenever he went a-fishing, he always took these two boys with him. A familiarity sprang up between his Majesty and the boys in consequence. His Majesty got exceedingly attached to them,—they were so sharp and clever and handsome and good, that he finally arranged that they should generally be with him, no matter what his occupation.

Just about this time the merchant who bought the wife of the poor king who had been supposed to be drowned, visited that country for the purpose of trading. He succeeded in obtaining an interview with the king, and opened out all his precious stones and stuffs before him. The king was very much pleased to see these wonderful treasures, and asked many questions about them and about the countries whence they had been brought. The merchant told him everything, and begged permission to trade

[7] This is the only instance I know of a hawk sharing with the elephant the right of selection of the successor to the throne.

Cf. *Wide-awake Stories*, p. 141, where the king having recently died the sacred elephant is brought out and all the inhabitants of the place have to march past it in single file, that the animal may elect some one to the vacant throne by kneeling down and saluting the favoured individual as he passes by. Cf. also *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, p. 100, wherein this custom is mentioned, "Early in the morning the elephant went about, sometimes to distant places, and whosoever was brought on its back was acknowledged king by the people." Cf. also *Wide-awake Stories*, p. 327.

in that country, and sought protection from his Majesty. The king readily granted the merchant's request, and ordered that some soldiers were to be at once told off for this special duty, and so arranged that one of them should be on guard always in the courtyard of the merchant. He also sent the fisherman's two sons to sleep on the merchant's premises.

One night these two boys, not being able to sleep for some reason or other, the younger asked his brother to tell him a tale to enliven the occasion, as it was miserable lying down there with only the glimmering light of a little oil lamp. The elder brother said: "All right, I'll tell you one out of our own experience," and began:—

"Once upon a time there lived a very great, learned, and wealthy king, but he was very proud. This pride led the poor king to the direst ruin and grief. One day, when going about with his army, challenging other kings to come and fight with him, one great and powerful king appeared and conquered him. The defeated king escaped with his wife and two sons to the sea, hoping to find some vessel, wherein he and his family might embark, and get away to some foreign land, and there forget all their troubles. After walking several miles they reached the seashore, and found a vessel about to sail; but alas! the captain of that vessel proved to be a very wicked man. He took the beautiful queen, and then, when the king and his two sons were going to embark, some men, hired by the captain, kept them back till the vessel had sailed out of sight. Oh! what a terrible time that was for the poor king! With what a sorrow-sick heart he turned away with his two sons! He walked many miles, not knowing whither he went, till he came to a swiftly-flowing river. As there was no bridge or boat near, he was obliged to wade across. He took one of his boys and got over safely, and then was returning for the other, when he stumbled over a stone, lost his footing, and was carried away by the fierce waters; and has not been heard of since.

"You can imagine the state of the two boys. It was night and they had neither food nor bedding, nor did they know where to go, nor how to get to one another. At length a fisherman came along in his boat and seeing these two boys crying he took them into his boat, and afterwards to his house, and got very fond of them, and so did his wife, so that they both became like father and mother to them. A year or two ago, all this happened, and the two boys are supposed by every one to be the fisherman's two real sons. O brother, we are these two boys! And there you have my story."

The story was so interesting and its finish so wonderful, that the younger brother was more awake than before. Its narration had also attracted the attention of another. The merchant's promised wife, who happened to be lying awake at the time, and whose room was separated from the shop by the thinnest of partitions only, overheard all that had been said. She thought within herself, "Surely these two boys must be my own sons."

Presently she was sitting beside them and began asking them all sorts of questions. Two years or more had made a great difference in both of the boys, but there were certain signs that a hundred years would never efface from a mother's memory. These together with the answers which she had elicited from them assured her that she had found her own sons again. The tears streamed down her face as she embraced them, and revealed to them that she was the queen their mother, about whom they had just been speaking.

She told them all that happened to her since she had been parted from them; how the captain of the vessel, finding that he should never be able to get her to live with him, had sold her to the rich merchant; how this rich merchant had been very kind to her, and really loved her, and was a thoroughly good man, besides being clever and wealthy; and how she, thinking that she should never meet with her husband, their father again, had promised to marry this merchant at the end of two years, only three days of which remained now. She explained that she did not like the merchant enough to become his wife, and so she wished to contrive some plan for getting rid of him.

"The plan is," she said, "for me to pretend to the merchant that you attempted to violate me. I will pretend to be very angry, and not give him any peace, till he goes to the king and asks his Majesty to punish you. Then the king will send for you in great wrath, and will inquire about this matter. In reply you must say that it is all a mistake, for you quite regard me as your own mother, and in proof of this you will beg his Majesty to send and fetch me, that I may corroborate what you say.

Then will I declare you to be my own dear sons, and beseech the king to allow me to go free of this merchant and live with you where I may choose for the rest of my days."

The sons consented to her proposal, and the next night, when the merchant, also, was sleeping on the premises, the woman raised a great shout, so that everybody was awakened by the noise. The merchant asked what was the matter.

"The two boys, who look after your shop, have tried to violate me; so I shouted, in order that they might desist."

Hearing this the merchant was much enraged. He immediately bound the two boys, and as soon as there was any chance of seeing the king, he had them taken before his Majesty and explained the reason of their thus appearing before him.

"What have you to say in defence of yourselves?" inquired the king. "Because, if this is true we will at once order the execution of both of you. Is this the gratitude you manifest for all my kindness and condescension towards you? Say quickly what you may have to say."

"O king, our benefactor, we are not affrighted by your words and looks; for we are true servants. We have not betrayed your Majesty's trust in us; but have always tried to fulfil your Majesty's wish to the utmost of our power. The charges brought against us by the merchant are not correct. We have not attempted to violate his wife; we have rather always regarded her as our own mother. May it please your Majesty to send for the woman and inquire further into this matter.

The king assented, and the woman was brought. "Is this true," he said, "which the merchant, your affianced husband, witnesses against the two boys."

"O king," she replied, "the boys, whom you gave to help the merchant have most carefully tried to carry out your wishes. But the night before last I overheard their conversation. The elder was telling the younger brother a tale,—made up out of his own experience, so he said. It was a tale of a conceited king who had been conquered by another mightier than he, and obliged to fly with his wife and two children to the sea. There, through the vile trickery of the captain of a vessel, the wife was stolen and taken away to far distant regions, where she became engaged to a wealthy trader; while the exiled king and his two sons wandered in another direction, till they came to a river, where the king was drowned. The two boys were found by a fisherman and brought up by him as his own sons.

"These two boys, O king, are before you, and I am their mother, who was taken away and sold as a wife to the trader, and who after two days must altogether live with him. For I promised that if within a certain space of time I should not meet with my dear husband and two sons again, then I would be his wife. But I beseech your Majesty to relieve me of this man. I do not wish to marry again, now that I have my two sons. For the reason that I might get an audience of your Majesty, this trick was arranged with the two boys."

By the time the woman had finished her story, the king's face was suffused with tears, and he was trembling visibly. Presently, when he had slightly recovered, he left the throne, and walking towards the woman and the two boys embraced them long and fervently. "You are my own dear wife and children," he cried. "God has sent you back to me. I, the king, your husband, your father, was not drowned, as you supposed; but was swallowed by a big fish and nourished by it for some days, and then the monster threw itself upon the shore and I was extricated. A potter and his wife had pity on me and taught me their trade, and I was just beginning to earn my living by making earthen vessels, when the late king of this country died and I was chosen king by the elephant and the falcon,—I, who am now standing here."

Then his Majesty ordered the queen and her two sons to be taken to the palace, and he explained his conduct to the people assembled. The merchant was politely dismissed from the country. As soon as the two princes were old enough to govern the country, the king committed to them the charge of all affairs, while he retired with his wife to some quiet place and spent the rest of his days in peace.[8]

[8] This story should be compared with its most interesting variant, "Placidus," a tale from the *Gesta Romanorum*, a mediæval compilation of tales from Roman history. The collection was much enriched with tales of all kinds and countries, but especially with those derived from eastern sources, such as the *Clericalis Disciplina*, a work by Petrus Alfonsus, a Christian Jew, who lived in 1106 A.D., and borrowed professedly from the Arabian fabulists.

Another variant of this story is to be found in *Tibetan Tales*, the story of "Krisa Gautami." pp. 222, 223. A third variant is the story of "Swet-Basanta" in *Folktales of Bengal*, pp. 93-107. Another is that of "Sarwar and Nir" in the *Legends of the Panjâb*, Vol. III. p. 97 ff.

THE LAST YEARS OF SHAH SHUJA'A, WITH AN APPENDIX ON THE AFFAIRS OF HIRAT.

Translated from the Târîkh Sulṭânî of Sulṭân Muḥammad Khân Bârukzâi.

BY E. REHATSEK.

In his preface the author of the *Târîkh Sulṭânî*, who is probably still living, mentions the sources used by him when compiling his work—some already well-known to us—which are as follows :—For geographical and statistical information the *Grammar* of Goldsmith (*sic*), the *Mirâtu'lwazah* and the *Jâm-i-Jam*; for the rise of Islâm and the Lôdî and Sûr dynasties, the *Târîkh-i-Farishtah*, Sir John Malcolm (*sic*) and the *Mahzan Afghâniah*; for the history of the Ghiljâi and Durrânî tribes the *Jahân-kushâ-i-Nâdirî* and the *Majm'û Abdâlî*; for the Saddozâi dynasty the *Memoirs of Shâh Shuja'a* written by himself; and for the affairs of the Muḥammadzâi dynasty the information given by the Sardâr Sher 'Ali Khân son of the deceased Sardâr Mohrdil Khân Muḥammadzâi, by Qâzi 'Abdu'r-Raḥmân Khân, and by the author's own father; as well as by several other Bârukzâi and Durrânî chiefs, all of whom were still alive when the book was written, and whose statements the author trusted the more as they had themselves taken an active part in the events described in it.

The *Târîkh Sulṭânî*, which consists of 291 pages 8vo, was completed in 1865, but was lithographed only in 1881 after the author's return from a pilgrimage to Makkah. The author is a Bârukzâi, and describes events from an Afghân standpoint. He gives a promise of impartiality in his preface, and not only has he kept this, but, as will appear from the foot-notes illustrating the translation, he is also remarkably correct in his facts and dates; the difference in the latter from those in Kaye's *War in Afghânistân* amounting generally to a few days only,—and as to the former, we possess no means of impugning them. He had not at his disposal the farrago of despatches, reports and correspondence upon which European historians base their accounts, but he naturally possessed a better insight into the affairs of his own country than any foreigner could possibly have.

Thus he very soon discovered the insignificant position of Shâh Shuja'a, as a mere puppet in the hands of the English officers, and often alludes to it as though it were a matter of course. The outbreak of the 2nd November 1841 at Kâbul he ascribes to the fact that Nizâmu'ddaulah, the newly appointed *wazîr*, who was a Bârukzâi, had procured an order from Sir W. Macnaghten for the deportation of five Durrânî Khâns to Peshâwar. This made them determine to rise the very next day in arms to expel the foreign invaders, and thus was brought on the evacuation of Kâbul by the British forces. There was no long plotting, conspiracy or preparation, and the outbreak would not have taken place, but for the obnoxious order issued so rashly and peremptorily. Before this, too, the exile of Ṣamad Khân Popalzâi, which the same Nizâmu'ddaulah induced Sir W. Macnaghten to decree, according to our author foreboded evil, and became a cause of ruin to Shâh Shuja'a, and of despair to the population as well as to the army. This opinion, however, must be an exaggerated one, unless Ṣamad Khân was a man of very great local influence; but for all we know, such may actually have been the case. General Elphinstone, although he was commander of the British forces, is not even once mentioned, and this must be attributed to the fact, that being an invalid, scarcely able to mount a horse, he never appeared in public and remained totally unknown to the Afghâns; whilst the political officer, Sir W. Macnaghten, who transacted all business, was by them considered supreme, and is accordingly called the plenipotentiary *wazîr* and even *Lord*, by our author. With this preamble we may now proceed to the translation itself :—

On the seventh of the sacred month Żu'lq'adah 1250 A.H. [7th March 1835 A.D.] Shah Shuja'a departed by way of Sind to the town of Lodiânâ, where he lived for a while quietly, but allowed aspirations to royal power to occupy his mind, as will be narrated.

He had spent all his life in campaigning and fighting, but unprofitably, as he himself states in his *Memoirs* :—"It is evident to the minds of intelligent persons that great Sulṭâns have encountered many adversities of this kind, and that most of them have suffered hardships in times which favoured mean upstarts. I and my adherents have never been, and are not now, much dismayed by the flight of our

troops, the inconstancy of fortune, and the fatigues of marching; but we are aggrieved at the consequences, and our hearts are lacerated, because we have been disappointed, in spite of most strenuous efforts, in the realization of our hopes. We underwent immense trouble in collecting troops and stores for the contest, but all in vain. Nevertheless the portals of divine beneficence are open, and my hands are stretched forth to the Lord of Might. As long as the soul bestrides the charger of thy body, O Shuja'a Shâh [*i.e.* Valiant King], never let the reins of hope escape from thy hands! If treacherous fortune break thy heart a hundred times, comfort it again and again, trusting in the aid of God; for it is not unlikely that the Lord of kings and angels will grant the prayer of an humble suppliant."

After Shâh Shuja'a had spent fully four years in the town of Lodiânâ, the Queen of England, having conceived the design of conquering Afghânistân,[1] ordered Lord Auckland, the Governor-General of the Company of Hindustân, to cultivate the friendship of Shâh Shuja'a. Accordingly Lord Auckland appointed Mr. [*sic*] William Macnaghten, the envoy [at Lâhor] to be commander of the army which was to aid Shâh Shuja'a, and this envoy concluded between the three powers, namely, the English, Ranjît Singh [of Lâhor] and Afghânistân, a treaty, the contents of which were as follows:—Firstly, that an English army shall accompany Shâh Shuja'a to Kâbul, and restore to him the country of his ancestors. Secondly, that no one shall claim the countries subject to Ranjît Singh on this side of the river [Indus] or on the other side in Sind, the Ṣûbah of Kaśmîr and Peshâwar with its dependencies, and the Ṣûbah of Multân with its surrounding districts: and that the said Shâh shall, after the capture of Kâbul and of Qandahâr, send annually to Ranjît Singh by way of gift, young horses, exquisite and abundant provisions, including delicious fruits, which Ranjît Singh shall in his turn reciprocate by not failing annually to forward to the court of Shâh Shuja'a Indian goods of high value, such as Kaśmîr shawls, golden *lunghîs* [turbans], *kimkhâbs* [brocades], &c., according to his requirements. Thirdly, that whatever sums may enter the treasury of the Shâh by way of good fortune from some Durrânî Khânzâdahs or from others, shall be equally divided between him and Ranjît Singh. Fourthly, that Ranjît Singh shall send annually to the Shâh a subsidy of two *lâkhs* of *guldâr* rupees [*i.e.* of the Nânakshâhî or Guldâr currency] and five thousand Musalmân *sawârs* from the town of Peshâwar; and that a portion of the Sind country shall, from generation to generation, belong to the Shâh. Fifthly, that if during the reign of the Shâh in Afghânistân any calamity threaten him from the western side he shall avert it, but in case of his inability to do so singly, he shall ask aid from the English and from Ranjît Singh, in conjunction with whom the said trouble shall be removed.[2]

The above treaty having been agreed to, and duly signed, Shâh Shuja'a started on the 23rd of the great month Sh'abân in the year 1255 [1st November 1839][3] with the English army, resembling the waves of the sea and led by Mr. [*sic*] William Macnaghten, from the town of Shikârpûr [in Sind]. After viewing the presents of Ranjît Singh and the gifts of the Nawâb Bahâwal Khân 'Abbâsî [of Bahâwalpûr], which consisted of Arab horses, camels, two big cannons, a sum of money, cloths of gold and silk, with many other exquisite goods, properly exposed in order, according to ancient usage, the Ṣâhibs of exalted dignity [*i.e.* the English Commanders] desired the English troops which had joined the standard of Shâh Shuja'a, to salute him; and they, having adorned themselves according to their custom, paid their respects to him, whereat he was as pleased as if the seven climates had fallen under his sway, and presented the officers with *pashmînahs* (woollen cloths), whilst he gave cash to the soldiers. Then the Amîrs of Sind were asked for tribute, but as they were filled with evil intentions, they first prepared to fight: however, after seeing English troops arriving by water and by land in countless numbers,

[1] The declaration of the Governor-General, dated Simlâ, the 1st October 1838, however, runs thus:—"The Governor-General confidently hopes that the Shâh will be speedily replaced on his throne by his subjects and adherents; and when once he shall be secured in power, and the independence and integrity of Afghânistân established, the British army will be withdrawn."

[2] This is the so-called tripartite treaty, the whole of which may be perused in a far more correct form, in Vol. I. pp. 319-321 of Kaye's *History of the War in Afghânistân*. The treaty was concluded and signed at Lâhor on the 26th June 1838.

[3] The date given above is too late, and probably the copyist's mistake, not the author's. "The Shâh and his contingent moved from Shikârpur on the 7th March." Kaye's *History of the War in Afghânistân*, Vol. I. p. 412, footnote.

like the waves of the boisterous sea, they yielded and paid the sum of twenty-eight *lâkhs* of rupees according to the previous custom, of which amount the Ṣâḥibs [the English] gave fifteen *lâkhs* to Ranjît Singh, and thirteen to the Shâh, as had been agreed upon.

After that the two allied powers marched in the direction of Qandahâr till they reached Kudnî, which is thirty *karahs* distant from the town of Aḥmadshâhî. The Sardârs of Qandahâr, desirous for an encounter, hastened with their infantry and cavalry to the fort of Fatḥu'llah Khân, which was near, and garrisoned it. About this time Kadû Khân Mohmand, a celebrated trooper, in the service of the Qandahâr Sardârs, stole an elephant belonging to Mr. William Macnaghten whilst grazing, and took it away. At this period also Ḥâjî Khân Kâkarî dissolved his connection with the Sardârs, and presenting himself with his followers to the Shâh during the night, informed him that certain of them, who had the day before given out that they would make a night attack [on the English], had mounted their horses under that pretext and had returned to the town,[4] whence they had taken their families and had fled towards Persia.

The next day the united armies marched on together and halted near the canal of Fatḥu'llah Khân, where the Sardârs had been stationed. On the 12th of the glorious month Ṣafar, on a Sunday, in the year 1255 [27th April 1839][5] the troops pitched their tents on the outskirts of Qandahâr, and on the next day Shâh Shuja'a went with Mr. Macnaghten and his companions to the castle of the city, where they took up their abode. Shâh Shuja'a undertook no business without their consent, and commenced to administer the civil and military affairs of the country under a constant anxiety to please them. He summoned from the Garmsir [in Southern Afghânistân] an Isḥâqzâi, Ḥâjî Dôst Muḥammad Khân by name, who was a son of Sardâr Madad Khân, and showed him abundant favours. Of all the Sardârs he honoured the two Ḥâjîs most, namely the one just named, and Ḥâjî Tâj Muḥammad Khân Kâkarî, better known as Ḥâjî Khân [and mentioned above].

In Qandahâr the English commanders again concluded a new treaty with Shâh Shuja'a, the contents of which were as follows:—Firstly, that on the part of the English Government an envoy shall always remain with Shâh Shuja'a, who on his part shall likewise keep one with the English for the transaction of business. Secondly, that Shâh Shuja'a shall admit no European into his service nor into his country, without first informing the Ṣâḥibs of exalted dignity [*i.e.*, the English administrators] and obtaining their consent. Thirdly, that the regular troops of the English shall be under the command of their own officers for the performance of duties approved of by both powers, but that the number of officers and of English administrators shall not exceed fifty persons; and that the wages of the said troops shall be paid by Shâh Shuja'a from the treasury of his own government. Fourthly, that in commercial matters the English administrators shall be permitted to take any measures, which in their opinion will promote the welfare of traders. This treaty between the two governments was concluded on the 7th May 1839 A.D., *i.e.*, the 22nd of the glorious month Ṣafar 1255 A.H.[6]

Meanwhile a strange event took place, which became an occasion of dismay to all Musalmâns, and especially to the Afghâns. One day a maiden was walking from the city towards the villages, when one of the white soldiers (*yakî âz sipâhîân gôrah*) under the influence of drink, forcibly took hold of her, carried her into a dry water-course, and dishonoured her. The cries of the girl attracted the attention of some persons by the roadside, and when what had taken place became known, her father collected a great crowd and went to the royal *darbâr* to seek justice. Shâh Shuja'a had really no authority, and the Ṣâḥibs of exalted dignity made abundant excuses; but the circumstance appeared so abominable to all the Musalmâns, especially to the Afghâns, an unusually hot-tempered and jealous race, that although they remained outwardly quiet from fear, the blood of the Durrânî Khâns boiled with rage, and they said to each other:—"What will become of our honour, when the arrival of the Shâh has been inaugurated by such an untoward event? It has now become evident that the authority of the Pâdshâh is

[4] The name of the town is not given by the author, but it was probably Qandahâr.

[5] Kaye, *op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 422, has the 25th April, which is a trifling difference only.

[6] Kaye says nothing about this new treaty, but only describes the show held on the 8th of May in the plains of Qandahâr as a recognition of the restored sovereign "The whole affair was a lamentable failure." Vol. I. p. 425.

merely nominal." Although all the Durrânî Khâns, especially Ḥâjî Dôst Muḥammad Khân Isḥâqzâi and Ḥajî Khân Kâkarî, gave evident proofs of their grief, they managed to retain their equanimity externally; and their displeasure became known to the Shâh only during the march for the subjugation of Kâbul, when they began to manifest their discontent, the first cause of which was the above-mentioned misadventure of the maiden, and the second was the disappointment of Ḥâjî Khân in the hope he had cherished of obtaining the high post of Wazîr of Afghânistân.

After having on the 11th of Rabî'u's-sânî 1255 A.H [24th June 1839] appointed the Shâhzâdah Fatḥ Jang to be Ḥâkim [Governor] of Qandahâr, and the Sardâr Muḥammad 'Aṭâ Khân, son of the Sardâr Samandar Khân Bâmîzâi to be his Lieutenant, the Pâdshâh marched[7] with the English commanders and their warlike troops in the direction of Kâbul; whilst Ḥâjî Dôst Muḥammad Isḥâqzâi, Ḥâjî Khân Kâkarî, Muḥammad Taqî Khân Vakîl, Nûru'd-dîn Khân son of Yahya Khân Bâmîzâi, with most of the Durrânî Khâns, excepting Sikândar Khân Bâmîzâi, obtained leave for a few days on the pretence of not having prepared baggage for the march, and remained in Qandahâr. The English army reached Ghaznî on the 17th of Rabî'u's-sânî [30th June 1839],[8] and after the Ṣâḥibs of exalted dignity had reconnoitred all sides of the Ḥiṣâr (Castle) of Ghaznî, they expressed to each other an opinion that Major Leech and Major Todd had drawn up a defective plan of it and had described it in a manner different from the reality, and said that if such had not been the case, they would not have left their siege-guns at Qandahâr. After that they came down [from the heights] in the vicinity of Mazâr 'Alî Lâlâ in the rear of the minarets, and selected a position. Next day, when the Ṣâḥibs of exalted dignity were considering how to conquer the fort, news arrived that a Ghiljâi, Mihtar Mûsâ by name, who dwelt in the town of Zarmût, was about to arrive by way of the mountains, with twelve thousand men, for the purpose of fighting, and that Muḥammad Afzal Khân, the son of the Amîr Dôst Muḥammad Khân, was likewise ready for a contest, and was stationed at a distance of two *karahs* with two thousand *sawârs*. Shâh Shuja'a instantly despatched the infantry, which was at hand with two cannons, to meet them, and the *ghâzîs* [crescentaders] having been shamefully defeated after a brief contest, fled into the mountains. During the second night at two o'clock in the morning Mr. William Macnaghten came to the Pâdshâh [Shâh Shuja'a] and informed him that in two hours a mine would be sprung, and the Ḥiṣâr of Ghaznî conquered; and asked the Pâdshâh if he would like to witness the spectacle by ascending to the top of Bahlûl Ṣâḥib's *ziârat* [shrine]. Accordingly the Pâdshâh immediately betook himself with a few courtiers to the said locality, and as soon as he arrived on the one side the English cannons were fired, whilst on the other the mine was sprung; whereon the gate of Bahlûl was blown up by the force of the gun-powder and razed to the ground:—as the Kaśmîrî poet Ḥamîd says:—

Suddenly the fire rose high from the fort:
Its smoke sent a lasso to the celestial sphere.
From the earth a conflagration burst,
Like the fire of hell up to the sky:
When it overturned that fort-wall from the roots,
The fire and smoke became such,
That the planet Mars was of the companions of the pit.[9]
The Shâh blazed up like fire from joy:
He ordered the troops to attack.

All the English forces having entered the city indulged in plunder and rapine, so that those died whose cup of life had become brimful with the wine of fate; and the rest, men and women, having been captured, were thrown into prison. The Sardâr Ghulâm Haidar Khan, son of the Amîr Dôst Muḥammad Khân, who had been the Ḥâkim [Governor] of Ghaznî, being desirous of avoiding the consequences of such a calamity [as imprisonment], intended to let himself down from the ramparts of Malik Muḥammad Khân by means of a lasso, but hesitated to throw himself down; and having prepared to submit to the decree of God, fell likewise, after a while, with his family into the grasp of fate and was confined:—as Ḥamîd the Kaśmîrî poet says:—

When that ripe man, was bound with raw hides.
The sphere said:—'A royal falcon came into the net.'

[7] According to Kaye, Vol. I p. 436, the army halted at Qandahâr from the 25th of April to the 27th of June.

[8] On the 21st of July 1839, Kaye, *op. cit.*, Vol. I. p. 437.

[9] See *Qurân*, Ch. lxxxv. v. 4.

He was taken to Shâh Shujaʿa-u'l-Mulk who, after threatening and reproving him, spared his life at the intercession of the English, to whose camp he was then conveyed. Yaqût Khân, the eunuch, with others, was ordered to take charge of him and of his family.

This event caused so much uneasiness to Afẕal Khân that he went to his father, who was encamped with his army at Arghandâi, and gave him a true account of it; whereon the Amîr Dôst Muḥammad Khân despatched his brother Nawâb Jabbâr Khân to Shâh Shujaʿa and to the English, under the pretext of making arrangements for his family, but in reality to ascertain the state of affairs. The Nawâb elicited, after many interviews, the answer from the English, that if the Amîr Dôst Muḥammad Khân with his family would consent to go to Hindustân, the English Government would certainly give him one *lâkh* of rupees *per annum*; and he returned and conveyed this information to the Amîr Dôst Muḥammad Khân.

The Amîr, meanwhile, experienced much faithlessness and ingratitude from his own troops, who, under the Khân Shîrîn Khân Qizlbâsh, broke out into open revolt against him, robbing him publicly, and committing depredations of provisions and goods even in his own camp. This so distressed the Amîr that he blew up his powder magazine and fleeing with his family in the direction of Turkistân, took refuge with the Pâdshâh of Bokhârâ, as will be narrated if it pleaseth Allah the Most High.

The Durrânî Khâns who had, as mentioned above, remained in Qandahâr to make preparations for their troops, did not leave it until they heard of the conquest of Ghaznî, when they hastened as quickly as they could to Kâbul. Shâh Shujaʿa, in concert with the English, then despatched a number of troops in command of Captain Outram and of Ḥâjî Khân Kâkarî, in pursuit of the Amîr Dôst Muḥammad Khân, but as the Ḥâjî was negligent, he returned some time afterwards without effecting his purpose; and when Captain Outram arrived he reported the matter.

When Shâh Shujaʿa entered Kâbul with the English commanders and the English army on the 1st of Jumâdu's-sânî [12th August 1839][10] he occupied himself constantly with the administration of military and civil affairs, acting so closely in conformity with the wishes of the English, that not a hair's breadth of difference arose between them. He appointed Mirzâ Ḥaidar ʿAlî Khân, the army-writer, with the approbation of Colonel Claude Martin Wade, to be always with the Ṣâḥibs of exalted dignity as an agent and secretary. He likewise so managed the transactions between the two powers, as to maintain and to augment mutual harmony.

When Shâh Shujaʿa had become convinced of the tardiness of the Qandahâr Khâns in arriving, and of the negligence of Ḥâjî Khân Kâkarî in pursuing the Amîr Dôst Muḥammad Khân, he cast into prison the said Ḥâjî Khân, and the Ḥâjî Dôst Muḥammad Khân Isḥâqzâi, and also Nâib Amîr Bârukzâi, Mullâ Rashîd Bârukzâi and Âqâ Ḥusain Fârsî-zubân, the last three of whom had been confidential advisers of the Amîr Dôst Muḥammad Khân. He had also several other men, who were Khâns in Kâbul, taken and put into prison. Ḥâjî Dôst Muḥammad Khân Isḥâqzâi died in captivity from a disease he had, and thus liberated himself from the prison of this perishable world. After this Ḥâjî Khân Kâkarî was set at liberty.

When the Shâhzâdah Tîmûr, the eldest son of Shah Shujaʿa arrived[11] in company with Colonel Claude Martin Wade from the Pañjâb and Peshâwar through the Khaibar Pass, ʿAbdu'sh-shukûr Khân Isḥâqzâi, who had during thirty years been plenipotentiary agent of the Pâdshâh at Lôdianâ, likewise arrived at Kâbul in the retinue of the Shâhzâdah. The Pâdshâh, after bestowing upon him a robe of honour, with the approval of the English, made him Wazîr and Nâib of his government. Some time afterwards Sardâr Muḥammad Zamân Khân, son of Nawâb Asad Khân, with his son and brothers, Sardâr Amîr Muḥammad ʿUsmân, son of Nawâb Ṣamad Khân, and the sons of the Sardâr Amîr Muḥammad Khân, who were all cousins of the Amîr Dôst Muḥammad Khân, arrived. They kept up their position and dignity, and the English showed them many civilities; and although the honours enjoyed by the Bârukzâi tribe were extremely distasteful to the Pâdshâh, he said nothing for the sake of the English.

[10] According to Kaye, Vol I p. 460, the British army appeared on the 6th of August before the walls of Kâbul, and the Shâh entered the city on the following day.

[11] It was on the 3rd September that Cotton, Burnes, and other British Officers, with a guard of honour, went out to receive the prince Kaye, Vol. I. p. 457.

After an uninterrupted sojourn of nearly four lunar months, when the trees had lost their foliage, and the snow was falling, the Shâh determined to spend the winter at Jallalâbâd, and departed from Kâbul on the 24th Sh'abân [2nd November 1839] after having appointed the Shâhzâdah Tîmûr to be governor of Kabul with 'Abdu'sh-shukûr Khân for his lieutenant, and Alexander Burnes, who remained behind as his agent. It happened also that whilst the Pâdshâh and the English were dwelling at Nîmla, the Shâhzadah Muḥammad Akbar, who was the most intelligent son of the Shâh, and cousin to Dôst Muḥammad Khân, died of a grave malady, so that a further stay at Bâgh-Nîmla was unbearable to the Shâh. He, therefore, sent the corpse to Lamghân, where it was buried in the vicinity of the blessed *mazâr* of [the saint] Mihtarlak, and himself departed to Jallâlâbâd.

On arriving there, Sayyid Hâshim, the Ḥâkim of the town of Kuner, and a partizan of the Amîr Dôst Muḥammad Khân, failed through fear to come in to pay homage, and so was [held to be] refractory. Accordingly a detachment of English troops with several cannons and one hundred *sawârs* of 'Abdu'llah Khân Chakzâi were despatched under the command of Mr. (*sic*) Macgregor to remove Sayyid Hâshim, and to instal in his place Bahâu'ddîn Khân. Sayyid Hâshim took refuge in his fort and stood the siege bravely several days, whereon the English determined to undermine and blow up the gate, as they had done at Ghaznî. But after they had done so, they found, when making the assault, that an extremely thick wall had been erected in rear of the gate, and they could effect nothing. The rain being very violent, and the assault fruitless, the English were compelled to return to their tents. Meanwhile Sayyid Hâshim, who was very frightened, considered this opportunity to be the best for escaping. Accordingly he mounted a charger and fled into the mountains, whereon the above-mentioned officers installed Bahâu'ddîn Khân in his place and returned to Jallâlâbâd. On the other hand 'Abdu'l-'Azîz Khân Jabbâr Ghiljâi, who was a confidential friend of the Amîr Dôst Muḥammad Khân, and whose foster-sister the Amîr had married, having previously found grace with the Pâdshâh and the English, came to pay his respects; but being overcome by groundless fear went instead to the *mûẓ'a* of Safedkôh. His apprehensions arose from his perceiving that the Pâdshâh bore nothing but the title, and that in reality the English Government enjoyed all the power. Fanaticism was an additional motive for his retirement, from which no friendliness could draw him. Accordingly the Government determined to raze all his fortlets to the ground; but he possessed in Jûkân on the outskirts of the Safedkôh a strong fort rising into the blue sky, and eluding all the efforts of the *'aâmil* of the Ghiljais to destroy it. Some troops were therefore despatched, who effected that purpose. An English force was also sent in command of Mr. (*sic*) Conolly, because the Khôkîs, who live to the south of Jallâlâbâd, had revolted and refused to pay their dues, but before the troops arrived they agreed to pay up on condition that a reduction should be made. A reduction of twelve hundred rupees was granted. Moreover, the road through the Khaibar Pass and from Jallâlâbâd to Kabul being infested by robbers, an agreement of the happiest kind was concluded with the Ghiljai Khâns and chiefs of those parts, so that henceforth no traveller was molested.

After this Shâh Shuja'a undertook a pilgrimage to the blessed tomb of Mihtarlak (to whom be salutation!) which is situated in Lamghân, where Mirzâ Ibrâhîm Khân, the *munshibâshî* of the Government, who was the Ḥâkim of the Tâjiks in Lamghân, entertained the troops and the Pâdshâh with handsome banquets. The Pâdshâh then returned again to Jallâlabâd, and remained there till he went in company with the English officers to Kabul, where he arrived on the last of the victorious month of Ṣafar in 1256 [2nd May 1840].

While the English officers were on their way from Qandahâr they had approved of the *mûẓ'a* Dillân Rabâṭ, which is situated on the western *mûẓ'a* of Chashmâ Muqur, and conceived the idea of building a fort there. Accordingly the Shâhzâdah Tîmûr was sent in that direction with English troops, and returned, after an absence of some months.

Meanwhile some well-meaning persons brought to the notice of Shah Shujâ'a that the trade of the courtezans was getting very brisk, and that any man [*i.e.* British soldier] could satisfy his

lust for a small sum of money, because handsome females splendidly attired and bewitchingly adorned were boldly frequenting the houses of profligates as often as they chose; but that this increase in wickedness would inflame the religious sentiments of the population; [saying:]—

"If no one stems this torrent
It will produce much devastation."

Shâh Shuja'a being frightened by these words, alluded to them covertly and enigmatically in a conversation with Mr. William Macnaghten, who replied:—"Whenever soldiers are prohibited from doing such things, they become subject to unaccustomed maladies." As the Shâh desired to please the English he said nothing more on the subject.

As long as Mullâ 'Abdu'sh-shukûr Isḥâqzâi enjoyed full power, by his good management of affairs the Padshâh's total want of authority did not become publicly known, till a man became obstreperous, on the strength of his friendship with Alexander Burnes, about criers being sent through the city (of Kabul) to fix the price of grain, or on account of some other trouble. 'Abdu'sh-shukûr Khân reproved him for form's sake, and some persons in the crowd taking the part of the man said:—"If the Padshâh has no authority, why should 'Abdu'sh-shukûr be cajoled?" A messenger of Burnes soon after arrived, and Mullâ 'Abdu'sh-shukûr [instead of resenting this impertinence] made excuses to him, saying:—"I did not know that the man was your dependent." However, while he was *wazîr* he kept [the real state of] matters secret, and managed affairs so smoothly, that the population trusted the Shâh:—

Appoint a God-fearing man over the subjects,
Because a virtuous man is the architect of the kingdom.

But Mr. Macnaghten and Alexander Burnes disregarded all consequences, and being displeased with 'Abdu'sh-shukûr on account of the abovementioned *fracas*, removed him from his post, and appointed in his place Muḥammad 'Usmân Khân, the son of the Wazîr Wafadâr Khân, because he always acted according to the wishes of the English.

About this time Shâh Shuja'a received information that the Amîr Dôst Muḥammad Khân, having escaped from Bokhârâ, had arrived at Ḥalm, and had made from thence, with the aid of the Azbaks an attack upon Bâmiân, but had been defeated and had then gone to Kôhistân. Mîr Masjadî Khân, who was a Sayyid of authentic descent, had thereupon made preparations for a *ghazá* [crescentade] to accelerate the arrival of the Amîr Dôst Muḥammad Khân. When Shâh Shuja'a became aware of this movement, he despatched his son, the Shâhzâdah Tîmûr with some Durrânî *sawârs*, accompanied by Mr. Alexander Burnes and General Shiell and their forces, to Kohistân. A conflict took place when the troops reached the *mûẓ'a* of Khwâjah Khizar, situated near Charikar and belonging to Mîr Masjadî Khân Bahâdur, who was bold enough to offer resistance with only fifty warriors; but the artillery soon made a breach in the fort-wall and the order to storm it was given. The Mîr now perceived that his position was hopeless, but as life is of use only with a fair name and a brave one, according to the saying, "If thou abide even one moment only in the world, be a man," it became necessary to sacrifice it. Accordingly, in order to attain martyrdom, the defenders of the fort ranged themselves with drawn swords on both sides of the breach, shouting "We belong to Allah, and unto him shall we surely return,"[12] and fought so valiantly that they struck down their assailants as they arrived, in such numbers that their corpses, heaped one upon the other, might almost have served as a ladder for mounting up to the fort. Mr. Conolly also having quaffed the bitter draught of death[13] in this severe struggle, the day-book of his life was folded up. When the General (Shiell) perceived that on account of the bravery of Mîr Masjadî Khân it would be impossible to take the fort, he gave up the attempt and withdrew his troops from the breach. Mîr Masjadî Khân, whose bravery was worthy of all praise, likewise abandoned the fort during the same night, and after joining the Amîr Dôst Muḥammad Khân was again attacked. First the Indian troops advanced, but the Sardar Muḥammad Afzal Khân meeting them like a furious lion cut many of them to pieces, and those, who survived,

[12] *Qurân* ch. ii., v. 151.

[13] "Poor Edward Conolly (Arthur's next brother) has been killed by a dubious hand at a petty fortress in Kohistân." Kaye, Vol. I p. 557.

fled;[14] whereon the English forces advanced and he was under the necessity of turning from that side to the other.

The English officers had promised to pay a reward of two *lâkhs* of *guldâr* rupees to any one who would slay the Amîr Dôst Muḥammad Khân, and bring them his head. He accordingly, finding no refuge in any other direction, was under the necessity of hastening with two *sawârs* in the evening to Macnaghten, who received him honourably, and treated him kindly, although he first said:—"The Shâh must make his *salâm*."[15] But innate pride prevented the Amîr from complying, whereon Macnaghten excused him, acted according to his wishes, and, having afterwards sent for his family to Ghaznî, forwarded him together with them to India. The family remained in Lodiânâ where it was lodged in royal houses, but the Amîr was sent to Calcutta, where a yearly stipend of two *lâkhs* of *guldâr* rupees was assigned to him. On the other hand, in Kâbul Shâh Shuja'a was in the sight of intelligent persons held as of no account. Indeed his dignity had departed from him, as if he had fallen from heaven down to the earth.

About this time the Shâhzâdah Fatḥ Jang, who was Ḥâkim of Qandahâr, felt aggrieved at some words that Major Leech had said to him, and having, at the request of Shâh Shuja'a, come to Kâbul, his own brother Ṣafdar Jang was appointed to his post.

The winter having again become severe, Shâh Shuja'a appointed for the second time the Shâhzâdah Tîmûr Governor of Kâbul, and departed with the English Officers to Jallâlâbâd, where the following events took place during his sojourn:—

The Sanko Khel tribe, which lives among the various sections of the Shinvârîs, had robbed them of several flocks of sheep, on account of some long standing domestic feud. Accordingly some English troops and a company of the Sawâra Jânbâz Shâhî [Mounted Royal Bodyguard] were despatched to punish the Sanko Khels, who, however, took refuge in the mountain passes near them; so that the troops could only destroy and burn their fortlets, and then return.

Another strange event which happened was, that one day Mr. Macgregor produced three pieces of paper with the Shâh's seal and handwriting on them, addressed to the chiefs of Kôhistân, inciting them to revolt, and to wage a *jihâd* [crescentade] against the English. The Shâh knew that these writings were altogether forgeries, but was amazed on identifying his own seal and chirograph. He accordingly summoned Mirzâ Ibrâhîm, the Munshîbâshî, into his presence, and asked him for an explanation. After a little reflection the Mirzâ declared that some disloyal person must have obtained possession of the three papers and skilfully changed the contents by erasing [or washing out] some words, and substituting for them some others of a treacherous import. When the manner in which this forgery had been committed became known to the Shâh he sent for Mr. Macgregor, and pointed out to him the vestiges and marks of the first writing, which could yet be discerned on the papers when attentively examined, whereon his suspicions likewise disappeared. The Shâh then said to the English officers that the benefits they had at times bestowed upon the Bârukzâi tribes would all certainly be requited by treachery, and that they would produce other papers of the same kind.

He also said:—"All this is the consequence of appointing Nizâmu'ddaulah to be *wazîr*, especially at a time when he has made common cause with Jabbâr Khân, Muḥammad 'Usmân Khân, Muḥammad Zamân Khân, and the like, and has made Mirzâ Imâm, Burdî Khân, Mastûfî 'Abdu'r-Razzâq Khân, Mirzâ Aḥad Khân and Nâib Amîr Bârukzâi his agents. If I had possessed any authority I would not have left alive one of the Bârukzâis, especially the sons of the Sardâr Pâiṇḍâ Khân. If you deal with the Bârukzâis according to the

[14] "The native troopers fled like sheep. Emboldened by the craven conduct of the British cavalry, the Afghân horsemen rode forward, driving their enemy before them, and charging right upon the position of the British, until almost within reach of our guns. The Afghân sabres told with cruel effect upon our mounted men. Lieutenants Broadfoot and Crispin were cut to pieces and Dr. Lord was killed by a shot from a neighbouring fort which tore out his bowels." *Calcutta Review*, Vol. VII, for January—June 1847, p. 58; also Kaye, Vol I., p. 564. This contest is described at some length by both, and has been almost literally copied in both these works from Mohan Lal's *Life of the Amîr Dôst Muḥammad*. The conflict is in all the three books called the battle of Purwandurreh (Parwândarrah), but our text does not mention this name, nor indeed gives as detailed an account of the fight as theirs: the whole of which, however, as already mentioned, is referable to one source only.

[15] An Oriental salutation inferring inferiority.

maxim that a foe is to be reconciled by benefits, you are mistaken. The reverse policy of striking off your enemy's head with the sword is the proper one. But you can take your choice." As they were, however, expecting to conciliate that valiant tribe, they did not care to answer the Shâh.

After that the Shâh became anxious to make a pilgrimage to the blessed *mazâr* of Mihtarlak (to whom be salutation) and to pay a visit to his beloved mother, and fulfilled both intentions. After his return Nizâmu'ddaulah, who was desirous that no one besides himself should enjoy the confidence of the Pâdshâh's Government and of the English officers, considered it proper for his interest to bring about the ruin of Ibrâhîm Munshî, whom the Shâh greatly trusted. Accordingly he said that Lamghân, which the Tâjiks had rented to him, was his own freehold, and no solicitations of the Munshî could extort the money due from him [to the Government for it], nor could the Pâdshâh himself effect anything, because he was unwilling to act against the wishes of the English officers (for which reason all the Khâns and servants of the State despaired of his position, and knew that his reign had come to an end).

Not long after his arrival from Lamghân, Shâh Shuja'a returned in company of the Sâhibs of exalted dignity to Kâbul, and appointed with their approbation the Shahzâdah Timûr to be Governor of Qandahâr; also his *haram*, which he had called from Lodiânâ arrived in Kâbul in the month Rabi'u's-sânî, in the year 1257 [between 23rd May and 21st June 1841].

When Nizâmu'ddaulah Muhammad 'Usmân Khân, son of Wazîr Wafâdâr Khân, had attained full authority, and knew that his power as *wazîr* was paramount, he became so puffed up and haughty that he treated persons of both low and high degree with equal scorn. He kept most of the salaries of the Durrânî Khâns and of others in arrears, so that a few of them, whom he believed to be not only devoted to his interests, but reckoned as his servants, often brought it to the notice of the Pâdshâh that the *Ghulâms*[16] had not received their pay; but in vain, until one day Samad Khân Popalzâi made the same request as on former occasions. As this took place in a general *Darbâr*, the Pâdshâh was necessarily obliged to turn to Nizâmu'ddaulah and to ask him what he thought of the complaint, and on the latter replying that it was contrary to the truth, Samad Khân exclaimed :—"You are certainly a liar ; you cultivate the friendship of the Pâdshâh's enemies, while you cause the hearts of all his loyal subjects and well-wishers to bleed." Then mutual and hot recriminations followed, to avoid hearing which the Pâdshâh rose and left the *Darbâr* hall, whereon Nizâmu'ddaulah, who had lost all self-possession, waited upon Mr. Macnaghten with his complaint and said :—"To-day I have been insulted in public *Darbâr*, and if no reparation is to be made, what answer shall I give to-morrow to others? and where shall I seek a refuge from their bad acts and impudent words?" Thereon Mr. Macnaghten indited the following letter to Shâh Shuja'a :—"Samad Khân is a silly impudent fellow and by no means worthy to be present at a royal *Darbâr*. If he be expelled from the country he will be excused from being present." The Pâdshâh, who considered the words of the English officers as commands from heaven, prohibited him *nolens volens* from making his appearance [in *Darbâr*].

The event just narrated became a cause of ruin to the Pâdshâh and of despair to the population, as well as to the army. Indeed the wickedness of Nizâmu'ddaulah reached at last to such a height, that the Pâdshâh could not bestow a single copper from the revenues upon anybody. He was moreover, from want of authority, unable to continue the allowances granted to the blessed *mazârs* of *'âshiqs* and *'ârifs*, which no one had stopped from ancient days to the present times ; and whenever any one appealed to him he only uttered the words "orders will be issued," knowing full well that nothing would be done, but being desirous of keeping up appearances.

(To be continued.)

[16] The *Ghulâms* here mentioned are the same as the "Corps of *Ghulâms*" of Ahmad Shâh Abdâlî, organized by him. Aware that a combination of chiefs, or even discontent among tribesmen, might result in his army leaving their standards, and returning to their own homes, he had organized a special force dependent on himself, and hence called *Ghulâm Shâhî*. He followed in this respect the example of Nâdir Shâh, and recruited the corps from the Tâjiks and Qizlbâshes of Kabul, the Yûsufzais of Peshâwar, and from amongst the strangers dwelling in the Afghân cities.

FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

No. IV.—Vêmâi and the Thieves.

One night as a party of thieves were prowling about in search of booty, they happened to fall in with the goddess Vêmâi,[1] going along at full speed with a tray on her head. Taking her to be a human being, they eagerly went up to her, and found that the tray she carried was of solid gold, and contained, besides rice, *kanku*,[2] and other objects of good omen and a pair of dice set with diamonds and pearls. Glad to find such valuable booty within their reach they attempted to lay hands on the treasures, when Vêmâi cried out, in an authoritative voice in which was mingled a tone of entreaty, —"Keep away, my friends, and touch me not, for I am the goddess Vêmâi, and am hurrying to the palace of the king, unto whom a son has been born, in order to write his destiny. Pray, therefore, do not detain me."

"We would willingly allow you to go," said the thieves, "if you, by way of corroborating your statement, tell us what is to be the destiny of the king's son."

"I regret," said the goddess, "that I am unable to gratify your curiosity, for I myself have no idea at present of what I shall write down: I have only to throw these dice and await the result, and then write down the secret of the child's destiny just as it is revealed to me."

"Very well then," said the thieves, "we allow you to go on your errand, on the condition that, on your return from the palace, you tell us the destiny of the boy, as it is revealed to you."

The goddess agreed to this and departed, while the thieves remained where they were, awaiting her return.

After finishing her business at the king's palace Vêmâi, true to her promise, hastened to the spot where she had left the thieves. As she approached them they noticed that she was downcast and wore a sad look. Nevertheless they flocked around her and eagerly listened as she thus related to them the destiny of the king's son :—

"This poor boy, I am sorry to say, has a very bad future before him, although he is born a king's son. He will lose his parents at the age of twelve and will then be deprived of his legitimate possessions by an usurper, who will condemn him to pass his life as a prisoner within the walls of a castle. He will, however, manage to break his bonds after some time, and escaping from the castle, will betake himself to a jungle, where he will pass the rest of his life in ekeing out a precarious sustenance by hunting small game."

Thus saying the goddess departed. The thieves, outlaws though they were, loved the king, who was good and pious, and were, therefore, very much distressed on learning of the misfortunes that were to befall the prince.

Nearly twelve years after this all that Vêmâi had foretold came to pass, for the good Râjâ died and his Rânî followed him soon after, leaving the poor boy an orphan under the care of an uncle, who soon usurped the throne for himself, and closely confined his nephew in a castle. The thieves, whose sympathies the prince had enlisted almost from his birth, and who were following his fortunes all the while, befriended him at this juncture, found means to get him outside the prison walls, and hid him in a jungle. Knowing, however, that the boy was foredoomed to live on small game they were determined to baffle his destiny at least in that particular; so they provided him with a bow and arrows and set him to hunt in the jungle. The rabbits, deer, and so on, as if aware that he was to get his living out of them, marched past him and almost threw themselves in his way, but the thieves would, by no means, permit him to shoot them: as soon, however, as an elephant or such other big game came in sight, they bade him discharge his arrows at them. As the forest was full of elephants, rhinoceroses, and the like

[1] Vêmâi is supposed to be the goddess who determines the destiny of man. She is popularly believed to visit unseen the bedside of the new-born infant on the sixth night after its birth and to write out its destiny. Under this belief superstitious people place on that night, a tray containing a blank sheet of paper, a pen, ink, a cocoanut, and the red powder used for making marks on the forehead on auspicious occasions near the baby's cradle. They however, do not expect to see any writing on the paper, but are content to believe that the child's destiny has been determined during the night.

[2] A red powder used for marking the forehead on auspicious occasions such as Birthdays, Weddings, &c.

the young prince managed to bag one of these huge creatures almost every day, and the sale of their hides and tusks realised large sums of money.

In this way the thieves succeeded in baffling the destiny of the boy in one respect, because by putting him in the way of killing large game they started him fairly in life as a merchant in ivory and skins, and thus saved him from the privations he would otherwise have suffered by being doomed to live on small game only.

MUDYANUR PLATES OF SAKA 261 OF THE BANA KING MALLADEVA-NANDIVARMAN.

BY LEWIS RICE, C.I.E., M.R.A.S.

This grant consists of five copper-plates, 8½ inches by 2½, strung on a metal ring, uncut, which is secured by a metal seal, 1¼ inches in diameter, bearing in relief the image of the bull recumbent, Nandi, with the sun and moon above. The outer side of the first plate and both sides of the last plate are blank: but there are traces of an inscription on the former, which has been effaced. From so much as appears, it is evidently the beginning of a Gaṅga inscription, containing the usual phrases, as in the Hosûr and Nâgamaṅgala plates, down to Harivarman. The plates belong to a resident of M u ḍ y a n û r (the Mudiyanûr of line 28) in the Mulbâgal Tâluka of the Kôlâr District in Maisûr, and were found a few years ago in the court-yard of his house by some boys who were digging about in play.

It proves to be the charter of a gift of the village of Mudiyanûr or in its Sanskrit form C h û ḍ â g r â m a, to twenty-five Brâhmaṇs, made by the B â ṇ a king V a d h û v a l l a b h a-M a l l a d ê v a-N a n d i v a r m a n, in the Śaka year 261 (A.D. 339-40), the twenty-third of his own reign, while he was staying at Â v a n i. The language is Sanskrit throughout, very full of mistakes: the characters are Pûrvada-Haḷe-Kannaḍa. There is a constant insertion, unnecessarily, of *visarga* before the initial *p* of a following word, a practice which seems pretty general in old inscriptions in this character.

The opening lines are in praise of Śiva. Then follow praises of Vishṇu, with the view of introducing him in his connection with B a l i in the Vâmana or dwarf incarnation; but some of the ascriptions are such as belong only to Śiva. From Mahâbali or the great B a l i, the lord of the Dânavas, was descended a promoter of his race, the king N a n d i v a r m a n. His son, V i j a y â d i t y a-D ê v a, next succeeded to the kingdom, and in turn was followed by his own son, a glory to the B â ṇ a race, Ś r î-V a d h û v a l l a b h a-M a l l a d ê v a-N a n d i v a r m a n, the donor of the grant. He is described as the ruler over a seven and a half lakh country containing twelve thousand villages, situated in the Â n d h r a *maṇḍala* or Telugu country. One of the ascriptions in his praise, being a complimentary reference to Buddha, strikes me as most unusual in a Brâhmaṇ grant. It says of the king (line 15) that "in compassion for all living things in the three worlds he was like Bôdhisattva," going on to compare him in other qualities with Vîrabhadra, Mahêndra, and Kârttikêya.

At the end, the carpenter (*tvashṭri*) Nandivarmâchâryya states, in the first person, that he inscribes the grant by order of Vadhûvallabha-Malla. The king, calling himself Vadhûvallabha-bhûpati, also in the first person, confirms the grant as long as the sun and moon endure. The *Sarvapradhâna*, or general minister, the *Daṇḍâdhipa* Vaivasvata, then records that he has carried out the order. The inscription closes with the two words *ryâdhanam ullêgaṇâ*, the meaning of which is not apparent, though the latter seems to refer to the writing.

Of the professed date of this inscription, I express no opinion. It is left to the judgment of those who feel able to pronounce upon it.[1]

But as regards the other contents of the grant, we are not without information to guide us. From the inscriptions formerly published

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[1] It should not be overlooked that the Gaṅga grant effaced from the first plate comes down to Harivarman, whose reign is assigned to Saka 169 to 210.—[But see *ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 212ff.—And, having now seen the present plates, I consider that this grant is certainly spurious, at any rate so far as the date is concerned. The characters are roughly, of much the same type as those of the Merkara and Nagamangala plates.—J. F. F.]

by me[2] which first brought the Bâṇa kings to light, it was found that they claimed to be of the Mahâbali or Mahâvali race, and we obtained the names of Bâṇa-Vidyâdhara or Vikramâditya, and Prabhu-Mêru. The grants published by Mr. Foulkes[3] added considerably to our knowledge by giving us the following genealogy, with certain historical references :—

Bali.
|
Bâṇa.
|
Bâṇa *Adhirâja*,
followed by many kings. Then
Jaya-Nandivarman, ruling
territory to the west of the Ândhra country.
|
Vijayâditya.
|
Śrî-Malladêva, Jagadêkamalla.
|
Bâṇa-Vidyâdhara.
|
Prabhu-Mêru-Dêva.
|
Vikramâditya.
|
Vijayâditya, Pukkaḷa-vippuva-gaṇḍa.
|
Vikramâditya, Vijayabâhu.
Then the Chôḷa king Vîra-Nârâyaṇa
suddenly uprooted the Bâṇas; but
they were restored eventually by
the Gaṅga king Kêsari or
Prithivîpati, in the person of
Hasti-Malla.

The present grant, so far as it goes, confirms this pedigree, and is made by the king here called Srî-Malladêva, Jagadêkamalla, the father of Bâṇa-Vidyâdhara. If, as seems probable, the Gaṅga king who restored the Bâṇas, was the predecessor of Śrî-Purusha who began to reign Śaka 649 (A D. 727-28), or that king himself, this would give us a date to which the overthrow of the original line must have been some time anterior. And to arrive at the reign in which our grant was issued, we have to reckon back six generations beyond that event. We also know that the Pallavas were in possession of Kâñchî and Mahâbalipura early in the 7th century A.D, and that both they and the Mahâmallas or Mahâbalis suffered defeat at the hand of the Chalukyas in the second half of that century.

That the Bâṇa kings continued to flourish in the east of Maisûr subsequent to their restoration, there is abundant evidence in inscriptions. From one at Maṇigaṭṭa-Gollahaḷḷi, we find a Bâṇarasa ruling in Śaka 821 (A.D. 899-900); and from a fine stone at Kendatti-Maḍivâḷa, we learn that he was contemporary with the Gaṅga king Nîtimârga and with Noḷambâdhirâja. The latter, from inscriptions at Bêtmaṅgala, was ruling in Śaka 826 (A.D. 904-5) Of Nîtimârga I have obtained many inscriptions. He was ruling in Saka 831 (A.D. 909-10), and bore the titles Koṅgaṇi-Varma, Dharma-mahâdhirâja, Satyavâkya, Râchamalla and Permanaḍigaḷ.

The Bâṇas are met with down to a late period. For, my conjecture[4] that the inscriptions at Śrîvilliputtûr in Tinnivelly of A.D. 1453 and 1476 belonged to them, proved to be correct, as ascertained by Mr. Sewell at the time. Two kings of this family, styling themselves Mahâvali-Vâṇa (for Bâṇa) *Adhirâja*, thus seem to have got possession of the Pâṇḍya throne in the latter half of the 15th century.[5]

To return to our grant. The reference to the Nandi hill and the Pâlâr, at the commencement, is interesting. The Pâlâr throughout its course, as formerly pointed out by me,[6] would seem to be identified with the Mahâvali or Bâṇa line, from its source in Nandidurga to its mouth near the celebrated Mahâbalipura. Among the titles of the restored dynasty were "lord of Nandi" and "having the crest of a bull," and here we have Nandi on the seal of the original line. Also, if I am not mistaken, the small coins sometimes picked up at Mahâbalipura, have a Nandi on them.

The village of Âvani, from which the grant was issued, is a celebrated place. It is said to be Avantikakshêtra, one of the ten places of greatest sanctity in India. Here Vâlmîki, it is stated, had a hermitage: here Râma encamped on his return from the expedition against Laṅkâ: hither Sîtâ repaired

[2] *Mys. Ins.* p. : 04, Intro. p. xlix; *ante*, Vol. X p. 36.
[3] *Salem Manual*, Vol. II. App. p. 369; *ante*, Vol. XII. pp. 6 and 187.
[4] *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 190, note 10.
[5] See Nelson's *Madura Manual*, Part III. p. 83; Sewell's *Madras Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 223.
[6] *ante*, Vol. X. p. 38.

when put away by him, and here gave birth to her twin sons Kuśa and Lava, who were brought up by Vâlmîki. It is now the seat of a *Guru* of the Smârta sect, and contains an interesting group of large temples dedicated respectively to Râma, Lakshmaṇa, Bharata, Śatrughna, and Vâli-Sugrîva. From inscriptions it would appear that they were originally erected about Śaka 850 (A.D. 928-29.)

H o d a l i, which gives its name to the district in which Muḍyanûr was situated at the time of the grant, is still so called. The boundary villages mentioned are easily identified. Uttagrâma is Uttanûr; Kuladipa is the village now called Koladêvi; Kottamaṅgala and Kolattûr still bear the same names. Kanakadvâraparvata is the only place that is doubtful; the name is probably a translation of some vernacular name like Sonnabâgilu.

It remains to say a word with reference to the Brâhmaṇs to whom the grant was made. Of the four named, it will be seen that three, after their *gôtras* have been given, are described as *sâmanya-charaṇa*. Of this I have been unable to obtain any explanation, though we have a sect of Drâviḍa Brâhmaṇs called Bṛihachcharaṇa. The story is that Agastya had been engaged for the performance of a great sacrifice by a Pâṇḍya king, who sent invitations to Brâhmaṇs in distant places to attend. Those who received the notice early, came away at once, but those who got it later and had farther to come, did not arrive till the ceremonies had begun. From this circumstance the former got the name of *bṛihat-charaṇa*, the 'big striders' or 'fast walkers'! Similarly the others may have been distinguished as *sâmânya-charaṇa* or 'ordinary walkers'!

TEXT.[7]

First Plate.

1 Ôṁ namaḥ Śivâya(h) | Nandy-âkhya-śailôtkaṭa-kûṭa-pîṭha-Mandâkinî-vârinidhir dhdharêśa[ḥ] Dêvêndra-bṛindâraka-vandanîya(ḥ)-pâ-

2 dâravindyê[8] jayati praṇamyaḥ || Svasty astu bhû-bhûdharâdhîśa-tanayâliṅgya-vaksha-sthalaḥ śirasy-âmṛita-[9]

3 bhû-chandra-dhâriṇô dayâyâ bhuvaḥ sakala-bhuvana-prasâdanî[10]bhûta-yaśasô bhâsuratara-taraṅga-taraḷa-

4 jala-jaladhi-sthita(ḥ)-bhujaṅga-śayana-śâyinaḥ Kamalanâbhasya vikrama-trayârambha-lôbha-praksharita-kara-cha-

5 raṇa-sarôja-lâñchanalôkanaika-hêtubhûta-dâna-vibhavasya mahâ-Bali-nâmadhêya(ḥ)-Dânavêndrasya vaṁśa-

6 savṛidhdhi[11] - kârêṇôdbana(ḥ)[12]kṛitayâcharaṇa-labdha-sukṛitôpanîyata-dvija - vara - ghushyamaṇa-puṇyâha-ghôsha-ni-

7 rdhdhûta-duritâri[r] balavad-ibhaṅga-dalaha[13] vijṛimbhamâṇa-turaṅga-naṭa-niruddhadhikṛin-[14]vakra-sainyaḥ sa-

8 masta-narêndra-lôka-vandyamânaḥ pratâpa(ḥ)-prâbhûtvâthavi-vaksha[ḥ] kshôṇîdharêndriyata-bâhu-daṇḍês[15] chaṇḍêśa-nirjja-

Second Plate; First Side.

9 ta-karâḷa-khaḍgaḥ kêyûra-hâra-dyuti-râjitâṅgaḥ kirîṭa-haripîṭha-labdha[16] sa-Nandivarmma[17] dhṛita-râja-dharmma-

10 ḥ tataḥ tasyôttama-sûnu[s] sûnu[r]mad-bhânu-mayûkha-jâlâ-[18]prôtphulla-paṁkê[ru]hasannibhâsyaḥ praṇimakṛit(a)-kshaṇi-

11 ya-[19]mauḷ-mâlâ-nishrishta-[20]prabhâ-maṇḍala-pâda-pîṭhaḥ nâmnâ Vijayâditya-dêvô nija-bhuja-bala-vilu-

12 pta-durvvâra-vividha-vairi-vibhavaḥ sa-jala-jaladhara-thâna-[21]gâmbhîra-gaḷakṛita-gharjjanibhipûrita-dig-a-

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[7] Letters which are redundant, are put in ordinary brackets, and letters supplied, in square brackets.
[8] Read *pâdâravindê*.
[9] Read *âmṛita*.
[10] Read *prasâdhanî*.
[11] Read *riddhi*.
[12] ? *vibana*.
[13] Read *dalaḥ*.
[14] ? *niruddh-âdhikṛin*.
[15] Read *daṇḍaś*.
[16] Read *labdhâ*.
[17] Read *varmmâ*.
[18] Read *jâla*.
[19] ? *kshattriya*.
[20] Read *nisrishṭa*.
[21] ? *dhvâna*.

13 ntarâḷa[ḥ] nâga-khaḍgaś chaṭula raṇa-raṇâyamâna-nipâtita(ḥ)-praharaṇa-janita-vraṇa-gaṇâbharaṇa-vapushâ vi-

14 râjamânaḥ kṛitavân âdhi[râ]jyam âsît tasya tâdṛiśaḥ śrîmat-Bâṇa-vaṁśa-kamalâ-kara-prabôdhana-ḷinakarasya[22]

15 sûnôs tribhuvana-madhya-varttinâṁ prâṇinâm parama-kâruṇakathayâ[23] Bôdhisatvôpa-mânasya vîratayâ

Second Plate; Second Side.

16 Hara-hita-Vîrabhadra-sannibhasya râj[y]âdhâradayâ Mahêndrôpamânasya mukhâ-phala[24]-sêvi[ta]tayâ vârirâ-

17 śi-sadṛiśasya Mêru-pratinidhy-êkâchal-aiśvaryyât Kârttikêyânukâriṇaḥ pratidinam Umâ-nirûpita-pramô-

18 da-hêtôḥ | apicha[25] yudhy êva paryyâbhavanti dvishantâḥ iva gajaḥ krudhva[26] siṁhasya śaktyâ bâhu-prôdghâta-

19 khaḍgadhruta[27]-pavana bṛihaś[28]-chaṇḍa-ghâtêna yasya śrôṇî-bhârâlasatvaś[29]-chalita-gati-manô-hârinâṁ va-

20 dhûnâṁ[30] yasmin lagnâni(ś) chêtasy amala-kuvalayâkshîni naivâ(ḥ)payânti[ḥ] tasya tâdṛiśasya viśvambharâ-va-

21 layâbharaṇadîrgha-bâhôr aharahar-anivardhdhamâna-śakti-trayasya Ândhra-maṇḍalê dvâdaśa-saha-

22 sra-grâma-sampâdita-saptârdhdha-laksha-vishayâdhipatêr aparimita-châtur-âśrama-vyava-sthâcharaṇa-kâraṇa-Śrî-Va

23 dhûvallabha-Malladêva-Nandivarmmêna[31] Âvanya-purê sthitvâ êka-shasṭy-uttara-dvaya-śatê Śakâbdaḥ[32] pravardhdhamâ-

Third Plate; First Side.

24 nâtmanaḥ trayô-viṁsati-varttamâna-Viḷambi-saṁvatsarê Kârttikâśukla-pakshê trayô-daśyâṁ Sômavârê A-

25 śvinyâṁ nakshatrê(ti) Bharadvâja-gôtra-sâmânya-charaṇa-śrî-Rudra-Bhaṭṭa-sarmmaṇ-Kauśika-gôtra-Trilôchana-Bha-

26 ṭṭa-sarmmaṇâ Kauṇḍalya-gôtra(ḥ)-sâmânya-charaṇa-Trivikrama-Bhaṭṭa-sarmmaṇâ Kâś-yapa-gôtra-sâmânya-charaṇa-Nârâ-

27 yaṇa-Bhaṭṭa-sarmm[aṇ]â cha sahâ nânâ-gôtribhyô(ḥ)[33] pañcha-viṁśati-viprêbhyas tat pâda-prâkshâḷaṇaṁ kṛitvâ Ho-

28 dali-vishayê Muḍiyanûr-nnâma-grâmaṁ udaka-dhârâ-pûrvvaṁ mayâ dattaṁ | asya grâmasya sîmôchyatê

29 pûrvvâyân diśi Kuladîpasya samîpê kanishthâyâma-taṭâkasya sêtu[ḥ] tatra dakshiṇê aruṇa-sthalê paśchima(ḥ)-plavaṁ tatra

30 dakshiṇê aśôshya-śilâ-sthala-vâpi-variṁ[34] tatra pûrvvaṁ Kuladîpaś-jalâgraś-sṛiṅgaṁ tatra dakshiṇê Kana-

31 kadvâra-parvvatasya samîpê kubja-śaila[ḥ] tatra paśchimê Bairamaṅgala-taṭâka-jalâgrasyôttarê

Third Plate; Second Side.

32 kubja-śailâgraśôshya[35]-pâshâṇa-vâpî tatra paśchimê paśchimâ(ḥ)-plava-sarit-pramâṇêna ṛijva-gata-paśchimê kubja-śai-

33 la-dvaya dakshiṇê avata-nivaṭasya paśchim-Ôtta-grâmasya Kottamaṅgalasya tṛikûṭa-bṛihat-pâshâṇa-paṁkti-ma-

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[22] Read dinakarasya.

[23] Read kâruṇikatayâ.

[24] Read muktâphala.

[25] Here follows a ślôka in Sragdharâ metre, full of mistakes.

[26] Read gajâḥ kruddha.

[27] Read khaḍgâdhruta.

[28] Read bṛihat.

[29] Read bhârâlasatvât.

[30] Substitute sundarîṇâṁ.

[31] Read varmmaṇâ.

[32] Read Śakâbdê.

[33] Read gôtrêbhyaḥ.

[34] Read varam.

[35] Read âśôshya.

34 dhya[h] dakshiṇa(h)-plavaṁ-sthalâtôttarê svalpa-krishṇa-pâshâṇa-paṁktis sahitôttara-plava-sarit-saṅgama-sva-

35 lpa-nadî-taṭê śilâ-sthalaṁ tatra mârutyê Utta-grâma-mahâ-taṭâkasya pratimukhê jala-samîpê śi-

36 lâ-sthala-paṁkti[h] asya jalâgrasyôttarâsanna-bhinna-svalpa-śilâ-sthalaṁ tatôttarê pûrvva-pla[va]-sarit tatôtta-

37 re brihat-pâshâṇa-paṁkti-paśchima-plava-sarit-mûlaṁ tatra(h) pâshâṇa-paṁktyôttarê brihat-pâshâṇa-tatôttarê Utta-

38 grâmasya Koḷattûr-nnâma-grâmasya trikûta-kanishṭama-taṭâka-jalâśayê bâlachandrâ-kâra-avataḥ

Fourth Plate; First Side.

39 tatra pûrvvôttarê paśchima(h)-plava-sarit-sahitôttarâsanna-brihat-pâshâṇaṁ tatra pûrvvaṁ ambu-plavasyôttarê

40 tatra pûrvvaṁ kanishta-taṭâka-sahitam tatra pûrvvaṁ Koḷattûr-nnâma-grâmâgnêya-sîmasya Kuladîpasya

41 trikûṭa-śaila-sthalaṁ tatra dakshiṇê aruṇa-sthalê sthâpita-pâshâṇaṁ tatra dakshiṇê Kuladîpasya sa-

42 mîpe kanishṭâvâmas-sêtôttarê sîmâvaḷêya samâptaḥ | bhûmiṁ yaḥ pratigrihyêti[36] yach cha[37] bhûmiṁ pra-

43 yachchati ubhau tau puṇya-karmmâṇau niyata(h)-svarggagâminau | bhûmi-dânan[38] tu yat puṇyaṁ na bhûtô[39] na bhavishya-

44 ti yasyêva haraṇan-nai(?)tva(?) na bhûtô na bhavishyati | bahubhir vvasudâ dattâ râjabhis Sakarâjibhih[40] yasya ya-

45 sya yadâ bhûmih tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ | svadattâṁ paradattâṁ vâ yô harêti vasundharâ[ṁ] shashṭiṁ varshaṁ sa-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

46 hasrâṇi vishṭâyâṁ jâyatê krimiḥ | hiraṇyam êkaṁ gâm êkam bhumyâm apy êkam aṁkuraṁ haran narakam â-

47 pnôti yâvad â-bhûta-samplavaṁ | na vishaṁ visham ity âhu[h] brahmasvaṁ visham uchyatê visham êkâkinah[41] hanti bra-

48 hmasvaṁ putra-pautrakaṁ | brahmasvam praṇayâd bhuktâṁ dahaty â-saptâmaṁ kulaṁ tatêvaśchauryya[42]-rûpêṇa daha-

49 ty â-chandra-târakaṁ | vikramêṇa tu bhôktrîṇi[ṁ] daśa-pûrvvâ[n] daśâparân lôha-chûrnnâsma

50 chûrnnas[43] cha vishaṁ vê[44] jarayê[n] naraḥ | Vadhûvallabha-Mallasya vachanê-naiva śâsanaṁ tvashṭâ Nnandi-varmmâchâryya dânasyâsya

51 likhâmy ahaṁ || Yâvat sôma-sahasrâṁśu tâvat tishṭati[45] śaśvataḥ Chûḍa-[46] grâmam pradâsyâmi Vadhû-

52 vallabhabhûpati[h] | Itthaṁ kritaṁ sarvvapradhânaṁ Vaivasvata-daṇḍâdhipêna || Vyâdhanam[47] ullêgaṁ

TRANSLATION.

Ôm! Obeisance to Śiva! He, the ocean to (*which flow*) the waters of the Mandâkinî whose throne (or source) is on the lofty peak of the mountain called Nandi,[48] lord of the earth, his lotus-feet worthy of worship from Dêvêndra and the gods, triumphs, the adored!

(L. 2.)—Be it well! His breast embraced by the daughter of the bearer up of the mountains of the earth,[49] bearer on his head of the

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36 ? prati[illegible]
37 Read yas cha.
38 Read dânaṁ.
39 Read bhûtaṁ.
40 Read S[illegible]dibhih.
41 Read [illegible].
42 Read [illegible]chauryya.
43 Read [illegible].
44 Read vi.
45 Read tishṭhati.
46 Read Chûḍi.

47 ? siddhimam: the meaning of these two words at the end is not apparent.
48 The only river whose source is actually attributed to the hill of Nandi or Nandidurga is the Pâlâr or Kshira-nadi, though seven rivers rise in the same group of hills.
49 As this is understood to mean Pârvatî, the consort of Śiva, the statement seems misapplied to Vishṇu.

nectar-producing moon,[50] source of mercy, his glory illuminating all worlds, reposing on his couch the serpent in an ocean whose waters are flowing in shining waves, was Kamalanâbha (Vishṇu);—on whose starting to take the three strides, manifesting desire with the signs of hands and feet, was established the fame, as the only giver of gifts in the world, of the great Bali, lord of the Dânavas;—the cause of the increase of whose race, freed from the enemy of sin through the sound of the blessings chanted by great Brâhmaṇs possessed of all merit acquired in the constant exercise of holy rites, having a force composed of mighty elephants, his terrible army led by commanders the prancing of whose restive chargers stopped the motion of the earth, worthy of reverence from all the kings in the world, his breast the abode of valour and government, the rod of his arm as long as the world-bearer (Âdiśêsha), his dreadful sword unconquered by the most powerful kings, his body glittering with the radiance of garlands and epaulettes, having obtained the crown and the throne, was Nandivarman, the upholder of royal virtues.

(L. 10.)—After him, his excellent son, whose face was like a lotus opening to the light of the rays of the morning sun, his footstool illuminated with the radiance caused by the crowns and garlands of prostrate kings, by name Vijayâditya-Dêva, possessed of many kinds of wealth won from his enemies by the strength of his own arm, filling all quarters with the shouts from his deep throat resembling thunder from the storm-clouds, having a serpent-like sword, his body glorious with groups of wounds from the stroke of warlike weapons in the moving fight, having governed the kingdom:—

(L. 14.)—There was, in like manner—a sun in awakening the lotus-lake of the Bâṇa race—his son, who in compassion for all living things in the three worlds was like Bôdhisattva, in valour the equal of Vîrabhadra beloved of Hara, in protecting the kingdom like Mahêndra, in possession of pearls the equal of the ocean, in having a (mount) Mêru of unique immovable wealth resembling Kârttikêya, daily the cause of manifest joy to Umâ; as elephants tremble at the might of a raging lion so were his enemies overcome in battle by the wind of the strokes of the sword uplifted in his hand; the bright lotus-eyes of women, fascinating in their gait from the weight of their loins, being attracted to him could not be taken off again.

(L. 20.)—By him, being such a one, his long arms an ornament to the circle of the earth, daily adding to the three kinds of power,[51] ruler of a seven and a half lakh country containing twelve thousand villages, in the Ândhra *maṇḍala*, cause of continued prosperity to the four castes,—(*viz.*) by Śrî-Vadhûvallabha-Malladêva-Nandivarman, being in the town of Âvani, in the Śaka year two hundred increased by sixty-one, the twenty-third of his own reign being current, in the Viḷambi *saṁvatsara*, on the thirteenth (*day*) of the dark fortnight of Kârttika, on Monday, under the constellation Gemini, to Śrî-Rudra-bhaṭṭa-śarman of the Bharadvâja *gôtra* and *sâmânya-charaṇa*, to Trilôchana-bhaṭṭa-śarman of the Kauśika *gôtra*, to Trivikrama-bhaṭṭa-śarman of the Kauṇḍalya (*sa*) *gôtra* and *sâmânya-charaṇa*, to Nârâyaṇa-bhaṭṭa-śarman of the Kâśyapa *gôtra* and *sâmânya-charaṇa*, and including them to twenty-five Brâhmaṇs of various *gôtras*, having washed their feet, the village named Muḍiyanûr in the Hodali *vishaya*, is, with pouring of water, by me given.

(L. 28.)—The boundaries of that village are (*here*) stated:—(here follow the boundaries in great detail, and then various imprecatory verses).

(L. 50.)—By order of Vadhûvallabha-Malla, I, the carpenter Nandivarmâchârya, inscribe the charter of this grant. As long as moon and sun endure, for so long in perpetuity, I king Vadhûvallabha, make a gift of Chûḍâ-grâma.[52] Thus was it done by the *Sarvapradâna*, the *Daṇḍâdhipa* Vaivasvata. The grant is written (?)[53]

[50] Like the foregoing, this is descriptive of Śiva and not of Vishṇu.

[51] *Prabhu-*, *mantra-*, and *utsâha-śakti*.

[52] This is the translation into Sanskrit of Mudyanûr.

[53] *Vyâdhanam ullêgam*: the meaning is not apparent.

AN ENGLISH-GIPSY INDEX.

COMPILED BY MRS. GRIERSON; WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY G. A. GRIERSON, B.C.S.

(*Continued from p.* 147).

MAN,—Manush, monish, mush, (Eng.); manus, (Span. Gip.); manûsh (dim.) manushoro, (Tch.); nêre, mèru (As. Tch.); manûsh, (Psp. M., M. 8); gazhô, gazhû, manûsh, rom, (dim.) romurò, (M.); mero, mursh, (M. 8)

MANE,—Kòama, (M.)

MANGEL-WURZEL,—Dip, (As. Tch.)

MANGER,—Àslia, pakhnî, (Tch.)

MANGY,—Ghelalô, gheralô, (Tch.)

MANTLE,—Urydibê, (Tch.); mantâo, (M.); plashchos, (M. 8)

MANY,—Azôm, (Tch.)

MAPLE,—Pâltinu, (M.)

MARE,—Grasni, grasnakkur, (Eng.); grastnî, grasnî, granî, (Tch.); grastnî, (Psp. M.); graznî, yêpa, (M.)

MARJORAM,—Khrîbnos, (Tch.)

MARK.—Mĕdûha, (M.)

MARKET,—Fôros, (Tch., Psp. M.)

MARRIAGE,—Romipen, (Eng.); biâv, (Tch.); biâv, piâv, (Psp. M.); nûnta, (M.)

MARRIAGE-GUEST,—Nuntâsh, (M.)

MARRIED,—Rommado, romm'd. (Eng.)

MARRIED, to be,—Kununisard'ovâva, (M.)

MARRY, to,—Pandrevâva, (Tch.); ĕnsorisard'ovâva, ĕnsurisard'ovâva, kununiâva, kununisarâva, mĕritisard'ovâva, (M.)

MARSH-FLOWER,—Tûfa, (M.)

MAST.—Bero-rukh, (Eng.); akialûni, (Tch.)

MASTER.—Dômnu, mèshtero, mèshteru, ray, râyu, (M.); ray, (M. 8)

MATTER,—see Pus

MATTRESS.—Kozâkos, (Tch.)

MAY, (month of),—May, (M.)

ME, (to, dative),—Amande, (Eng.)

ME, (acc.),—Man, (Tch.); man, ma, (M.)

MEADOW,—Livadô, livardô, (Tch.), mal, mâlo, mâlu, poyâna (M.)

MEAGRE.—Kishlô, sannô, (Tch.); kishlo, (M. 7)

MEAL, a funeral,—Prazniko, (M.)

MEAL.—see FLOUR

MEAN, (adj.),—Prost, (M.)

MEASURE,—Medisin, (Eng.), mĕsûra, (M.)

MEASURE, to,—Mĕsurisarâva, (M.)

MEAT,—Mâs, (Tch., Psp. M.); mâsi, (As. Tch.); mas, (M.)

MEDIATOR.—Mizhlochîo, mizhlochuò, mizhlochî, (M.)

MEDITATE, to,—T'it'iàva, (M.)

MEDICINE.—Drab, drav, (Eng.), osûr, (As. Tch.), dofteriya, (M.)

MEET EACH OTHER, to,—Malal'oviva, (M.)

MELON, WATER,—Shûfti, (As. Tch.)

MELT, to,—Bilâva, (Tch., M. 7)

MELTED, to be,—Bilâniovava, (Tch.)

MENTION, to,—Pomeniâva, pomenisarâva, (M.)

MERCHANT,—Neguctôru, neguctôri, negucitôr, (M.)

MERCHANDISE,—Kirîye, (M.)

MIDDAY,—Mezmêri, mesmêri, myâzĕ, myàza, myâdza, (M.); mismiris, (M. 8)

MIDDLE,—Mashkarâl, (M.)

MIDDLE, in the,—Maskare, (M. 8)

MIDNIGHT,—Yêkpâsh arâtt, (Tch.)

MIDWIFE,—Mormusti, (Eng.); mami, (M. 8)

MILE,—Mea, (pl.) millior, (Eng.); mil'a, posht, (M.)

MILE-STONE,—Mea-bar, (Eng.)

MILK,—Tud, (Eng.); tut, (Tch.); tut, sut, (Psp. M.); kir, pir, (As. Tch.); thud, (M., M. 8)

MILK, to,—Doshâva, pishâva, (Tch.); dushâva, (M.); doshâva, (M. 7)

MILK, SOUR,—Yoghûrt, (Tch.); mast, (As. Tch.)

MILKMAID,—Tudlogueri, (Eng.)

MILKMAN,—Tudêskoro, (Tch.)

MILKY,—Tudalo, (Tch.)

MILL,—Poggra-mengri, (Eng.); vasiâv, (Tch., Psp. M.); asâû, (M.); asyav, (M. 7)

MILLER,—Waro-mescro, pauno-mengro, (Eng.) vasiavêskoro, (Tch.); morâri, morâr, (M.)

MILLET,—Kurmì, (Tch.)

MILL-STONE,—Rŏzhnica, (M.)

MINARET,—Bashavdî, (Tch.)

MIND,—Zi, (Eng.); minte, (M.)

MINE, (sub.),—Ôgna, (M.)

MINE,—Miro, miri, (Eng.); mo, mmrô, (Tch.); meki, (As. Tch.)

MINISTER,—Ministru, (M.)

MIRROR,—Dikliardò, gledâlo, yalî, (Tch.), avini (As. Tch.)

MISCARRY, to,—Mârghiovâva, (Tch.); shudâva shuvâva, (M.)

MISER,—Wongar-kamming mush, (Eng.)

MISERABLE,—Chungalô, jungalô, zungalô, bi-bakhtiâkoro, (Tch.); chungalò, (Psp. M., M. 7)

MISFORTUNE.—Chingár, chungár (Tch.)

MOCK, to,—Prasava, (Tch., M. 8)

MOCKED, to be,—Prasâniovâva, (Tch.)

MODESTY.—Laj, lach, lajaibê, (Tch.); pachi, (Span. Gip.); laj, (M. 8)

MOLE.—Povo-guero, (Eng.); koro kermusî, (Tch.)

MONDAY.—Luyê, luy, (M.)

MONEY,—Luvvo, (Eng.), lovê, rup, (dim.) ruporo, (Tch.); orp, (As. Tch.), lovê, (Psp. M.); lovê, lovi, parâle, zhĕlta, (M.); lovo, (M. 8)

Money, of or belonging to,—Rupêskoro, lovêngoro, (Tch.)
Money-changer,—Luvvo-mengro, (Eng.)
Monk,—Kĕlŭgĕru, (M.)
Monkey,—Maimûna, (Tch.)
Month,—Mâsek, (Tch.); masak, (As. Tch.); chon, mâsek, (Psp. M.); shon, shûn, shun, (M.); mâsek, (M. 8)
Moon,—Dude, chûn, (Eng.); hiv, chemut, (Hun. Gip.); chon, Psp. M.); chon, chomût, (Tch); shon, shun, (M.); chomut, chon, (M. 7)
More,—Komi, yerreder, buroder, (Eng); po, (Tch)
Mortar, a,—Havâni, (As. Tch.)
Mother,—Daya, dieya, die, mam, (Eng.); daia, die, (Rus Gip); dâi, de, (Psp. M.); dâi, dêi, (dim) daiorî, dâle, dòle, (Tch.); dâdo, (As. Tch.); da, mâyka, mâtka, mĕsa, (M.); day, (M. 7)
Mother-in-law,—Mamicholî, sashûi, (dim.) sashiorî, shashûi, sasûi, shashuiorî, (Tch.); shasûi, shashûi, (Psp. M); sasoî, sasuî, (M.)
Mount, to,—Ugliâva, ukliâva, (Tch); ukliâva, (Psp. M.)
Mountain,—Tal, (As. Tch); mozhila, muzhila, play, (M)
Mounted,—Uklistô, (Tch.)
Mournful,—Tugno, tug, (Eng.)
Mourning,—Lîpima, (Tch.)
Mouse,—Mussô, mushô, mûssos, (Tch.); mishâkos, mushò, (Psp. M.); shôreku, shôrik, shoareku, (M.)
Moustache,—Shoshanô, (Tch)
Mouth,—Mûi, (abl.) muyâl, (Tch., Psp M.); zavûr, zavûd, (As Tch.); muy, (M., M. 8)
Much,—Bute, (Eng); but, (comp.) butedêr, butlò, (Tch. Psp. M.); buhu, (As. Tch.); but, (M., M 7)
Mucus,—Khalêa, (Tch.)
Mucus of the nose,—Lim, (Psp. M, M. 8)
Mud,—Chik, (Tch.); chik, chikâ, Psp. M.); glâdu, (M)
Muddy,—Chikalô, (Tch.)
Mulberry,—Dud, tu, (As. Tch.)
Mule,—Jorô, jorni, (Tch.); joro, M. 7
Murder, to,—Murdarâva, (Tch., Psp. M.); mudarâva (M.)
Murderer,—Manushfarî, (Tch.)
Mushroom,—Khukhûmr, fitîcha, (Tch.), khukhumr, M. 7)
Mushroom, of or belonging to,—Khukhunrêngoro, (Tch.)
Musket,—Padmô, (Psp. M)
Muster, to,—Mustrusarâva, (M)
My,—Miro, Eng.; mo, minrô, mindò, Tch.; mo, morô, murô, (M); minro, M 8

N

Nails, (human),—Naior, (pl.) (Eng.); nâi, (Tch., Psp. M.); nati, (As. Tch.); ûngi, (M.); (sg.) nai, (M. 8)
Nails, (human), of or belonging to,—Naiêngoro, (Tch.)
Nails,—Sasters, sastris, (Eng.); sheritnô, (Tch.); yerê, karfîn, (M.); karfia, (M. 7)
Nail to, on,—Cĕntosarâva, (M.)
Nailed on,—Cĕntumi, (M.)
Naked,—Nango, (Eng,); nangô, nangalô, (Tch.;) nangoldî, (As. Tch.); nangô, (Psp. M., M. 8); nangô, nangû, (M.)
Naked, to become,—Nânghiovâva, (Tch.)
Naked, to make,—Nangherâva, nanghiarâva, (Tch.)
Nakedness,—Nangipen, (Eng.); nanghipê, (Tch.)
Name,—Nav, (Eng); nav, naf, (Tch.); nam, (As. Tch); nav, (Psp. M., M. 8)
Named, to be,—Bushâva, kharâva, (M. 7)
Namely,—Âdekĕ, (M)
Nape of the neck,—Meǹ, min, (Tch.)
Napkin,—Mesâli, (Tch., M. 8); pâta, (Tch.)
Narrow,—Tank, tang, (Tch.); tang, (M., M. 8)
Navel,—Pol, bor, por, (Tch.); navugori, (As. Tch.); pol, (Psp. M.); burîku, (M.)
Near,—Pashê, pashpashê, (abl.) pashâl, pachô, (Tch); nêlag, (As. Tch); bashê, pashê, (Psp. M.); pashâ, pashĕ, (M.); pasho, (M. 8)
Near-sighted,—Hĕgedâri, (M.)
Near, of or belonging to,—Pashalutnô, (Tch.)
Necessary, to be,—Trebuâva, (M); hum, (M. 7)
Necessity,—Tryâba, (M.)
Neck,—Men, kurlo, (Eng); korî, korîn, kurlô, (Tch.); kor, (M.); kori, (M. 7); men, (M. 8)
Neck-cloth,—Men-pangushi, (Eng)
Needle,—Siva-mengri, sovie, su, subye, subie, (Eng); suv, suf, (dim) suvorî, (Tch.); siv, (As Tch); sûv, Psp M.); suv, (M. 8)
Needy,—Choveno, (Eng)
Negro,—Kaulo guero, (Eng)
Neigh, to,—Hremint'iava, hremintisarâva, (M.)
Neighbour,—Pashemandutno, (Tch.); mejiyêsh, (M)
Neither—nor,—Ne—ne, M 8)
Nest,—Ken, sas, tas, (Eng.); kùybu, (M.)
Net,—Gonò, gonû, (M.)
New,—Nevo, (fem.) nevi, (Eng.); nevô, (Tch, Psp. M. . 8); neve, (As. Tch.); nivô, (M)
Night,—Rarde, (Eng.); ratt, (Tch); arâtt, yasû, (As. Tch); rat, rattî, arattî, (Psp M.); ret, (M); rat, (M 8)
Night, as dark as,—Arâttiovel, râttilo, (Tch.)
Night, during the,—Arattî, (Tch)
Night, to stay through the,—Rat'arâva, rat'ardovâva, (M.)

NIGHTINGALE,—Ratniken chiriclo, (Eng)
NIGHTLY,—Rardiskey, (Eng)
NINE,—Enêa, enîa, inîya, (Tch.); nêya, nu, (As. Tch.); îniya, (Psp. M.); enâ, (M); enea, (M. 7)
NINETEEN,—Desh-i-înia, (Psp. M.)
NINETY,—Iniyavardêri, Psp M.)
NINTH,—Enâto, (M)
NIT,—Lik, (adj) likalô, (Tch.); likh, (M. 8); cf. LOUSE.
NITS, He who has,—Likêngoro, (Tch)
NO,—Ne, kek, kekko, chî, (Eng); na, nâna, nânai, nâsti, nâstik, nânasti, nânastik, ne ne, ma, (Tch); na, nanâi, nastî, ma, (Psp. M.); ba, (M.); (see NOT.)
NO MORE,—Kekkomi, (Eng)
NOBLEMAN,—Gh'alti, (As. Tch.); râi, (Psp. M.)
NOBLENESS,—Strashnichiye, (M.)
NOBODY,—Jenô, (Tch)
NOCTURNAL,—Rattutnô, arattutnô, rattiâkoro, (Tch)
NOISE,—Gudlî, godli, (Eng.)
NONE,—Chee, kek, kekkeno, (Eng.)
NONSENSE,—Dinnelipênes, (Eng)
NOON,—Yêkpash divês, (Tch); nimru, (As. Tch.); mezmêri, mesmêri, myâzĕ, myâza, myâdza, (M)
NO ONE,—Kayâk jenô, (Psp. M.)
NOSE,—Nok, (Eng); rutunî, (Tch., M. 8); nak, (As. Tch., Psp. M., M.); nakh, (M 8)
NOT,—Mâ, kek, na, ne, (Eng); na, nîchi, nich, (M.); chi, (M. 7); na, ni, (M. 8); see NO.
NOT ANY,—Kekkeno, (Eng)
NOTHING,—Vaneshu, (Eng); hich, ich, chi, chichi, chiti, (Tch); na (ma) nishta, (M. 8)
NOURISH, to,—Parvarâva, (Tch, Psp M., M. 8); hrĕniâva, hrĕnisarava, (M), see FEED.
NOURISHMENT,—Hrâuĕ, merînd'e, (M)
NOVELTY,—Nevibê, (Tch.)
NOW,—Kanau, knau, kana, (Eng.); akanâ, okanâ, akâi, kâi, akanghâ, (Tch.); akanâ, okanâ, (Psp. M.); akanâ, aka, (M); akana, (M. 7)
NUN,—Rashanî, (Tch.)
NURSE,—Daya, dieya, (Eng); mâmkĕ, (M)
NUT,—Pedloer, penliois, (Eng); akhôr, akôr, (Tch., Psp. M.); akhor, (M. 7); peledan, (M. 8).
NUT-TREE,—Akhorîn, akorîn, (Psp. M.)

O

OAK,—Stezhâri, (M)
OATS,—Jôbis, (Eng); pusavdî, (Tch.)
OATH,—Sauloholomus, (Eng.); khasloibê, sovêl, (Tch); sovel, (M. 8)
OBEY, to,—Kandâva, (M.)
OBLIGED (compelled), to be,—Musarâva, (M.)
OBSCURE,—Biaveliâkoro, (Tch)
OCEAN,—Okyâna, (M.)
ODOUR,—Sung, (Tch.); shung, (M. 8)
OF,—De, kata, kat, (M.)
OFFERING,—Kiribê, (Tch)
OFFICER,—Cherîbashi, (Tch)
OF NO USE,—Kek-kushti, (Eng)
OIL,—Maklô, (Tch)
OIL, linseed,—Tabardô, (Tch)
OLD,—Pureno, puro, (Eng); phurô, purô, (comp.) phuredêr, puranô, phuranô, (Tch); pûnari, vidi, (As. Tch); phurô, phurû, purô, furô, puranô, (Psp. M.); bharô, pharô, (M); phuro, purano, (M. 8)
OLD, to become,—Phurâniovâva, (Tch.)
OLD, to grow,—Phûriovâva, (Tch., Psp. M)
OLD AGE,—Phuribê, (Tch.)
OLD CLOTHES MAN,—Eskijis, (Tch.)
OLD MAN,—Phurô, phurû, (M.)
OLIVE,—Maklîcha, (Tch.); zeiti, (As. Tch., M. 8)
ON,—Pe, pre, (M.); opre, (M. 8)
ONCE,—Yekorus, (Eng.)
ONE,—Yek, (Eng.); yek, (Tch, Psp. M.); yûka, (As. Tch.); ek, yek, (M.); yek, (M. 7)
ONE'S OWN,—Nogo, (Eng.)
ONION,—Purrum, (Eng.); purûm, (Tch., Psp M., M. 8); bevâzi, pivâz, (As. Tch)
ONION, of or belonging to,—Purumêngoro, (Tch)
ONLY,—Yekoro, (Eng.); numây, nûmay, num, (M.)
OPEN,—Pinrô, poravdô, (Tch.); poravdô, (M.); pinro, (M. 8)
OPEN, to,—Pinavâva, pinravâva, poravâva, (Tch); puterâva, (M.)
OPEN THE EYES, to,—Ĕnkalavâva, (M.)
OPENED, to become,—Pînriovâva, (Tch.)
OPENING,—Khĕŭ, (M)
OPENING IN A PAIR OF BELLOWS,—Privichi, (Tch)
OPPOSITE,—Mamûi, perdâl, perdalutnô, (Tch.); ghârshu (As. Tch.); mamûi, (Psp M.)
OPPOSITE, he who is,—Mamutnô, mamutnanô, (Tch.)
OPPOSITE to,—Mamuyâl, (Tch); mamuy, (M. 8.
ORCHARD,—Paub tan, (Eng)
OR,—Or, vor, (M)
ORDURE,—Hin, (Eng)
ORIFICE,—Mûi, (Tch)
OTHER,—Yavêr, (Tch, Psp M., M. 7)
OTTER,—Vidra, (M. 8)
OUR,—Moro, (Eng); amarô, (Tch); emeki, (As. Tch.); amarô, amarôŭ, amarû, (M); amaro, (M. 7)
OUT, (not within),—Abri, (Eng); avrî, (Psp M.); bi, (M); avri, (M. 7)
OUTER,—Avryâl, (M.)
OVEN,—Bov, (Tch., Psp. M); boŭ, (M.); bov, (M. 7)
OVER,—Pawdel, (Eng); oprâl, (M)
OVER the water,—Perdâl, predâl, (Psp. M., M. 8)

INDRAGOMIN AND OTHER GRAMMARIANS.

BY PROF. F. KIELHORN; GÖTTINGEN.

Professor Bühler's notice of Professor Peterson's Second Report on the Search for Sanskṛit MSS. (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 354) has again drawn my attention to Professor Peterson's discovery (*Report*, p. 65), that "the Indra grammar" commenced with the words सिद्धिरनुक्तानां रूढेः. "To light upon a passage"—so Professor Peterson says,—"which actually quotes the first words of Indra's grammar, while as yet scholars are disputing as to whether such a work ever existed, is indeed a reward for much fruitless toil." And Professor Bühler adds:—"This discovery settles, indeed, the question, if an Aindra grammar really existed."

It would seem that, in the opinion of both scholars we have now at last got actually a quotation from that Aindra grammar which, according to the late Dr. Burnell, preceded the grammar of Pâṇini, and that, according to their views, such an Aindra grammar has really existed, or may, as Professor Bühler suggests, still be in existence. Much as I rejoice at Professor Peterson's discovery, I cannot but think that the conclusion drawn from it—supposing it to be as stated[1]—is a somewhat hasty one.

I have indeed been long aware of the fact that a grammar composed by *Indra* must have existed, because I knew that that grammar had been used by Hêmachandra. But as the fuller name of the author of that work is Indragômin, just as Chandra's fuller name is Chandragômin, I feel no inclination to make it older than Pâṇini. And my opinion as to its comparatively recent origin is confirmed by an examination of the statements that are ascribed to it,—a writer who copies from the Vârttikas on P. I. 4, 3 and VIII. 3, 1, cannot be older than Pâṇini,—as well as by the fact that Indra or Indragômin is mentioned in company with grammarians or grammars like Chandragômin or the *Kalâpaka*,[2] about whose relation to Pâṇini there can be no doubt.

Hêmachandra mentions the views of other grammarians most frequently; but, unfortunately, instead of quoting those scholars by name, he introduces their statements by such vague expressions as *Kaśchit*, *Kêchit*, *Êkê*, *Anyê*, *Aparê*, etc. What grammarians were meant to be denoted by these terms, I first learnt from the marginal notes in a MS. of a small portion of Hêmachandra's grammar which is in my possession, and I subsequently discovered that the names there given have been taken from a commentary, called *Nyâsa*, on Hêmachandra's *Bṛihadvṛitti*. Of this *Nyâsa* I have now been able to read through a MS. of the Deccan College (No. 282 of 1873-74), which, I regret to say, does not go beyond the first Pâda of Adhyâya II. of Hêmachandra's grammar; and from it I give the following names of grammarians or works on grammar, which Hêmachandra is supposed to refer to:—

Indragômin. Fol. 11*b* Indragômi-Kâlâpaka-prabhṛitayaḥ [Hêmachandra: केचित्तु भवद्भगवद्घवतां संबोधने सौ परतोऽवशब्दस्यौत्वं तकारस्य च रुत्वं कृत्वा]. Fol. 12*a* Indragômi-Chandra-prabhṛitayaḥ; Fol. 15*a* Chandrêndragômi-prabhṛitayaḥ [Hêmachandra: अन्ये तु पुरुषस्य समासार्थत्वे नेच्छन्ति। तन्मते प्रियवृद्धये प्रियधेनवे पुरुषायेत्येव भवति।]. [Besides, my own MS. has Indra-Chândrau Fol. 53*a*].

Utpala. Fol. 13*b* यदुत्पलः। कर्मधारयात्समासान्ते प्रचेताराजः।; Fol. 18*b*;—Fol. 14*b*. Utpalâdayaḥ; Fol. 16*a* twice.

Kalâpaka; Fol. 25*b*, [and Kâlâpaka in my own MS. Fol. 53*a*]; Fol. 3*b* Kâlâpakâdyâḥ; Fol. 11*b* Indragômi-Kâlâpaka-prabhṛitayaḥ.

Kâśikâkâra. Fol. 11*b* Kâśikâkârâdayaḥ.

Kshîrasvâmin. Fol. 13*b* गीर्पतिरित्यत्र क्षीरस्वामिना भ्रातुष्पुत्रादित्वात्षत्वमिष्यते; Fol. 15*a* forms only अतिशकट्यै, प्रियधेन्वै पुरुषाय; Fol. 20*a* Chândra-Bhôja-Kshîrasvâmi-prabhṛitayaḥ.

Chandragômin. Fol. 12*a* Indragômi-Chandra-prabhṛitayaḥ; Fol. 13*a* Chândra-prabhṛitayaḥ; Fol. 15*a* Chandrêndragômi-prabhṛitayaḥ; Fol. 18*b* Chandrâdayaḥ; Fol. 20*a* Chândra-Bhôja-Kshîrasvâmi-prabhṛitayaḥ; Fol. 23*a* Chandragômi-Dêvanandy-âdayaḥ; Fol. 24*a*

[1] So far as I know, there is only one Indra grammar about which there has been any dispute, viz that Indra grammar which according to Dr. Burnell is older than Pâṇini.

[2] The *Kalâpaka*, or *Kalâpasûtra*, or *Kaumâra-vyâkaraṇa*, or more commonly *Kâtantra*, composed by Śrî-Śarvavarman, "after the Sûtra composed by Bhagavat-Kumâra, and at his command." See the extracts from the commentaries in Eggeling's edition.

Chandragômîya-matam; Fol. 24*b* Chândra-Bhôjau. [Besides, my own MS. has Fol. 50*b* Chândrâḥ, and Fol. 53*a* Indra-Chândrau].

Durgasiṁha Fol. 22*b*.—Fol. 15*a* Durgasiṁha-Śrutapâlâdiḥ; Fol. 24*b* Durgaḥ.

Dêvanandin.[3] Fol. 16*a* देवनन्दिना मृगेऽपि स्त्रीलिङ्ग उक्तः *scil.* वातप्रमीशब्दः; Fol. 21*a* काराशब्दं तु देवनन्दी, *scil.* इच्छति, in काराभू; Fol. 24*b*.—Fol. 8*b* Dèvanandyâdayaḥ; Fol. 16*a*;—Fol. 23*a* Chandragômi-Dêvanandy-âdayaḥ.

Pàṇini. Fol. 20*a* Pàṇini-prabhṛitayaḥ; Fol. 18*b* Pàṇinîy-âdayaḥ; Fol. 19*a* Pâṇinisûtrânusâriṇaḥ.

Bhôja. Fôl. 16*a*;—Fol. 15*b* Bhôja-prabhṛitayaḥ; Fol. 20*a* Chândra-Bhôja-Kshîrasvâmi-prabhṛitayaḥ; Fol. 24*b* Chândra-Bhôjau.

Vâmana.[4] Fol. 16*a* Vâman-âdayaḥ [Hêmachandra says: केचिड्डत्यन्तात्कतिशब्दादेवेच्छन्ति *scil.* जस्शसोर्लुपम्; they form therefore कति, but not यति.]

Viśrântavidyâdhara. Fol. 11*b* [Hèmachandra says: कश्चित्तु स्वरजयोरनादिस्थयोर्यकारवकारयोर्घोषवन्यवर्णादन्यतोऽपि लोपमिच्छति। अध्यारूढ उम् ईशम् अध्युः स चासाविन्दुश्च अध्विन्दुः। साधोरी श्रीः साध्वी तस्या उदयः साध्दुदय इत्यादि ।, and the *Nyâsa* adds कश्चिदिति । विश्रान्तविद्याधरः।]; Fol. 9*b* Viśrântavidyâdhar-âdayaḥ [केचित्तु व्यञ्जनस्य स्थानेऽनुनासिके वानुनासिकमिच्छन्ति। त्वक् ङँ इति =त्वङ्ङँ इति ।]; Fol. 18*a*; [besides, my own MS. Fol. 44*b*].

Śakaṭa or Śâkaṭâyana. Fol. 13*b* [and my own MS. Fol. 53*a*] Śakaṭa; Fol. 16*a*, Fol. 21*a* Śâkaṭâyana; [my own MS. Fol. 50*b* Śâkaṭâyanâḥ]; Fol. 12*a*, Fol. 13*a*, Fol. 15*a*, Fol. 18*a* Śâkaṭâyan-âdayaḥ.

Śrutapàla. [My own MS. Fol. 53*a*]; Fol. 15*a* Durgasiṁha-Śrutapâlâdiḥ [Hèmachandra says सख्यौ पत्यौ । पताविति कश्चित् ।, and the *Nyâsa* adds कश्चिदिति । दुर्गसिंहश्रुतपालादि].

[In addition to the above my own MS. Fol. 50*b* makes Hêmachandra quote the opinion of Ratnamati,[5] called Ratnamatir bauddhaḥ, in the words; राधीक्ष्यर्थविषयाद्विप्रष्टव्यादिच्छत्यन्यः। लाभाय राध्यति । लाभाय राधयति। लाभाय साधयति। लाभायेक्षत। लाभाय पश्यति।. And the *Nyâsa* cites, on its own account, the following: Upâdhyâya (यदाह उपाध्यायः। अष्ट इत्येतस्मात्षष्ठ्यामापुलित्येव भवति); Kakkala (इति कक्कलस्य व्याख्या); Jayâditya; the Dhâtupârâyaṇikâḥ opposed to the Vaiyâkaraṇâḥ; a *Nyâsa* and a Nyâsakâra; the *Bhâshya*, Bhâshyakâra, Bhâshyakṛit, Bhâshyakâra-Vârttikakârau, and Śrîśèsharâja (*i.e.* Patañjali); Vatsa-Ṛishabhau (यतः शतृप्रत्ययान्तं महदिति रूपं लाक्षणिकं कतृप्रत्ययान्तं तु प्रतिपदोक्तम्। एतच्च वत्सऋषभावूचतुः।); the *Viśrânta* (विश्रान्तादौ); the Vaijayantîkâra; and a marginal note explains the word अन्ये by Jinêndra-Bhòja-Pâṇini-prabhṛitayaḥ].

Now from the above list it will appear, that Hèmachandra in the compilation of his own grammar has used exactly those grammatical works which we might have expected him to use, *viz.*, besides the *Pâṇinîya* and its commentaries, the grammars of Chandra, Śâkaṭâyana (who, of course, has nothing to do with the old Śâkaṭâyana), Bhôja, and Vâmana; the *Jainêndra*, the *Kalâpaka*, the writings of Kshîrasvâmin, and similar works. Certain it seems, that he has known nothing older than Pàṇini, and we shall probably not be far wrong, when we assume that the grammar of Indra or Indragômin bore a somewhat close relation to either the grammar of Chandragômin or the *Kalâ-*

[3] While I am obliged to Mr. Pathak for having set me right about Pûjyapada (*ante*. Vol. XII. p. 19), I still believe that Dêvanandin was the author of the original *Jainêndra-vyâkaraṇa*. If that grammar is correctly described by the term *anêkaśêshaṁ vyâkaraṇam*, which even Prof. Peterson appears to admit (*Report*, p. 68), it follows with absolute certainty from the examples *Daivanandinam anêkaśêshaṁ vyâkaraṇam* and *Dêvopajñam anêkaśêsha-vyâkaraṇam*, that Dèvanandin was the *first* who invented or proclaimed that grammar. Any Śastrî conversant with the rules of grammar can tell whether I am right or wrong. I may add, that that recension of the *Jainêndra*, which has been commented upon by Sômadeva, cannot be the original one, because it *does* contain the *Ekaśêsha*-rules, and I have no objection to its being ascribed to Gunanandin. Lastly, I regret that Professor Peterson was unable to consult the Deccan College MSS. described by me (*ante*, Vol. X. p. 75), but they certainly had *not* gone to Germany (*Report*, note on p. 69), nor have they gone there even now.

[4] In the *Gaṇaratnamahôdadhi* p. 2, Vâmana is described as the author of the *Viśrântavidyâdhara-vyâkaraṇa*; the same work mentions, p. 167, a *Nyâsa* on the *Viśrânta*, and p. 131 a Viśrântanyâsakṛit. A *Bṛihadvṛitti* of Vâmana is quoted, *id*. p. 452; and Vâmana also composed a *Liṅgânuśâsana* in 34 Âryâs, which seems still to exist. In the *Nyâsa*, from which I have quoted in the above, Viśrântavidyâdhara is certainly intended to be the name or the epithet of a man, not of a grammar: the name of the grammar appears to be *Viśrânti*. Compare *Kâtantra* as the name of Śarvavarman's grammar, and *Mushṭi* as that of Malayagiri's (*Mushṭikṛiti*).

[5] Ratnamati is often quoted. The man here intended I suspect to be the same as Ratna-śrîpâdaḥ, who appears to have composed a commentary on the *Chândra-vyâkaraṇa*, and who is cited (with Vimalamati) in Ânandadatta's *Paddhati*.

paka, together with which it is mentioned.[6] As regards the first Sûtra of it, for the discovery of which we are indebted to Professor Peterson, I believe that Hêmachandra has imitated it in his own rule **लोकात्**,[7] which in his grammar follows immediately upon the Sûtras **अर्हम्। सिद्धिः स्याद्वादात्।**

I cannot conclude these remarks without two requests. In the first place, I would urge my fellow-students to cease speaking of an Aindra grammar, or of the Aindra school of grammarians, terms for which, so far as I know, there is no justification, and which are only apt to mislead And secondly, I would earnestly request my former colleagues, Peterson and Bhandarkar, who already have done so much for the preservation of Sanskrit MSS., to purchase as many commentaries on Hêmachandra's work as they can lay hold of, because I believe that such commentaries will furnish many valuable notes on the history of Sanskrit grammar. If the information at my command be correct, there must still be in existence a *Bṛihannyâsa*, called *Śabdamahârṇava*, a *Nyâsa* by Dharmaghôsha, one by Râmachandra, a *Laghunyâsa* by Kanakaprabha, and similar works. They will probably not be pleasant reading, but if Professors Bhandarkar and Peterson will give me the chance, I will try to make the best of them.

THE CHANDRA-VYAKARANA AND THE KASIKA-VRITTI.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN ; GÖTTINGEN.

Tradition tells us that the *Chândra-Vyâkaraṇa* is older than the *Kâśikâ-Vṛitti*. The kindness of Professor Oldenberg, who has placed at my disposal his copy of the fragments of C h a n d r a's grammar which are at Cambridge, enables me to prove that the compilers of the *Kâśikâ* have diligently used that grammar, although they never actually mention it.

On Pâṇini IV. 1, 54 the *Kâśikâ* has the note **अङ्गगात्रकण्ठेभ्य इति वक्तव्यम्**, which is not found in the *Mahâbhâshya*. The three words are taken from Chandra's rule, which corresponds to Pâṇini IV. 1, 55, **नासिकोदरौष्ठजङ्घादन्तकर्णशृङ्गाङ्गगात्रकण्ठात्.**

On Pâṇini IV. 1, 68 the *Kâśikâ* has the note **श्वशुरस्योकाराकारलोपश्च वक्तव्यः। श्वश्रूः।** which is not in the *Mahâbhâshya*. Chandra has the rule **पङ्गुः श्वश्रूः**

On Pâṇini IV. 1, 85 the *Kâśikâ* has the note **यमाच्चेति वक्तव्यम्**, which is not in the *Mahâbhâshya*. Chandra has **यम**, in his rule **दित्यदित्यादित्ययमाण्ण्यः**

On Pâṇini IV. 1, 156 the *Kâśikâ* has the note **त्यदादीनां वा फिञ्वक्तव्यः** Chandra has the rules **वृद्धचोऽणः। त्यदादिभ्यः।**

On Pâṇini IV. 2, 42 the *Kâśikâ* has the note **वाताद्दूलः**, which is a rule of Chandra's. The addition of **ऊल** to **वात**, in the sense of **समूह**, is taught again in the *Kâśikâ* on Pâṇini V. 2, 122, where the note to that effect is taken from the *Mahâbhâshya.*

On Pâṇini IV. 3, 8 the *Kâśikâ* has the note **आदेश्चेति वक्तव्यम्। आदिमः।** Chandra's rule is **मध्यादिभ्यां मः** In the *Mahâbhâshya* on Pâṇini IV. 3, 23 **आदिम** is formed (not with **म**, but) with **डिमच्.**

On Pâṇini IV. 3, 144 the *Kâśikâ* has the note **एकाचो नित्यं मयटमिच्छन्ति, तदनेन क्रियते.** Chandra has the rules **मयडभक्षाच्छादने। एकाचः।**

On Pâṇini IV. 4, 29 the *Kâśikâ* has the note **चकारोऽनुक्तसमुच्चयार्थः। पारिपार्श्विकः।** Chandra's rule is **परमुखपार्श्वात्.**

On Pâṇini IV. 4, 78 the *Kâśikâ* has the note **ख इति योगविभागः कर्तव्य इष्टसंग्रहार्थः। उत्तरधुरीणः। दक्षिणधुरीणः।** Chandra has the rule **सर्वोत्तरदक्षिणादेः खः**

On Pâṇini IV. 4, 101 the *Kâśikâ* has the note **णप्रत्ययोऽप्यत्रेष्यते। तदर्थं योगविभागः क्रियते.** It was Chandra who taught the addition of either suffix; for his rule is **पर्षदो ण्यश्च.**

On Pâṇini V. 1, 12 the *Kâśikâ* has the note **केचित्तु तस्मै हितमित्यनुवर्तयन्ति.** It was Chandra

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[6] The Paṇḍits of Tibet are certainly right when they say that the *Chândra vyâkaraṇa* agrees with Pâṇini, and they may be therefore supposed to be right in maintaining that the *Kalâpa vyâkaraṇa* agrees with the *Indravyâkaraṇa*, (see Schiefner, Taranâtha, p. 54), *i.e.*, as I take it, the grammar of Indragômin. Indragômin would, in my opinion, be the same as Indradhruva (*id.* p. 66), and Târanâtha is quite right, when he says that in Âryadaśa the Indravyâkaraṇa did not appear before the grammar of Pâṇini (*ib.* p. 54). See Burnell, *On the Aindra Grammar*, p. 5.

[7] Explained by him : **उक्तातिरिक्तानां क्रियागुणद्रव्यजातिकाललिङ्गस्वाङ्गसंख्यापरिमाणापत्यवाग्सालुगवर्णादीनां संज्ञानां परान्नित्यं नित्यादन्तरङ्गमन्तरङ्गाच्च नवकाशं बलीय इत्यादीनां न्यायानां च लोकाद्वैयाकरणसमयविदः प्रामाणिकादेश्च शास्त्रप्रवृत्तये सिद्धिर्भवतीति वेदितव्यम् ॥.**

who did so; for his rule is विकृतेः प्रकृतौ (without तदर्थं.)

The second explanation, which is given in the *Kâśikâ* of Pâṇini V. 1, 94, was the one adopted by Chandra; for his wording of the rule is तदस्य ब्रह्मचर्यें.

On Pâṇini V. 1, 126 the *Kâśikâ* has the note दूतवणिग्भ्यां चेति वक्तव्यम्. Chandra has the rule सखिदूतवणिग्भ्यो यः

When on Pâṇini V. 1, 131 the compiler of the *Kâśikâ* asks कथं काव्यमिति, he shows that he knew Chandra's rule लघोरिकौ ऽकवेः And by his remark उत्तरसूत्रात्संज्ञाग्रहणमनुकृष्यते on Pâṇini V. 2, 81, he indicates that he was acquainted with the wording which Chandra had given to the rules 81 and 82, कालहेतुफलान्नाम्नि and प्रायो(?)ऽन्नमस्मिन्.

On Pâṇini V. 2, 128 the *Kâśikâ* has the note प्राण्यङ्गान्नेष्यते. Chandra's wording of the rule is चार्थरोगगर्हितात्प्राणिस्थादस्वाङ्गादिनिः

On Pâṇini V. 3, 12 the *Kâśikâ* has the note त्रलमपि केचिदिच्छन्ति। कुत्र। Chandra has the rule क कुत्रेहात्र.

On Pâṇini VII. 2, 48 the *Kâśikâ* has the note केचिदुदितमिषं पठन्ति. Chandra does read तीषुसहलुभरुषारिषः.

On Pâṇini VII. 2, 49 the *Kâśikâ* has the note केचिदत्र भरज्ञपिसनितनिपतिदरिद्राणामिति पठन्ति. Chandra does read °भरज्ञपिसनितनिपतिदरिद्रः.

On Pâṇini VII. 3, 17 (see also on V. 1, 55) the *Kâśikâ* has the note असंज्ञाशाणकुलिजानामिति केचित्पठन्ति. Chandra has कुलिज, in his rule संख्यायाः संवत्सरपरिमाणस्यासंज्ञाशाणकुलिजस्य.

These instances, to which I might add many others even from the incomplete copy of Chandra's grammar which is accessible to us in Europe, will sufficiently prove, that the authors of the *Kâśikâ-Vṛitti* knew that grammar and used it in the compilation of their own work. They will also show that Chandra has not, like some of the later grammarians, merely copied from the *Ashṭâdhyâyî*, the *Vârttikas*, and the *Mahâbhâshya;* but that he also has either tried to improve on those works himself, or has in addition to them used other works, which do not seem to exist any longer.[1]

Strange it appears that the compilers of the *Kâśikâ* should never have mentioned Chandra and his grammar; that they should not have done so even in connection with rules such as Pâṇini II. 4, 21; IV. 3, 115; and VI. 2, 14, where by quoting the *Chândra-Vyâkaraṇa* they would, one might say, have much more vividly illustrated Pâṇini's meaning, than by the examples which they have actually given.[2]

It is one of the characteristic features of Chandra's grammar, that,—while it retains the most artificial terms of Pâṇini's grammar, such as लट्, लिट्, लुट् and others, some of which have not met with general acceptance even in Pâṇini's own school,—it discards a large number of other terms, many of which have been found so appropriate or useful, that they have been adopted even by European grammarians. From *Guṇa* and *Vṛiddhi*, Chandra goes back to *adêṅ* and *âdaich*; from *Samprasâraṇa* to *yaṇa ik* or *igyaṇaḥ*; *Vṛiddha* of course had to become *âdaichâdyach*. For *Upasarga*, Chandra always employs *prâdi*; for *Sarvanâman*, *sarvâdi;* for *Taddhita*, *aṇâdi;* *tañ* or *tañâna* serve him for *Âtmanêpada*; and the reverse, *atañ*, for *Parasmaipada*. *Dvandva* is expressed by *chârtha*; *Bahuvrîhi*, by *anyârtha*; and *Dvigu*, by *saṁkhyâdi*; *Upadhâ* is *upânta*; *Upasarjana*, *apra-*

[1] Târanâtha's account of the composition of the *Chândra-Vyâkaraṇa* is as follows:—"Again come to the south of Jambudvîpa, he (*i.e.* Chandragomin) saw in the temple of the Brâhman Vararuchi the structure of the grammar, which had been heard by the Nâga, and the commentary on Pâṇini composed by the Nâga Śesha. 'A commentary must contain few words, but many thoughts: must contain no repetitions, and form a whole. But the Nâga is very silly, has many words and few thoughts, and is incomplete.' After having expressed this censure, he composed, as a commentary on Pâṇini, the *Chândra-Vyâkaraṇa* with the appendices." And again Târanâtha says:—"From that time till now, Chandragomin's work has spread widely, inasmuch as orthodox, as well as heterodox people, study by it; but the Samantabhadra (a grammar composed in ślokas by Chandrakîrtti) soon disappeared, and it is not known whether any copy of it is still in existence."—Schiefner, p. 152 and 155.

[2] It does not seem quite unnecessary to repeat here, that the reading of the published edition of the *Kâśikâ* on Pâṇini II. 4, 21 पाणिन्युपज्ञमाकालापकं व्याकरणम् is wrong. The right reading is पाणिन्युपज्ञमकालकं व्याकरणम्. See *ante*, Vol. X. p. 77. Pâṇini's grammar was called the *akâlakaṁ vyâkaraṇam*, because it contains no definitions of expressions like अद्यतन. See Pâṇini I. 2, 57. Haradatta explains आ न्याय्यादुत्थानादित्यादिकालपरिभाषारहितम्, or पूर्वाणि व्याकरणान्यद्यतनादिकालपरिभाषायुक्तानि तद्रहितं व्याकरणम्; Jinêndrabuddhi स हि स्वस्मिन्व्याकरणे कालाधिकारं न कृतवान्; the Mâdhavîyadhâtuvṛitti कालपरिभाषाशून्यं व्याकरणम्.—What innovations Vyâḍi and Âpiśali made, it is difficult to say; regarding the former, Haradatta has the note दूषिति [or डुषिति?] संकेतशब्दो यथात्र वृत्करणम्; Jinêndrabuddhi has व्याड्युपज्ञं दशहुःकरणमिति। व्याडिरपि युगपत्कालभाविनां मध्य दशहुःकरणानि कृत्वा परिभाषितवान्पूर्वपूर्वं काल इति।

dhâna; *Avyaya*, *asaṁkhya*; *Karman*, *âpya*; *Sakarmaka*, *sâpya*; *Akarmaka*, *avyâpya*; etc. After this we can well understand why the *Chândra-Vyâkaraṇa*, by some kind of exaggeration, should have been termed the *asaṁjñakaṁ vyâkaraṇam*, "the grammar without technical terms;" and I repeat that the phrase चन्द्रोपज्ञमसंज्ञकं व्याकरणम्[3] would have afforded a most appropriate example for Pâṇini II. 4, 21, etc.

Nor can I quite understand why Chandra's grammar, and those who studied it, should have been passed over in the commentary on Pâṇini V. 1, 58 and IV. 2, 65. When the authors had occasion to speak of the *three* Adhyâyas of Kâśakṛitsna's Sûtra, of the *eight* of Pâṇini's, and of the *ten* of Vyâghrapâd's, they surely could not have helped thinking of the Sûtra of Chandra, which contains *six* Adhyâyas. Averse though I am to conjecture, I would venture to ask:—Was the *Chândra-Vyâkaraṇa* good enough to be copied from, but too modern a work to be honourably mentioned together with the Sûtras of sages like Kâśakṛitsna and others, of which Jayâditya and Vâmana probably knew very little more than we do?[4]

MISCELLANEA.

GENERAL CUNNINGHAM'S ARCHÆOLOGICAL REPORTS.

I observe that, in the last number of the *Indian Antiquary*, it is pointed out that General Cunningham's Archæological Reports only require careful and systematic indexing for their practical value to be recognized. I am engaged in preparing a full analytical index, which will be published by the Government of India as a separate volume uniform with the Reports. I have made indices to twelve volumes, and hope to publish the combined Index by the end of the year; but my leisure is scanty, and I cannot promise any definite date.

Any suggestions offered by readers of the *Indian Antiquary* will be welcome.

V. A. SMITH.

Basti, N. W. P., 6th April 1886.

A NOTE ON THE COINS OF THE HINDU KINGS OF KABUL.

In connection with the general subject of the Gupta era, on which I shall have occasion shortly to submit some special remarks, I take this opportunity of putting together a few notes that I made about three years ago, when I first read Sir E. Clive Bayley's Paper, with its Postscript, "On certain Dates occurring on the Coins of the Hindu Kings of Kâbul," published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Third series, Vol. II. p. 128ff. The question now opened has no bearing on the settlement of the epoch of the era, otherwise than as being one of the numerous side-issues that have to be disposed of before any settlement of the main subject will be accepted as final by general readers. But, as such, it appears to me to require to be discussed.

Sir E. Clive Bayley's theory was that the epoch of the Gupta era fell A.D. 190. Like General Cunningham's theory of A.D. 167, it was supported, or was apparently supported, by astronomical calculations of the details of the date in Budhagupta's Êran pillar inscription, and of the *saṁvatsaras* of Jupiter's twelve-year cycle mentioned in the dates of the inscriptions of the Parivrâjaka *Mahârâjas* Hastin and Saṁkshobha. But the real key-note to it is to be found in his belief, and Mr. Thomas', that certain coins of 'Syalapati' of Kâbul have on them dates accompanied by the syllables *ga*, *gu*, *gupta*, or *guptasya*, which were supposed to stand for "*Guptasya kâl*," and to denote "the Gupta era," and in his argument that the dates of these coins, in order to fit in with the period of A.D. 887 to 916 assigned by him to 'Syalapati,' can only be reckoned from A.D. 189 or 190.

But,—irrespective even of the extreme improbability of such an expression as *Guptasya kâl*, "the era of Gupta," being used to denote an era which, though used by the Guptas, was certainly not founded by, at any rate, the *Mahârâja* Gupta, the first of the family mentioned in the inscriptions,[1]—this theory of A.D. 190 has, so far as

[3] See the quotation from Kshîrasvâmin, Prof. Aufrecht in *Z. d. D. Morg. Ges.* Vol. XXVIII. p. 105.

[4] To the poetical passages collected from the *Kâśikâ-Vṛitti*, Vol. XIV. p. 327, I would now add:—

On Pâṇini V. 2, 22. सख्यं जनाः सानन्दीनमाहुः.

[1] This expression has been supposed to occur in line 15 of the Junâgaḍh rock inscription of Skandagupta, where Dr. Bhau Daji (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. pp. 123, 129; and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. pp. 135, 137) read and translated *Guptasya* [illegible] 'counting from the era of Gupta.' But the real reading is *Gupta-prakâlânâm* [illegible] 'making the calculation in the reckoning of the Guptas.' This is a very different thing. And the real significance of the expression is its very clear indication that this date was being recorded in an era which was not the customary one for that part of the country.

the above-mentioned grounds are concerned, absolutely no support whatever.

Of the coins in question, those that have the clearest dates on them are Pl. vii. Nos. 24 to 27, belonging to some unnamed king. They are not attributed to 'Syalapati'; but are considered to be rather more recent. It is admitted, however, that they belong to the same series; and I take them first because they are so very clear. If we examine them with the help of Sir E. Clive Bayley's Table of Numerals in Pl. vii., it is evident at once that No. 24 reads, not "802 Gu," but simply "804," with nothing after it; and that Nos. 25, 26, and 27 read, not "812 Gu," but simply "814," again with nothing after it, the figures being in fact absolutely identical with those which Sir E. Clive Bayley himself read as simply "814" on Nos. 19 to 23, 29 to 31, and 34. In these instances, the supposed *Gu* is nothing but the sign that makes the difference in these numerals between a 2 and a 4. And Sir E. Clive Bayley's reading further involves the peculiar anomaly that the figures have to be read in one direction, from the rim of the coin, and the supposed *Gu* in the opposite direction, from the inside of the coin which results in the curious arrangement of "802 nอ" and "812 nอ."

We have here to note that Sir E. Clive Bayley reported that Mr. Thomas would read the whole date in one direction, from the inside of coins, and would interpret it as "Gu 617," denoting the initial date of Sâmanta's dynasty according to the Gupta era; "and, accepting 319 A.D., according to Albirûni's statement, as the actual date of the Gupta era, would thus place Sâmanta's accession in 936 A.D." Allowing for the possibility of the first sign being capable of meaning *Gu*, this way of interpreting the figures seems to be equally well borne out by Sir E. Clive Bayley's Table. But the first sign cannot mean *Gu*, and does not mean *Gu*. And a reference to the Table will shew immediately that the figures have to be read, as Sir E. Clive Bayley read them, from the rims of the coins, and that the dates are in reality nothing but 804 and 814, as I have pointed out above.

The coins of 'Syalapati' himself are Pl. i. Nos. 3 to 5, and 7 to 10. Of these, No. 7 is read as "707," and Nos. 8, 9, and 10 as "727," without any supposed reference at all to the Gupta era; and these readings are in accordance with the Table of Numerals, if the dates are read from the rim of the coin like the dates of Nos. 19 to 27, 29 to 31, and 34, referred to above. On the other hand, if we might read the figures on these seven coins from the inside, there appears no particular objection to interpreting them as respectively "[illegible]" and "[illegible]."

There remain Nos. 3, 4, and 5, which are read respectively as "Gupta" with two doubtful figures, "98 Gu." and "99 Gu;" meaning (6)98 and (6)99. And these are unfortunately not so easy to deal with, since,—though the signs that are supposed to mean *Gupta* must be in reality numerals of some kind or another,—there is nothing in Sir E. Clive Bayley's Table, and I can obtain nothing elsewhere, to explain their value as numerals. But, in attempting to find a proper reading of them, we must in the first place notice that the sign which, on Nos. 4 and 5, Sir E. Clive Bayley interprets as the figure 9, and enters as such in his Table, occupies exactly the position which is filled in Prinsep's coin, noted below, by a symbol resembling a crescent moon on the top of a short staff with a cross-handle; and this suggests that the sign in question is not a figure at all.

In the hope that some of the readers of this Journal may possess a clue to their real meaning, I now give a reproduction of the signs that were supposed to mean *Gupta*. The lithograph was issued by Sir E. Clive Bayley as capable of being "accepted as a fair rendering of the usual form of the word." But it will be admitted, at once and generally I should think, that it answers in no way whatever to the usual form of the word, and cannot be so interpreted in accordance with any known alphabet, even though we should follow Mr. Thomas in looking upon it as "a degraded and contracted form of the word."

In trying to find out what these signs do mean, it must be noted that coin No. 3 in Pl. i. gives some indications to the effect that the first sign as given above, is imperfect on the left side, and that in its complete form the left side was exactly similar to the right, the whole sign, in fact, being something like two crescent moons, back to back, connected with a bar.

Also, any information bearing on 'Syalapati's real date would of course help much to clear up the point. And in connection with this, I would draw special attention to his coin figured in *Prinsep's Essays*, Vol. I. p. 3[illegible]4, Pl. xxv. No. 2, which, as now explained by Sir E. Clive Bayley's Table, gives the unmistakable date of [illegible]11, traces of which are also discernible in No. 1 on the same plate. This No. 2 has behind the horseman the same monogram, *u n*, not [illegible], as Sir E. Clive Bayley's Nos. 25, 26, and 27 have; also, as explained by No. 1, it has in the upper corner in front of the horseman, the same symbol (interpreted by Sir E. Clive Bayley on his No. 20 as a rude imitation of "[illegible]") that appears in the same position on others of these coins, and resembles a crescent moon on the top of a short staff with a cross-handle. These points of similarity suggest

that possibly Sir E. Clive Bayley's Nos. 25, 26, and 27 (and others) belong really to 'Syalapati,' though his name is not on the obverse. And the unmistakable date of 814 on at any rate *Prinsep's Essays*, Pl. xxv. No. 2, further suggests that the figures on Sir E. Clive Bayley's Nos. 7, 8, 9, and 10, should not be read as 707 and 727. Sir E. Clive Bayley places 'Syalapati' in A.D. 887 to 916; which would agree very satisfactorily with the date of 814 on Prinsep's coin, if we might refer it to the Śaka era, with the result of A.D. 892-93. On the other hand, General Cunningham, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XIV. p. 45, places him rather earlier, about A.D. 800, but quotes no authority for this. I have not been able to find any other information as to the probable date of 'Syalapati.'

J. F. FLEET.

22nd April 1886.

A NEW GRANT OF DHARASENA II. OF VALABHI.

I have received from Mr. Wajeshankar Gaurishankar of Bhâwnagar, through Colonel J. W. Watson, Political Agent, Kâthiâwâḍ, impressions, with text and translation, of a new copper-plate inscription of the *Mahârâja* Dharasêna II. of Valabhî, dated (Gupta)-Saṁvat 252 (A.D. 571-72), from the village of Jhar, in the Amrêlî Parganâ in Kâthiâwâḍ. The plates were found by Mr. Wajeshankar, and are in his possession. It is not necessary to publish the grant in full; but a description of it will not be out of place.

The inscription is on two plates, measuring roughly about 11½" by 8", and appears to be in a state of excellent preservation. The first plate contains 16 lines of writing; and the second, 18. The characters are of the ordinary type of the Kâthiâwâḍ alphabet, of the period to which it belongs. The language is Sanskrit throughout.

The text follows the draft of the three grants of the same *Mahârâja*, published in this Journal, Vol. VII p. 68f., Vol. VIII p. 301ff., and Vol. XIII p. 160ff., and all dated in the same year, 252, but on the fifteenth day of the dark fortnight of the month Vaiśâkha. I note below a few passages in which the present grant tends to elucidate the correct text of the draft.

The contents are, in brief, as follows:—There was the illustrious *Sênâpati* Bhaṭârka (line 3), a most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara, who was possessed of glory acquired in a hundred battles fought with (*i.e.* against) the large armies, possessed of unequalled strength, of the Maitrakas, who by force compelled their enemies to bow down before them.[1] His son was the illustrious *Sênâpati* Dharasêna (l. 4), a most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara. His younger brother was the *Mahârâja* Drônasiṁha[2] (l. 7), a most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara, —who was anointed in the kingship by the paramount master[3] in person, the sole master of the circumference of the territory of the whole world.—His younger brother was the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious Dhruvasêna (l. 9), a most devout worshipper of the Holy One.[4] His younger brother was the illustrious *Mahârâja*, Dharapaṭṭa[5] (l. 10), a most devout worshipper of the Sun. His son was the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious Guhasêna[6] (l. 15) a most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara. His son is the *Sâmanta* and *Mahârâja*, the illustrious Dharasêna[7] (l. 19) a most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara.

From (*the city of*) Valabhî (l. 1), he, Dharasêna, being in good health, issues his commands to all his *Âyuktakas*,[8] *Viniyuktakas*, *Drâṅgikas*, *Mahattaras*, *Châṭas*, *Bhaṭas*, *Dhruvâdhikâraṇikas*, *Śaulkikas*, *Pratisârakas*, *Daṇḍapâśikas*, *Chauroddharaṇikas*, &c., that he gives as a *brahmadêya*, for the purpose of maintaining the rites of the five great sacrifices of the *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadêva*, *agnihôtra*, and [illegible] (l. 27), to the Brâhmaṇa [illegible] (l. 22), an inhabitant of the town of Brahmapura, a member of the Bhârgava *gôtra*, and a student of the [illegible]-Mânava [illegible]—(1) the village of Vaṭagrâma (l. 22), in the Dîpanaka [illegible] and the Bilvakhâta [illegible]—2) one hundred [illegible] (l. 2[illegible]) within the area[9] of Bilvakhâta, in

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[1] See Dr. Kielhorn's explanation of the passage, [illegible], Vol. XIV. p. 328.—I find that Dr. Bhau Daji, in 1868, had an idea as to the correct interpretation of this passage. He wrote (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. VIII p. 24[illegible]):—'A sentence in the copper-plate, which has hitherto not been translated correctly, shows that they (the rulers of Valabhi) "triumphed over a sun-worshipping people (Maitrakas)."'

[2] The epithet [illegible] is not used here.—In line 5 the reading of this grant is [illegible] *Mahêśvara*[illegible].

[3] [illegible]*-svâmin*.—The emperor in question was Yaśôdharman, for whom we have the date of Mâlava-Saṁvat 589 (A.D. 532-33) expired, in one of the Mandasor inscriptions.

[4] *Bhagavat*, an epithet of Vishṇu, Śiva, and Buddha; but especially of Vishṇu, whom it probably always denotes when there is no express intimation to the contrary.

[5] In line 9 f. the reading is [illegible]; and in line [illegible] is omitted before [illegible].

[6] In line 12 the reading is [illegible]; in line 13 f., [illegible] in line 17, [illegible], not [illegible].

[7] In line 15 the reading is [illegible]; in line 16, [illegible] and [illegible]; in line 1[illegible], [illegible], and [illegible]; and in line 19, [illegible].

[8] Or perhaps [illegible]. The text looks like [illegible]; but it may perhaps be [illegible].

[9] [illegible].

the northern boundary, to the north of the division called Bhaṭârkabhêḍa, to the east of an ant-hill, and to the west of the road or river called Amrilikavaha ;— (3) in the same eighth region of the compass,[19] an irrigation-well (l. 23), with twenty-five *pâdâvartas* of land lying round it;— (4) in the eastern boundary of the village of Vêlâpadraka (l. 24) in the Jhari *sthalî*, one hundred and sixty *pâdâvartas* (*of land*) on the south of the high-road, on the east of the field of Jhajjhaka, on the west of the junction of the boundaries of Dadhikûpaka, and on the north of the field of Khaṇḍaka or (? Vinhaka), a resident of the village of Bhrâmarakalyagrâma ;— and (5) twenty-five *pâdâvartas* (*of land*) (l. 26) in the southern boundary of the same village.

Lines 28 to 32 contain the usual mandate against interfering with the full enjoyment of the grant; and two of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses.

These are followed by the statement, in line 33, that the *Dûtaka* was Chirbira, and that the charter was written by the *Saṁdhivigrahâdhikṛita* Skandabhaṭa. Then comes the date, in numerical symbols, of the year 252, the fifth day of the dark fortnight of Chaitra. And the inscription ends with the endorsement—"(*This is*) the sign-manual of me, the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious Dharasêna."

J. F. FLEET.

23*rd March* 1866.

TWO PASSAGES FROM THE ACHARATIKA.

At page 141 f. above, Mr. K. B. Pathak has published an interesting passage from the Jain *Harivaṁśa*, which mentions the Early Gupta kings, and, in giving a regular succession of dynasties, including them, from the *nirvâṇa* of Mahâvîra, purports to have a bearing, though a wrong one, on the question of their epoch.

I now give, as another literary curiosity of a somewhat similar kind, two passages from the commentary named *Âchâraṭîkâ* by Śîlâchârya on the Jain work called *Âchârâṅgasûtra*,—from a manuscript, supposed to be about three hundred years old, shown to me in the early part of 1883 by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji.[1]

The first passage, on pp. 207*b* and 208*a*, is in metre, and runs—

Dvâsaptaty-adhikêshu hi
  śatêshu saptasu gatêshu Guptânâṁ [1*]
samvatsarêshu mâsi cha
  Bhadrapadê śuklâ(kla)-paṁchamyâṁ ||
Śîlâchâryêṇa kritâ
  Gaṁbhûtâyâṁ sthitêna ṭîk=aishâ |
samyag-upayujya śôdhyâ
  mâtsarya-vinâkṛitair=âryê(ryai)ḥ ||

This passage gives Gupta-Saṁvat 772 (expired), the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Bhadrapada, as the date on which this portion of the Commentary was completed by Śîlâchârya, at Gambhûtâ (? Cambay).

The second passage, on p. 256*b*, at the end of the whole book, is in prose, and runs—

Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêsashu[2] saptasu | ashṭânavaty-adhikêshu Vaiśâkha-śuddha-paṁchamyâṁ Âchâraṭikâ kṛit=êti || ba || Saṁvat (page 256*b* ends here; and the next page, containing the repetition of the date in figures, and the last final words of the author, is lost)

This passage gives Śaka-Saṁvat 798 (expired), the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Vaiśâkha, as the date of the completion of the whole Commentary.

The two passages, indicating, as they stand, that Śîlâchârya treated the Gupta and Śaka eras as identical, obviously contain a mistake of some kind or another, which must be attributed to a pedantic desire on his part to introduce a mention of an era,—whether the Gupta or the Śaka, as the case may be,—with which he was only imperfectly acquainted. And the mistake cannot be cleared away, unless we can obtain some independent record of the real date of Śîlâchârya,[3] sufficient to shew whether the *Âchâraṭîkâ* was written during Gupta-Saṁvat 772 to 798 (A. D. 1091 to 1117), or during Śaka-Saṁvat 772 to 798 (A. D. 850 to 876).

The passages, however, are of some interest, in shewing that, in Śîlâchârya's time, there was still a recollection of the fact that the era,—which must have been known best from its use by the rulers of Valabhî, and which came eventually, in Kâṭhiâwâḍ, to be called the Valabhî-Saṁvat,—was connected originally and specially with the Gupta kings, by whom it was introduced into Kâṭhiâwâḍ and the neighbouring parts.

J. F. FLEET.

31*st March* 1886.

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[19] [illegible]; *i. e.* in the same northern boundary of Bilvakhêṭa.

[1] Since writing this Note, I have found an allusion by Dr. Bhau Daji in 1864, to what is evidently the same manuscript, though he quoted only the Gupta date. He wrote (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. S.*, Vol. VIII p. 246)—"I have a Jain manuscript which is dated in the 772nd year of the Guptakâla; but unfortunately the corresponding Vikrama or Śâlivâhana's year is not given; nor is it possible at present to ascertain the exact date of the author from other sources."

[2] Read [illegible].

[3] The Śaka era was used so rarely, if at all, in Gujarât and Kâṭhiâwâḍ, that probably the Gupta era gives the real date for Śîlâchârya. And I would throw out a suggestion that possibly a mistake of the same kind may account for the dates, Śaka-Saṁvat 400 and 417, of the apparently spurious Umêṭâ and Ilâo grants of Daḍḍa II, (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 61ff. ; and Vol. XIII. p. 115ff).

THE EPOCH OF THE GUPTA ERA.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

UNTIL the discovery of the Mandasôr inscription of Kumâragupta and Bandhuvarman, which I publish at page 194ff. below, the only direct information available as to the Epoch of the Gupta Era was the statement of Abu Rihân Albîrûnî, who, writing in the first half of the eleventh century A.D., left on record the following notes, as taken from M. Reinaud's French translation of the original in his *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, page 138ff.—"People employ ordinarily the eras of Śrî-Harsha,[1] of Vikramâditya, of Śaka, of 'Ballaba',[2] and of the Guptas. * * * * * * 'Ballaba,' who also has given his name to an era, was the prince of the town of 'Ballabha' (Valabhî), in the middle of Aṇhilwâḍa, at a distance of about thirty *yôjanas*. The era of 'Ballaba' is subsequent to that of Saka by two hundred and forty-one years. In order to make use of it, we take the era of Śaka and deduct at the same time the cube of six (216) and the square of five (25). The remainder is the era of 'Ballaba.' This era will be discussed in its place. As to the Gupta-Kâla (the era of the Guptas), we understand by the word *gupta* certain people who, it is said, were wicked and powerful; and the era which bears their name, is the epoch of their extermination. Apparently 'Ballaba' followed the Guptas immediately; for the era of the Guptas also commences (with) the year two hundred and forty-one of the era of Saka. The era of the astronomers commences (with) the year five hundred and eighty-seven of the era of Saka. It is to this era that the *Khaṇḍakhâdyaka* Tables of Brahmagupta are referred. This work has among us the title of '*Arkand*.' According to it, placing ourselves in the year 400 of the era of 'Yezdirdjed,' we find ourselves in the year 1088 of the era of Śrî-Harsha, the year 1088 of the era of Vikramâditya, the year 953 of the era of Śaka, the year 712 of the era of 'Ballaba' and of that of the Guptas."

According to the above extracts, Albîrûnî seems to state in the first instance that the Gupta-Valabhî era began when Śaka-Saṁvat 216 + 25 = 241 (A.D. 319-20) had expired; and this is borne out by his making the year 712 of this era correspond with Śaka-Saṁvat 953, the difference being exactly 241 years. In his next mention, however, he apparently speaks of it as commencing with Śaka-Saṁvat 241, *i. e.* when 240 years had expired. While in a third passage, a little further on in the book,[3] in explaining how the Hindus arrived at the date (January, A.D. 1026) of the taking of Sômnâthpâṭan by Muhammad of Ghaznî, he tells us that they first wrote down 242, then 606, and then 99, with the result of Śaka-Saṁvat 947 (A.D. 1025-26); and here, though he does not expressly mention the Gupta-Valabhî era, there can be no doubt that the first figures refer to it; and they seem to indicate that, in this calculation, the epoch of the era fell when Śaka-Saṁvat 242 had expired.

We have thus three years to choose between for the epoch of the era,—Śaka-Saṁvat 240, 241, or 242, expired; *i.e.* Śaka-Saṁvat 241, 242, or 243 current,—involving a question that can only be settled by accurate calculations of the data available from the inscriptions, published in detail, so that general readers may see that the processes are satisfactory. And I would here point out that, before any of the existing Tables can be utilised for these calculations, at least the following preliminary points must be settled,—(1) whether the years of the Gupta era had a distinct arrangement of their own; or whether they followed the scheme of the years of the Kaliyuga, Vikrama, or Śaka eras; (2) if they were identical with

[1] As is shewn by Albîrûnî's statement further on, this is not the era of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, commencing A.D. 606 or 607, but an earlier era, commencing B. C. 457, of which we have no epigraphical record, and, in fact, no information beyond Albîrûnî's statement that it existed, coupled with a remark that, in a Kaśmîr almanack, he had found the epoch of it put forward to Vikrama-Saṁvat 664 (A.D. 607-8), whence "he felt some doubts that he had not found the means of resolving."

[2] This is quite an imaginary name, which must be attributed to Albîrûnî fancying some connection between the name of the city of Valabhî and the Sanskrit word *vallabha*, which was very often used as a proper name, but not in the case of any of the rulers of Valabhî. But, setting aside this mistake about the name, which is rather like that of his treating Śaka as the name of an individual, instead of a dynasty, Albîrûnî is of course speaking of the era that was used by the well-known rulers of Valabhî.

[3] *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, p. 146.

the years of the Vikrama era, whether they followed the northern reckoning, with the year beginning with the new-moon of Chaitra, or the Gujarât and southern reckoning, with the year beginning with the new-moon of Kârttika, seven months later; and (3), after deciding the previous points, whether, in the arrangement of the months, the bright fortnight came first, according to the custom of Gujarât, the Dekkan, and Southern India, or the dark fortnight, according to the custom of Ujjain and Benares.

But, whatever may be the final settlement of these points, the fact remains that Albîrûnî had information given to him of the existence of an era, coupled with the name of the Guptas and of the city of Valabhî, which began A.D. 319-20, or within a year on either side of that date, and which it is convenient to us to speak of as the Gupta era. And, that this era was actually used in connection with the name of Valabhî, at any rate, is proved by the Verâwal inscription of Arjunadêva of Aṇhilwâḍ,[4] in which the leading records of the year are Vikrama-Saṁvat 1320 and Valabhî-Saṁvat 945.

So much was certain. But it was felt to be highly improbable that the era of the Guptas should date from the epoch of their extermination. And students of the subject divided themselves almost at once into two schools.

The first, represented most publicly and with undeviating tenacity up to the last by the late Mr. Fergusson,[5] accepted Albîrûnî's statement as to the epoch of the era, but,—on the analogy of the statement which he also seems to make, that the Śaka era, too, dated from the overthrow of the Śakas; a statement which, if made, was certainly wrong,—rejected the addition that it dated from the downfall of the Guptas; and took A.D. 318-19 for the date of rise of the dynasty, as well as the establishment of the era,—selecting this particular year on the theory that the era did not date from the accession of a king, or from any particular event, but, for convenience of comparison, was regulated from the completion of four of Jupiter's sixty-year cycles from the commencement of the Śaka era.[6]

The other school accepted A.D. 318-19 for the downfall of the Guptas, and took the Valabhî era of Arjunadêva's inscription, which indisputably began then, as being separate altogether from the Gupta era, and as having been established in commemoration of that event; and began then to look about for an earlier date for the establishment of the Gupta dynasty and their era as used in their own inscriptions. The chief exponents of this school[7] have been the late Mr. Thomas,[8] who held that the era was identical with that of the Śakas, commencing A.D. 78;—General Cunningham,[9] who finally fixed on A.D. 167;—and Sir E. Clive Bayley,[10] who selected A.D. 190.

There was, of course, much to be said from either point of view. And, in default of definite evidence settling the question one way or the other, perhaps the strongest argument against the views held by Mr. Thomas, General Cunningham, and Sir E. Clive Bayley, was to be found in the following anomalous position, which had occasionally been noticed more or less directly, but had never been disposed of. It was held by all that the Rulers of Valabhi came immediately after the Guptas. It was also held that in A.D. 318-19 they founded the city of Valabhî, and established the Valabhî era dating from then, in commemoration partly of that event, and partly of the Gupta rule having then ceased and the power having passed into their own hands. And yet,—as is shewn by, amongst other things, the fact that Bhaṭârka, the founder of their family, came only one generation before the year 206, the earliest date that we have in the era used in their own charters,—they did not allow this era of their own, established under such memorable circumstances, to supersede the Gupta era;

[4] *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 241 ff.

[5] See especially *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., Vol. IV. p. 81ff., and Vol. XII. p. 259ff.

[6] *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., Vol. XII. p. 271.

[7] In accordance with these views, Dr. Bühler fixed on about A.D. 300 (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 80f). But I have not quoted him as a public exponent of the theory, because the full discussion of the matter that he promised (*ante*, Vol. X p. 285) has not been issued; and it is impossible to say how far his views might have changed in writing it, even before the discovery of my Mandasôr inscription; especially as his earlier opinion was in favour of A.D. 319 (see *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind* Vol. II. p. 81, note ⁷.)

[8] See especially *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 70; and *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., Vol. XIII. p. 524ff.

[9] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 111ff; and *Indian Eras*, p. 53ff

[10] In the Postscript to his "Remarks on certain dates occurring on the coins of the Hindu kings of Kâbul," published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Third Series, Vol. II. p. 128ff.; see page 185ff above.

but, as shewn by the Alînâ plates[11] of Śîlâditya VII., dated (Gupta)-Saṁvat 447, they continued the use of the Gupta era for, in accordance with the three starting-points given above, respectively 206, 294, and 318 years at least, after the establishment of their own era ! This surely involves an improbability far greater than any other, of whatever kind, that can be imagined in connection with the whole subject. And to this I will only add here that, during the first six generations, inclusive of Bhaṭârka, when they were mere feudatory *Sênâpatis* and *Mahârâjas*, the Rulers of Valabhî had, as a matter of fact, neither the authority, nor the power and opportunity, to establish an era of their own at all; and that, if an era had been established by the first paramount sovereign of the family, Dharasêna IV., he would, like Harshavardhana of Kanauj, have dated it from his own accession, and not from the original rise of his family.

In order to arrive at any prospect of a final settlement of the question, what was wanted was a date for one of the Early Gupta kings, recorded in some era other than that which was specially used by them in their own inscriptions. This has now at length been found in my new Mandasôr inscription, which, composed and engraved in the year 529 (expired) from the tribal constitution of the Mâlavas, gives us, through his feudatory Bandhuvarman, the date of the year 493 (expired) of the same era for Kumâragupta.

This was not the first instance that had been obtained of the use of this era, which may for convenience be called the Mâlava-Saṁvat. For it is obviously identical with the era which is alluded to in the Kaṇaswa inscription[12] dated in the 795th year (expired) of the Mâlava lords, and is also mentioned, under the specific name of the Mâlava-Kâla, in a fragmentary inscription, dated in the 936th year (expired), at 'Gyâraspur' or 'Gyârispur' in Central India.[13] But though, in commenting on this latter inscription, General Cunningham expressed the opinion that this Mâlava era must be the same as the era of Vikramâditya of Ujjain, this point has not hitherto been capable of proof; for the reason that neither of these two dates gave sufficient details for actual computation. Nor does the inscription now brought to notice. But, in its mention of Kumâragupta, it answers the purpose equally well.

Turning to the Gupta inscriptions and coins, the earliest and latest dates that we have for Kumâragupta are, respectively, Gupta-Saṁvat 96 and 130 odd. The first is established by his well-known Bilsaḍ pillar inscription;[14] and the latter, by one of General Cunningham's coins.[15] Lest, however, the coin date should be looked upon as at all doubtful, we must note also his Mankuwâr inscription,[16] dated Gupta-Saṁvat 129. And, of these extreme dates we may take Gupta-Saṁvat 113 as the mean.

Applying this to the various theories regarding the Epoch of the Gupta era, it represents— (1) according to Mr. Thomas' view, A.D. 191-92; (2) according to General Cunningham, A.D. 279-80; (3) according to Sir E. Clive Bayley, A.D. 303-4; and (4) according to Mr. Fergusson, A.D. 431-32.

Next, applying to these figures the date of Mâlava-Saṁvat 493 (expired), recorded for Kumâragupta in the inscription under notice, we find that the initial point of the Mâlava era must lie within a few years either way of (1) B.C. 302; (2) B.C. 214; (3) B.C. 190; and (4) B.C. 62-61.

The first three results, however, each entail the supposition of a brand-new era, hitherto unheard of, and entirely unexpected. At the same time, as regards the second possible result of about B.C. 214, we must not overlook the existence of certain coins, found in large numbers at Nâgar in the north of Mâlwa, about forty-five miles north of Kôṭâ, and originally brought to notice by Mr. Carlleyle,[17] which have on them the legend *Mâlavânâṁ jayaḥ* "the victory of the Mâlavas," in characters ranging, in General Cunningham's opinion, "from perhaps B.C. 250 to A.D. 250." These coins shew that the Mâlavas existed, as a recognised and important clan, long before the time when, as I consider, their "tribal constitution," which led to the establishment of their era, took place; and so also, in the other direction, does the mention of them in the Allahâbâd pillar inscription, among the tribes

[11] *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 79ff.
[12] *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 162ff.
[13] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 33f., and Pl. xi.
[14] *id.* Vol. XI. p. 19, and Pl. viii.
[15] *id.* Vol. IX. p. 24, and Pl. v. No. 7.
[16] *id.* Vol. X. p. 7, and Pl. iv. No. 2.
[17] *id.* Vol. VI. p. 165 f., and 174 ff.; see also *id.* Vol. XIV. p. 149 ff., and Pl. xxxi. Nos. 19 to 25.

conquered by Samudragupta, shew that down to his time at least they maintained their tribal constitution and importance. And, if we were compelled to have recourse to a new era, these coins might justifiably induce us to select as its epoch B.C. 223, the date fixed by General Cunningham for the death of Aśôka;[18] which would make the present date of Mâlava-Saṁvat 493 correspond with A.D. 270, or well on into the first decade of Kumâragupta's reign according to General Cunningham's theory. But this entails, as I have said, the supposition of the existence of an era, of which not the slightest indication has ever yet been afforded by the very numerous inscriptions that have now been examined from all parts of the country; and this is an expedient that must by all possible means be avoided. And, further, it forces the Kôṭâ inscription of Mâlava-Saṁvat 795, and the 'Gyâraspur' inscription of Mâlava-Saṁvat 936, back to respectively A.D. 572 and 713; periods to which, from their alphabets, they cannot possibly belong. And thus,—since, within certain limits, palæographical evidence must be accepted,—it creates a palæographical difficulty that is insuperable. So also does the third result, to practically the same extent; and the first, to a still more marked degree.

The fourth result, on the contrary, satisfies all the palæographical requirements of the case. And it brings us so very close to B.C. 57, the epoch of the well-known Vikrama era —(an era, moreover, which by the tradition of later times is closely connected with the country of the Mâlavas, through the name of its supposed founder, king Vikramâditya, whose capital, Ujjain, was the principal city in Mâlwa), —that we are compelled to find in it the solution of the question, and to adjust the equation of the dates thus,—Gupta-Saṁvat 113 (the mean date for Kumâragupta) + A.D. 319-20 = A.D. 432-33; and Mâlava-Saṁvat 493—B.C. 57-56 = A.D. 436-37, which of course falls well within the seventeen years of Kumâragupta's reign remaining after his mean date.

My new Mandasôr inscription, therefore, proves:—(1) that Albîrûnî's statement, that the Gupta era began within a year or two on either side of A.D. 319-20, is certainly correct;—(2) that the rest of his statement, that this was the epoch of the extermination of the Guptas, and not of their rise to power, is as certainly wrong:—and (3) that, under another name, connecting it with the Mâlava clan, the Vikrama era did undoubtedly exist anterior to A D. 544, which was held by Mr. Fergusson[19] to be the year in which it was invented.

This inscription is, I maintain, in itself sufficient to prove these points. But, if any hesitation should still be felt about accepting them, and if any further confirmation of them is required, we have only to turn to the Gôlmâḍhîṭôl inscription of the *Mahârâja* Śivadêva I. of Mânagṛiha in Nêpâl, discovered by Mr. C. Bendall, and published by him in this Journal, Vol. XIV. p. 97f.

It is dated in the year 318, without any specification of the era. But the clue to the construction of its date is given by its mention of the *Mahâsâmanta* Aṁśuvarman, as the contemporary[20] of Śivadêva I.

Aṁśuvarman's approximate date, *viz.* about A. D. 637, was very well known from Hiuen Tsiang's mention of him.[21] And, as the Nêpâl series included three inscriptions of Aṁśuvarman himself, Nos. 6, 7, and 8, dated respectively in the years 34, 39, and 45 (?)[22] of an unspecified era, and another, No. 9, of Jishṇugupta dated in the year 48, and mentioning Aṁśuvarman,—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji very properly referred these dates to the era established by Harshavardhana of Kanauj, and commencing with his accession in A. D. 606 or 607, with the results of A. D. 640-41, 645-46, 651-52 (?) and 654-55.

This much being quite certain, it follows that the date of 318 for Śivadêva I., the contemporary of Aṁśuvarman, must of necessity be referred to an era commencing just about three hundred years before that of Harshavardhana. And the era which exactly meets the requirements of the case is the one commencing A. D. 319-20; for then 318 + A. D. 319-20 = A. D. 637-38, which is in quite sufficient

[18] *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I. Preface, p. vii.

[19] *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., Vol. XII. p. 268ff.

[20] This is also recorded in the other inscription of Śivadêva I., No. 5 of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's Nepâl series, *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 168ff. But, unfortunately for the general chronological results arrived at by him from those inscriptions, the date of Śivadêva I. is there broken away and lost.

[21] See Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II. p. 81; also *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 422, and Vol. XIV. p. 345.

[22] The second symbol is doubtful; but it is either 4 or 5.

accordance with A.D. 640-41, the first date that we have for Aṁśuvarman.

We have now to consider how this era of A. D. 319-20 came to be introduced into Nêpâl.

This can only have been effected through a conquest of the country, by either the Early Guptas or the Rulers of Valabhî. As to the Rulers of Valabhî,—I have already had occasion to remark that, for the first six generations, inclusive of Bhaṭârka, they were mere feudatory *Sênâpatis* and *Mahârâjas*; and these members of the family, at any rate,—even if we admit for the moment that they established this era,—cannot possibly have conquered Nêpâl, and cannot have had anything to do with the introduction of the era there. The first of the family who claimed to be a paramount sovereign is Dharasêna IV., with the dates of 326 and 330, and with the titles of *Paramabhaṭṭâraka, Mahârâjâdhirâja,* and *Paramêśvara*, in common with all his successors, and also with that of *Chakravartin*, which, not being assumed by any of his successors, may perhaps indicate that his power was more extensive than theirs ever was. Now, in passing, if we refer his first date of 326 to A.D. 319-20, the result, A.D. 645-46, brings us to a very suitable period indeed for him to assume the position and titles of a paramount sovereign, *viz.* to the commencement of the anarchy which, as Ma-twan-lin tells us,[23] attended the death of Harshavardhana, "the warlike lord of all the region of the north." It ended in the complete disruption, for the time, of the kingdom of Kanauj. Aṁśuvarman became paramount in Nêpâl, and Âdityasêna in Magadha; and the opportunity was of course taken advantage of by Dharasêna IV., to assert his independence in the west of India. But, to say nothing of the improbability of the thing on other grounds, the fact that Aṁśuvarman became king of Nêpâl is in itself enough to prevent our admitting the possibility of a conquest of that country by Dharasêna IV. Referring the same date of 326 to the earlier three proposed epochs, we have respectively A.D. 408, 497, and 520. For these periods there is, perhaps, no particular objection to our assuming, for the sake of argument, that Dharasêna IV. may have extended his power over a considerable portion of Northern India. But the Valabhî charters, in which a conquest so extensive as that of the whole of Northern India and Nêpâl would most certainly have been recorded, give not the slightest hint of any such event; in fact, with the exception of the allusion to the overthrow of the Maitrakas by Bhaṭârka, from beginning to end they give absolutely no detailed information at all in connection with any of the successes claimed by the members of this family. And, even if Dharasêna IV. did conquer Nêpâl, and did introduce there the era commencing A.D. 319-20, the question still remains, and cannot be answered,—Why should he act with such extreme inconsistency as to introduce there this supposedly unused era, instead of the Gupta era which he himself, and his successors, continued to employ for all the official purposes of their own kingdom?

Turning now to the Early Guptas, the case is very different. There can be no doubt that their era, whatever may have been its epoch, was well known in Nêpâl at an early date. Kumâradêvî, the wife of Chandragupta I., was the daughter of Lichchhavi, or of a Lichchhavi prince; *i.e.* she belonged to the very family from which, according to Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 15, the earliest historical rulers of Nêpâl sprang, and to which, as shown by his title of Lichchhavikulakêtu or 'the banner of the Lichchhavi family,' Śivadêva I. himself belonged. Further, in the Allahâbâd pillar inscription Nêpâl is expressly mentioned among the countries conquered by Samudragupta. And, finally, the Kahâuṁ pillar inscription shews that Skandagupta's empire extended at any rate up to the confines of the country. Now, in my paper on "The chronology of the early Rulers of Nêpâl," I have shewn[24] that the Nêpâl *Vaṁśâvali* has possibly preserved for us, unconsciously, a reminiscence, not only of the introduction of the Gupta era into that country, but even of the actual year of its introduction; *viz.* Gupta-Saṁvat 88, when Chandragupta II. was on the throne. This special point is one for further investigation. But it is impossible to doubt that the Gupta era must have been perfectly well known in Nêpâl, and must have been used there. It is also precisely the era that would be adopted and hereditarily clung to by the Lichchhavis, connected as they were by

23 *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 20.

24 *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 345f.

marriage with the Early Guptas. And their special attachment to the era in which the date of Śivadêva's inscription is recorded, is shewn by its being continued by his Lichchhavi successors down to at least[25] the year 435, as shewn by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 3, in spite of the systematic adoption meanwhile of the Harsha era by their neighbours, the Sûryavaṁśî or Ṭhâkurî rulers of Kailâsakûṭabhavana. And, as I have shewn above, the era in which Śivadêva's date is recorded, must have begun A.D. 319-20.

I submit, therefore, that, though it may not in itself prove the case in the same way that my Mandasôr inscription does, Mr. Bendall's Gôlmâḍhiṭôl inscription furnishes the most valuable corroboration that we could look for of the results derived from the Mandasôr record; and,—though I shall be very glad to see the matter argued in this Journal, as well as it can be, from any other point of view,—that the two inscriptions together give absolutely conclusive proof of the correctness of those results.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

By J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

(*Continued from p.* 141.)

No. 162.—MANDASOR INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA AND BANDHUVARMAN. THE MALAVA YEARS 493 AND 529.

This inscription, which is now published for the first time, is from Dasôr, or according to the official and more general form of the name, Mandasôr,[1] the chief town of the Mandasôr District of Scindia's Dominions in the Western Mâlwa Division of Central India. It came to my notice through information given by Mr. Arthur Sulivan, who, in 1879, sent to General Cunningham, from Mandasôr, a hand-copy of a fragmentary pillar inscription of a powerful king named Yaśôdharman. I saw this copy in 1883, and, recognising in it the name of Mihirakula, sent my copyists, in March 1884, to take impressions of this fragment and of any other inscriptions that they might find. In the search made by them, they discovered the present inscription, and also an entire duplicate copy of the pillar inscription of Yaśôdharman, which had escaped the notice of Mr. Sulivan. I myself visited Mandasôr in February 1885.

As recorded in the present inscription, and in another which is on a white stone built into the wall on the left hand inside the inner gate of the eastern entrance of the Fort, and is dated (Vikrama)-Saṁvat 1321 (A.D. 1264-65), Guru(vâra) or Thursday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Bhâdrapada,—the ancient Sanskrit name of the place was Daśapura, by which it is mentioned also in line 2 of an earlier Nâsik inscription of Ushavadâta.[2] This, in its modern form of Dasôr, is the name by which, in preference to Mandasôr, the town is still habitually spoken of by the villagers and agriculturists of the locality and neighbourhood, and even as far as Indôr. And in some bilingual *sanads* or warrants, of about a century and a half ago, I found this form, Dasôr, used in the vernacular passages, while the Persian passages of the same documents gave the form Mandasôr. So, also, Paṇḍits still habitually use the form Daśapura in their correspondence.[3] The local explanation of the name is that the place was originally a city of the Purâṇic king Daśaratha. But, on this view, the modern name should be Dasrathôr. The true explanation evidently is that,—just as now the township includes from twelve to fifteen outlying hamlets or divisions; Khilchîpur, Jankûpurâ, Râmpuriyâ, Chandrapurâ, Bâlâgañj, &c.,—so, when it was originally constituted,

[25] This is the latest date available for the present argument. Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 4 gives us the date of the year 535, in of course the same era; but the contents of the record are so mutilated, that it is impossible to stamp it, apart from the use of th s era, as a Lichchhavi inscription.

[1] Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 35. Lat. 24° 3′ N.; Long. 75° 8′ E.—The 'Mandesor, Mandesur, Mandisore, Mandosar, Mandsaur, Mundesor, and Mundesoor,' of maps, &c

[2] *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 99, and Pl. lii. No. 5.

[3] We may compare the use, by Paṇḍits, of Ahipura and Nakhapura for respectively Sampgaum and Ugargol in the Belgaum District; except that it is doubtful whether these are original Sanskrit names, or only pedantic Sanskrit translations of original vernacular names.

it included exactly ten (*daśa*) such hamlets (*pura*). As regards the fuller form of Mandasôr, by which alone the town is known officially and is entered in maps, I cannot at present explain the origin of it. But Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji suggested to me that it may perhaps represent Manda-Daśapura, "the distressed or afflicted Daśapura," in commemoration of the overthrow of the town, and the destruction of the Hindu temples in it, by the Musalmâns.[4] And, as tending to support this suggestion, I would mention that one of the Paṇḍits whom I questioned on the spot, gave me Mannadasôr as another form of the name. The true explanation, whatever it may be, would probably be found in the *Daśapura-Mâhâtmya*, which is extant, but which I did not succeed in obtaining for examination.

Exclusive of the outlying hamlets, Mandasôr consists of a fairly large town, close on the north or left bank of the river Śiwanâ,[5] with a Fort of considerable size between the town and the river. The Fort, which is of Musalmân construction, is said to have been built with stones brought from ruined temples at Maḍ, otherwise called Afzalpur, about eleven miles south-east of Mandasôr; and the foundations and walls of it are full of stones, both sculptured and plain, which evidently come from demolished Hindu temples. But,—in addition to the magnificent columns which I shall describe in connection with the duplicate pillar inscription of Yaśôdharman,—there are still sufficient remains, lying all about Mandasôr, to shew that Mandasôr itself was full of ancient Hindu temples and other buildings, abounding with specimens of the very best style of architecture and sculpture. A full examination of the architectural remains, in the course of which further inscriptions would probably be discovered, was out of my power. But I noticed specially a very fine well just inside the eastern entrance of the Fort;—a colossal bas-relief image lying near this well;—and a remarkably fine sandstone monolith in the hamlet of Khilchîpur, on the south, across the river. This monolith is now partially buried, in an upright position. The part projecting above the ground is about 10′ 0″ high and 1′ 9″ square, covered with sculptures in the very best old style. A socket at the top shews that it supported a beam; and, as it is sculptured on all four sides, it cannot be the jamb of a doorway, but must be either an upright of an arch or a pillar of a temple. Exclusive of floral patterns towards the top, each face shews two panels of figure-sculptures, one above the other; and the villagers say that the monolith has been gradually sinking each rainy season, and that they can remember having seen six more similar panels of sculptures on each face; this would make the height of the monolith not less than at least thirty feet. From the sample furnished by the part that is still above the ground, this monolith well deserves to be entirely raised out of the ground, and the sculptures on it examined and reported on by the Archæological Survey Department.[6]

The present inscription is on a stone slab, apparently rather good and dark sand-stone, built into the wall on the right hand half-way down a small flight of steps leading to the river in front of a mediæval temple of the god Mahâdêva (Śiva) at the Mahâdêva-Ghât, which is on the south bank of the river, just opposite the Fort, and I think, in the limits of the hamlet of Chandrapurâ. There are no sculptures on the stone. The writing covers, except for a margin of about half an inch, the whole front of the stone, about 2′ 7¾″ broad by 1′ 4½″ high. It has been a good deal worn away about the centre of the stone, and also the stone is chipped at several places round the edges; but only a few letters here and there are really illegible, and these can in each case be easily supplied.—The characters give a good specimen of what may be called the Western Mâlwa alphabet of the fifth century A.D. They belong, in general features, to the South India class of alphabets; but they include two letters borrowed from the Northern alphabets, *viz.* the distinct form of the lingual *ḍ*, e.g. in *taḍil*, line

[4] He also told me that, even to the present day, the Nâgar Brâhmans of Mandasôr will not drink the water of that place, because of the oppressions formerly practised on them by the Musalmâns there.

[5] The 'Sau and Seu' of maps, &c.

[6] The villagers told me that at Khilchîpur there was a very large monolith column, with an inscription on it, supposed to be two thousand years old. But, on its being shown to me, this turned out to be only a small four-sided obelisk, roughly four or five feet high and a foot or so square, of quite modern construction, with rude Nâgari writing on it which may perhaps be a hundred years old, but certainly not much more. My visit to this obelisk, which I had hoped might turn out to be of importance, led to my noticing on the way the monolith that I have described above.

6, and *chûḍâ*, line 17, and also the rare lingual *ḍh*, e.g. in *dṛiḍha*, lines 9 and 11. The average size of the letters is ¼".—The language is Sanskṛit; and with the exception of the opening *Siddham* and the concluding words in line 24, the entire inscription is in verse.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the occasional use of the *jihvâmûlîya* and *upadhmânîya*; e.g. *jayataḥ=kshaya*, line 1; *gaṇaiḥ=kham*, line 8; *pravisṛitaiḥ=pushṇâti*, line 2; and *abhitâmraḥ=pâyât*, line 3; but not, for instance, in *avabhugnaiḥ kvachit*, line 5; *paraḥ kṛipaṇâ*, line 14; *rajaḥ-piñjaritaiś*, line 5; and *pratimânitâḥ pramuditâ*, line 9; (2) the occasional doubling of *t*, *dh*, and *bh*, in conjunction with a following *r*; e.g. *chittrêṇa*, line 12; *rôddhra*, line 18; and *abbhra*, line 6; (3) the same of *th* and *dh*, with a following *y*; e.g. *patthyaṁ*, line 9; and *svâddhyâya*, line 8; and (4) the same of *dh*, with a following *v*; e.g. *addhvâdi*, line 3.

The inscription, which belongs throughout to the solar form of worship, narrates in the first place how a number of silk-weavers immigrated from the Lâṭa *vishaya* or district into the city of Daśapura; and how some of the band took up other occupations, while those who adhered to their original pursuit constituted themselves into a separate and flourishing guild. It then refers itself to the reign of a king named Kumâragupta, who, from the description of him in line 13 as sovereign of the whole earth, can be no other than the well-known Kumâragupta of the Early Gupta dynasty. Under him, the governor at Daśapura was Bandhuvarman, the son of Viśvavarman. It then proceeds to record that, while Bandhuvarman was governing at Daśapura, the guild of silk-weavers built at that city a temple of the Sun, which was completed when four hundred and ninety-three years had elapsed, "by (the reckoning from) the tribal constitution of the Mâlavas,"[7] and therefore when the four hundred and ninety-fourth year (A.D. 437-38) was current, on the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Sahasya (December-January). Afterwards, under other kings, part of this temple fell into disrepair. And then it was restored by the same guild, when five hundred and twenty-nine years had elapsed, and therefore when the five hundred and thirtieth year (A.D. 473-74) was current, on the second day of the bright fortnight of the month Tapasya (February-March). This second date is, of course, the year in which the inscription was actually composed and engraved; since we are told at the end that it was all composed by Vatsabhaṭṭi, and the engraving throughout is obviously the work of one and the same hand.

TEXT.[8]

1 [Sid]dh[a]m [॥] Y[ô][9] v[ṛit[t*]y-a[r]ttham=upâsyatê sura-gaṇais=siddhaiś=cha siddhy-artthibhir=ddhyân-aik-âgra-parair=vidhêya-vishayair=mmôksh-ârtthibhir=yyôgibhiḥ । bhaktyâ tîvra-tapôdhanaiś=cha munibhiś=śâpa-prasâda-kshamair=hêtur=yyô jagataḥ=kshay-âbhyudayayôḥ=pâyât=sa vô bhâskaraḥ ।(॥) Tat[t*]va-jñâna-vidô=pi yasya na vidur=brahm-arsha-

2 yô=bhyudyatâḥ=kṛitsnaṁ yaś=cha gabhastibhiḥ pravisṛitaiḥ=push[ṇ]âti lôka-trayam । gandharvv-âmara-siddha-kinnara-narais=saṁstûyatê=bhyutthitô bhaktêbhyaś=cha dadâti yô=bhilashitaṁ tasmai savitrê namaḥ ।(॥) Yaḥ[10]=pratyahaṁ prativibhâty=udayâchalêndra-vistîrṇṇa-tuṅga-śikhara-skhalit-âṁśu-jâlaḥ kshîb-âṁganâ-

3 jana-kapôla-tal-âbhitâmraḥ=pâyât=sa vas=su-k[i]raṇ âbharaṇô vivasvân ।(॥) Kusuma[11]-bhar-ânata-taruvara-dêvakulasabhâ-vihâra-ramaṇi(ṇî)yât । Lâṭa-vishayân=nag-âvṛita-śailâj=jagati prathita-śilpâḥ ।(॥) Tê[12] dêśa-pârtthiva-guṇ-âpahṛitâḥ prakâśam=addhv-âdi-jâny=a-viralâny=asukhâ-

4 ny=apâsya । jât-âdarâ Daśapuraṁ prathamaṁ manôbhir=anv=âgatâs=sa-suta-bandhu-janâs=samêtya ॥ Mattebha-gaṇḍa-taṭa-vichyuta-dâna-bindu-sikt-ôpal-âchala-sahasra-vibhûshâ(sha)ṇâyâḥ [।*] pushp-âvanamra-taru-maṇḍa-vataṁsakâyâ bhûmêḥ=paran=tilaka-bhûtam=idaṁ kramêṇa ॥ Taṭ[13]-ôttha-vṛiksha-chyuta-

[7] See page 189 ff. above.
[8] From the ink-impression.
[9] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the next verse.
[10] Metre, Vasantatilaka.
[11] Metre, Âryâ.
[12] Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the next verse.
[13] Metre, Upêndravajrâ; and in the next two verses.

5 naika-pushpa-vichitra-tîr-ânta-jalâni bhânti । praphulta-padm-âbharaṇâni yatra sa-râṁsi kâraṇḍava-saṁkulâni ॥ Vilôla-vîchî-chalit-âravinda-patad-rajaḥ-piñjaritaiś=cha haṁsaiḥ । sva-kêsar-ôdâra-bhar-âvabhugnaiḥ kvachit=saràṁsy=amburuhaiś=cha bhânti ।(॥) Sva-pushpa-bhâr-âvanatair=nnagêndrair=mada-
6 pragalbh-âli-kula-svanaiś=cha । ajasra-gâbhiś=cha pur-âṅganâbhir=vvanâni yasmin=samalaṁkritâni ॥ Chalat[14]-patâkâny=abalâ-sanâthâny=atyarttha-śuklâny=adhik-ônnatâni । taḍil-latâ-chitra-sit-âbbhra-kûṭa-tuly-ôpamânâni griháni yatra ॥ Kailâsa[15]-tuṅga-śikhara-pratimâni ch=ânyâny=âbhânti dîrggha-valabhî-
7 ni sa-vêdikâni । gândharvva-śabda-mukharâni(ṇi) nivishṭa-chitra-karmmâṇi lôla-kadalî-vana-śôbhitâni ॥ Prâsâda[16]-mâlâbhir=alaṁkritâni dharâṁ vidâryy=aiva samutthitani । vimâna-mâlâ-sadriśâni yattra grihâṇi pûrṇṇ-êndu-kar-âmalâni ॥ Yad[17]=bhâty=abhiramya-sarid-[d*]vayêna chapal-ôrmmiṇâ samupagûḍhaṁ
8 rahasi kucha-śâlinîbhyâṁ Prîti-Ratibhyâṁ Smar-âṅgam=iva ॥ Satya[18]-kshamâ-dama-śama-vrata-śaucha-dhairyya-svâddhyâya-vritta-vinaya-sthiti-buddhy-upêtaiḥ । vidyâ-tapô-nidhibhir=a-smayitaiś=cha viprair=yyad=bhrâjatê graha-gaṇaiḥ=kham=iva pradîptaiḥ ॥ Atha[19] samêtya nirantara-saṅgatair=aharahaḥ-pravijrimbhita-
9 sauhridâḥ [।*] nripatibhiś=suta-vat=pratim[â]nitâḥ pramuditâ nyavasanta sukhaṁ purê ॥ Śravaṇa[20]-[su]bhaga[ṁ] dh[â]nurvvaidya[ṁ] driḍhaṁ parinishṭhitâh sucharita-śat-âsaṅgâḥ=kêchid=vichittra-kathâ-vidaḥ । vinaya-nibhritâs=samyag-dharmma-prasaṅga-parâyaṇâḥ=priyam=a-parushaṁ patthyaṁ ch=ânyê kshamâ bahu bhâshituṁ ॥
10 Kêchit[21]=sva-karmmaṇy=adhikâs=tath=ânyair=vvijñâyatê jyôtisham=âtmavadbhiḥ । adyâpi ch=ânyê samara-pragalbhâḥ=kurvvanty=arîṇâm=a-hitaṁ prasahya ।(॥) Prâjñâ[22] manôjña-vadhavaḥ prathit-ôru-vaṁśâ vaṁś-ânurûpa-charit-âbharaṇâs=tath=ânyê । satya-vratâh praṇayinâm=upakâra-dakshâ visrambha-
11 [pûrvva]m=aparê driḍha-sauhridâś=cha ॥ Vijita[23]-vishaya-saṅgair=ddharmma-śilais=tath=ânyair=m[ri]dubhir=adhika-sat[t*]vair=llôkayâtr-âmaraiś=cha । sva-kula-tilaka-bhûtair=mukta-râgair=udârair=adhikam=abhivibhati srêṇir=êvaṁ-prakâraiḥ ॥ Târuṇya[24]-kânty-upachitô=pi suvarṇṇahâra-tâmbûla-pushpa-vidhinâ sama-
12 [laṁkri]tô=pi । nârî-janaḥ priyam=upaiti na tâvad=agryâ(śryâ)ṁ yâvan=na paṭṭamaya-vastra-y[u]gâni dhattê ॥ Sparśa[va]tâ[25] varṇṇântara-vibhâga-chittrêṇa nêtra-subhagêna । yais=sakalam=idaṁ kshititalam=alaṁkritaṁ paṭṭa-vastrêṇa ॥ Vidyâdharî[26]-ruchira-pallava-karṇṇapûra-vât-êrit-âsthirataraṁ pravichintya
13 [lô]kaṁ । mânushyam=arttha-nichayâṁś=cha tathâ viśâlâṁs=têshâṁ śubhâ matir=abhûd=achalâ tatas=tu ॥ Chatus[27]-samudr-ân[t]a-vilôla-mêkhalâṁ Sumêru-Kailâsa-brihat-payôdharam । van-ânta-vânta-sphuṭa-pushpa-hâsinîṁ Kumâraguptê prithivîṁ praśâsati ॥ Samâna[28]-dhîś=Śukra-Brihaspatibhyâṁ lalâma-bhûtô bhuvi
14 pârtthivânâṁ । raṇêshu yaḥ Pârttha-samâna-karmmâ babhûva gôptâ nripa-Viśvavarmmâ ॥ Dîn[29]-ânukampana-paraḥ kripaṇ-ârtta-vargga-sandh[â]-pradô=dhika-dayâlur=anâtha-nâthaḥ । kalpa-drumaḥ praṇayinâm=abhayaṁ pradaś=cha bhîtasya yô janapadasya cha bandhur=âsît ॥ Tasy[30]=âtmajaḥ sthairyya-nay-ôpapannô bandhu-priyô
15 bandhur=iva prajânâṁ । baṁdhv-artti-hartâ nripa-Bandhuvarmmâ dviḍ-dripta-paksha-kshapaṇ-aika-dakshaḥ ॥ Kântô[31] yuvâ raṇa-paṭur=vvinay-ânvitaś=cha râj=âpi sann=upasritô na madaiḥ smay-âdyaiḥ । śriṅgâra-mûrttir=abhibhâty=an-alaṁkritô=pi rûpêṇa yâḥ=kusumachâpa iva dvitîyaḥ ॥ Vaidhavya-[32]tîvra-vyasana-kshatânâṁ

[14] Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ.
[15] Metre, Vasantatilaka.
[16] Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ.
[17] Metre, Âryâ.
[18] Metre, Drutavilambita.
[19] Metre, Vasantatilaka.
[20] Metre, Hariṇî.
[21] Metre, Indravajrâ.
[22] Metre, Vasantatilaka.
[23] Metre, Mâlinî.
[24] Metre, Vasantatilaka.
[25] Metre, Âryâ.
[26] Metre, Vaṁśastha.
[27] Metre, Vasantatilaka.
[28] Metre, Upêndravajrâ.
[29] Metre, Vasantatilaka.
[30] Metre, Indravajrâ.
[31] Metre, Vasantatilaka.
[32] Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ.

16 smri(smṛi)tvâ yam=adyâpy=ari-sundarîṇâm | bhayâd=bhavaty=âyata-lôchanânâṁ ghana-stan-âyâsa-karaḥ prakampaḥ || Tasminn[33]=êva kshitipati-vri(vṛi)shê Baṁdhu-varmmaṇy=udârê samyak-sphîtaṁ Daśapuram=idaṁ pâlayaty=unnat-âṁsê | śilp-âvâptair=ddhana-samudayaiḥ paṭṭavâyair=udâraṁ śrêṇîbhûtair=bbhavanam=atulaṁ kâritaṁ

17 dîpta-raśmêḥ || Vistîrṇṇa[34]-tuṅga-śikharaṁ śikhari-prakâśam=abhyudgat-êndv-amala-raśmi-kalâpa-gauraṁ | yad=bhâti paśchima-purasya nivishṭa-kânta-chûḍâmaṇi-pratisaman=nayan-âbhiramaṁ || Râmâ-sanâtha-[ra]chanê dara-bhâskar-âṁśu-vahni-pratâpa-subhagê jala-lîna-mînê | chandrâṁśu-harmyatala-

18 chandana-tâlavṛinta-har-ôpabhôdha(ga)-rahitê hima-dagdha-padmê || Rôddhra-priyaṁgu-taru-kundalatâ-vikôśa-pushp-âsava-pramud[i]t-âli-kal-âbhirâmê | kâlê tushâra-kaṇa-karkkaśa-śîta-vâta-vêga-pranṛitta-lavalî-nagaṇ-aikaśâkhê || Smara[35]-vaśaga-taruṇajana-vallabhâṅganâ-vipula-kânta-pîn-ôru-

19 stana-jaghana-ghan-âliṅgana-nirbhartsita-tuhina-hima-pâtê || Mâlavânâṁ[36] gaṇa-sthityâ yât[ê] śata-chatushṭayê | tri-navaty-adhikê=bdânâm=ri(ṛi)tau sêvya-ghana-svanê || Sahasya-mâsa-śuklasya praśastê=hni trayôdaśê | maṅgal-âchâra-vidhinâ prâsâdô=yaṁ nivêśitaḥ || Bahunâ samatîtêna

20 kâlên=ânyaiś=cha pârtthivaiḥ | vyaśîryyat=aika-dêśô=sya bhavanasya tatô=dhunâ || Sva-yaśô-v[ṛ]i(vṛi)ddhayê sarvvam=aty-udâram=udârayâ | saṁskâritam=idaṁ bhûyaḥ śrêṇyâ bhânumatô gṛihaṁ || Aty[37]-unnatam=avadâtaṁ nabha[ḥ]-spriśann=iva[38] manôharaiḥ śikharaiḥ | śaśi-bhânvôr=abhyudayêshv=amala-mayûkh-âyatana-

21 bhûtaṁ || Vatsara-śatêshu paṁchasu viśaṁty[39]-adhikêshu navasu ch=âbdêshu | yatêshv=abhiramya-Tapasya-mâsa-śukla-dvitîyâyâṁ || Spashṭair[40]=aśôkataru-kêtaka-siṁduvâra-lôlâtimuktakalatâ-madayantikânâṁ | pushp-ôdgamair=abhinavair=adhigamya nûnam=aikyaṁ vijṛiṁbhita-śarê Hara-pû(dhû)ta-dêhê ||

22 Madhu[41]-pâna-mudita-madhukara-kul-ôpagîta-nagan(ṇ)-aika-pṛithu-śâkhê | kâlê nava-ku-sum-ôdgama-daṁtura-kâṁta-prachura-rôddhrê || Śaśin=êva nabhô vimalaṁ kaus[t]ubha-maṇin=êva Śârṅgiṇô vakshaḥ | bhavana-varêṇa tath=êdaṁ puram=akhilam=alaṁkṛitam=udâram || Amalina[42]-śaśi-

23 lêkhâ-daṁturaṁ piṅgalânâṁ parivahati samûhaṁ yâvad=Îśô jaṭânâṁ | vikaca-kamala-mâlâm=aṁsa-saktâṁ cha Śârṅgî bhavanam=idam=udâraṁ śâśvataṁ=tâvad=astu || Srêṇy[43]-âdêśêna bhaktyâ cha kâritaṁ bhavanaṁ ravêḥ | pûrvvâ ch=êyaṁ prayatnêna rachitâ Vatsabhaṭṭinâ ||

24 Svasti kartṛi-lêkhaka-vâchaka-śrôtṛibhyaḥ || Siddhir=astu ||

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! May that Sun protect you,—who is worshipped by the hosts of the gods for the sake of existence, and by the Siddhas who wish for supernatural powers, (*and*) by ascetics, entirely given over to abstract meditation (*and*) having worldly attractions well under control, who wish for the final liberation of the soul, and, with devotion, by saints, practising strict penances, (*who wish to become*) able to counteract curses; (*and*) who is the cause of the destruction and the commencing (*again*) of the universe! Reverence to that Sun,—whom (*even*) the Brâhmaṇical sages, though they knew the knowledge of the truth (*and*) exerted themselves, failed to comprehend; and who nourishes the whole of the three worlds with (*his*) rays diffused in all directions; who, when he is risen, is praised by Gandharvas, gods, Siddhas, Kinnaras, and Naras; and who grants (*their*) desires to those who worship (*him*)! May

[33] Metre, Mandâkrântâ.
[34] Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the next two verses.
[35] Metre, Âryâ.
[36] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh), and in the next three verses.
[37] Metre, Âryâ; and in the next verse.
[38] *spriśan* is the nominative singular of the masculine; whereas the neuter, *spriśat*, in apposition with *griham* is what is required. This however, would not suit the metre. The only emendation that suits the metre, is to alter the construction and read [illegible].
[39] Read [illegible].
[40] Metre, Vasantatilaka.
[41] Metre, Âryâ; and in the next verse.
[42] Metre, Mâlinî.
[43] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

that Sun, decorated with glorious beams, protect you,—who shines day after day with the mass of (*his*) rays flowing down over the wide and lofty summit of the lordly mountain of dawn, (*and*) who is of a dark-red colour like the cheeks of intoxicated women!

(L. 3.)—From the district of L â t a, which is pleasing with choice trees that are bowed down by the weight of (*their*) flowers, and with temples and assembly-halls of the gods, and with *vihâras*, (*and*) the mountains of which are covered over with vegetation, to (*this*) city of D a ś a p u r a there came, full of respect,—first, in thought; and afterwards (*in person*) in a band, together with (*their*) children and kinsmen,—men who were renowned in the world for (*skill in their*) craft (*of silk-weaving*), and who, being manifestly attracted by the virtues of the kings of the country, gave no thought to the continuous discomforts produced by the journey. And in course (*of time*) this (*city*) became the forehead-decoration of the earth, which is adorned with a thousand mountains whose rocks are besprinkled with the drops of rut that trickle down from the sides of the temples of rutting elephants, (*and*) which has for (*its*) decorative ear-ornaments the trees weighed down with flowers. Here[44] the lakes, crowded with *kâraṇḍava*-ducks, are beautiful,—having the waters close to (*their*) shores made variegated with the many flowers that fall down from the trees growing on the banks, (*and*) being adorned with full-blown water-lilies. The lakes are beautiful (*in some places*) with the swans that are encaged in the pollen that falls from the water-lilies shaken by the tremulous waves; and in other places with the water-lilies bent down by the great burden of their filaments. Here the woods are adorned with lordly trees, that are bowed down by the weight of their flowers and are full of the sounds of the flights of bees that hum loudly through intoxication (*caused by the juices of the flowers that they suck*), and with the women from the city who are perpetually singing. Here the houses have waving flags, (*and*) are full of tender women, (*and*) are very white (*and*) extremely lofty, resembling the peaks of white clouds lit up with forked lightning. And other long buildings on the roofs of the houses, with arbours in them, are beautiful,—being like the lofty summits of (the mountain) Kailâsa; being vocal with songs (*like those*) of the heavenly choristers; having pictured representations arranged (*in them*); (*and*) being adorned with groves of waving plantain-trees. Here, cleaving asunder the earth, there rise up houses which are decorated with successions of storeys; which are like rows of aerial chariots; (*and*) which are as pure as the rays of the full-moon. This (*city*) is beautiful (*through*) being embraced by two charming rivers,[45] with tremulous waves, as if it were the body of (the god) Smara (*embraced*) in secrecy by (*his wives*) Prîti and Rati, possessed of (*heaving*) breasts. Like the sky with the brilliant multitudes of planets, it shines with Brâhmaṇs endowed with truth, patience, self-control, tranquillity, religious vows, purity, fortitude, private study, good conduct, refinement, and steadfastness, (*and*) abounding in learning and penances, and free from the excitement of surprise.

(L. 8.)—So assembling together, (*and*) day by day received into greater friendship by (*their*) constant associates, (*and*) honourably treated like sons by the kings, in joy and happiness they settled in (*this*) city. Some of them (*became*) excessively well acquainted with the science of archery, (*in which the twanging of the bow is*) pleasing to the ear; others, devoting themselves to hundreds of excellent achievements, (*became*) acquainted with wonderful tales; and others, unassuming in (*their*) modesty (*and*) devoted to discourses of the true religion, (*became*) able to say much that was free from harshness (*and yet was*) salutary. Some excelled in their own business (*of silk-weaving*); and by others, possessed of high aims, the science of astrology was mastered, and even to-day others of them, valorous in battle, effect by force the destruction of (*their*) enemies. So also others, wise, possessed of charming wives, (*and*) belonging to a famous and mighty lineage, are decorated with achievements that befit (*their*) birth; and others, true to (*their*) promises (*and*) firm in friendship

[44] The original has, as far as line 8, the relative construction, which I have changed, for convenience of translation, into the absolute.

[45] Of these rivers, one of course is the Śiwanâ, on the north bank of which the town stands. The other must be the Sumlî, which now flows into the Śiwanâ about three miles to the north-east of the town.

with the accompaniment of confidence, are skilled in conferring favours upon (*their*) intimates. (*And so*) the guild shines gloriously all around, through those who are of this sort, and through others who,—overcoming the attachment for worldly objects; being characterised by piety; (*and*) possessing most abundant goodness,—(*are*) very gods in an earthly habitation.

(L. 11.)—(*Just as*) a woman, though endowed with youth and beauty (*and*) adorned with the arrangement of golden necklaces and betel-leaves and flowers, goes not to meet (*her*) lover in a secret place, until she has put on a pair of coloured silken cloths,—(*so*) the whole of this region of the earth, is (*almost superfluously*) adorned through them, (*as if*) with a silken garment, agreeable to the touch, variegated with the arrangement of different colours, (*and*) pleasing to the eye.

(L. 12.)—Having reflected that the world is very unsteady, being blown about by the wind like the charming ear-ornaments, (*made of*) sprigs, of the women of the Vidyâdharas; (*and similarly*) the estate of man; and also accumulations of wealth, large (*though they may be*),—they became possessed of a virtuous (*and*) stable understanding; and then;—[46]

(L. 13.)—While Kumâragupta was reigning over the (*whole*) earth, whose pendulous marriage-string is the verge of the four oceans; whose large breasts are (the mountains) Sumêru and Kailâsa;[47] (*and*) whose laughter is the full-blown flowers showered forth from the borders of the woods;—

(L. 13.)—There was a ruler, king Viśvavarman,[48] who was equal in intellect to Śukra and Bṛihaspati; who became the most eminent of princes on the earth; (*and*) whose deeds in war were equal to (*those of*) Pârtha;—who was very compassionate to the unhappy; who fulfilled his promises to the miserable and the distressed; who was excessively full of tenderness; (*and*) who was a very tree of plenty to (*his*) friends, and the giver of security to the frightened, and the friend of (*his*) country;—

(L. 14.)—His son (*was*) king Bandhuvarman, possessed of firmness and statesmanship; beloved by (*his*) kinsmen; the relative, as it were, of (*his*) subjects; the remover of the afflictions of (*his*) connections; pre-eminently skilful in destroying the ranks of (*his*) proud enemies. Handsome, youthful, dexterous in war, and endowed with humility, king though he was, yet was he never carried away by passion, astonishment, and other (*evil sentiments*), being the very incarnation of erotic passion, he resembled in beauty, even though he was not adorned with ornaments, a second (Kâmadêva) armed with the bow that is made of flowers. Even to-day, when the long-eyed lovely women of (*his*) enemies, pained with the fierce pangs of widowhood, think of him, they stagger about through fear, in such a way as to fatigue (*their*) firm and compact breasts.

(L. 16.)—While he, the noble Bandhuvarman, the best of kings, the strong-shouldered one,[49] was governing this city of Daśapura, which had been brought to a state of great prosperity,—a noble (*and*) unequalled temple of the bright-rayed (Sun), was caused to be built by the silk-cloth weavers, as a guild, with the stores of wealth acquired by (*the exercise of their*) craft;—(a temple) which, having broad and lofty spires, (*and*) resembling a mountain, (*and*) white as the mass of the rays of the risen moon, shines, charming to the eye, having the similarity of (*being*) the lovely crest-jewel, fixed (*in its proper place*), of (*this*) city of the west.

(L 17.)—In that season[50] which unites beautiful women with (*their*) lords; which is agreeable with the warmth of the fire of the rays of the sun (*shining*) in the glens; in which the fishes lie low down in the water; which (*on account of the cold*) is destitute of the enjoyment of the beams of the moon, and (*sitting in the open air on*) the flat roofs of houses, and sandal-wood perfumes, and palmleaf-fans, and necklaces;—in which the waterlilies are bitten by the frost; which is charming with the humming of the bees that are made happy by the juice of the full-blown flowers of the *rôdhra* and *priyaṁgu*-trees and the jasmine-

[46] The context is "a noble (*and*) unequalled temple of the bright-rayed (Sun) was caused to be built," &c., in line 16; all that intervenes, is by way of a parenthesis.

[47] Conf. *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*, xlii. 5, where the earth is described as having the mountains of [illegible] and sunset for lips, and the Himâlaya and Vindhya for breasts.

[48] This, again, is a second parenthesis, the real context of the preceding verse being the description of Bandhuvarman in line 14ff.

[49] *Lit.* 'high-shouldered.'

[50] The winter.

creepers; in which the *lavalî*-trees and the solitary branches of the *nagaṇḍ*-bushes are made to dance with the force of the wind that is harsh and cold with particles of frost;—(*and*) in which (*the cold induced by*) the falling of frost and snow is derided by the close embraces of the large and beautiful and plump and bulky breasts and thighs of young men and (*their*) mistresses, completely under the influence of love;—when, by (*the reckoning from*) the tribal constitution of the Mâlavas, four centuries of years, increased by ninety-three, had elapsed; in that season when the low thunder of the muttering of clouds is to be welcomed (*as indicating the approach of warmth again*);—on the excellent thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Sahasya,—this temple was established, with the ceremony of auspicious benediction.

(L. 19.)—And, in the course of a long time, under other kings, part of this temple fell into disrepair; so now, in order to increase their own fame, the whole of this most noble house of the Sun has been repaired again by the munificent corporation;—(this temple) which is very lofty (*and*) pure; which touches the sky, as it were, with (*its*) charming spires; (*and*) which is the resting-place of the spotless rays of the moon and the sun at (*their*) times of rising. Thus,—when five centuries of years, increased by twenty, and nine years, had elapsed; on the charming second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Tapasya;—in the season when (Kâmadêva), whose body was destroyed by Hara, develops (*his number of five*) arrows by attaining unity with the fresh bursting forth of the flowers of the *aśôka* and *kêtaka* and *sinduvâra*-trees, the pendulous *atimuktaka*-creeper, and the wild-jasmine;—when the solitary large branches of the *nagaṇâ*-bushes are full of the songs of the bees that are delighted by drinking the nectar; (*and*) when the beautiful and luxuriant *rôdhra*-trees swing to and fro with the fresh bursting forth of (*their*) flowers,—the whole of this noble city was decorated with (*this*) best of temples; just as the pure sky is decorated with the moon, and the breast of (the god) Śârṅgin with the *kaustubha*-jewel. As long as (the god) Îśa wears a mass of tawny matted locks, undulating with the spotless rays of the moon (*on his forehead*); and (*as long as*) (the god) Śârṅgin (*carries*) a garland of lovely waterlilies on his shoulder;—so long may this noble temple endure for ever!

(L. 23.)—By the command of the guild, and from devotion, (*this*) temple of the Sun was caused to be built; and this (*eulogy*) that precedes was, with particular care, composed by Vatsabhaṭṭi. Hail to the composer and the writer, and those who read or listen (*to it*)! Let there be success!

A GWALIOR INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1161.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; VIENNA.

Besides the large Sâsbahû temple inscription of Mahîpâla, which has now been properly re-edited by Prof. Kielhorn (*ante*, p. 33 ff.), Dr. Rajendralal Mitra has transcribed and 'translated' also the following mutilated inscription,[1] discovered by General Cunningham in the fortress of Gwalior[2] and now preserved in the Museum at Lucknow, where I copied it. As the letters of this inscription, so far as they have been preserved, are large and distinct, Dr. R. Mitra has misread only about a dozen syllables. But he has not attempted to decipher that portion of the first line which is still readable, and which contains no less than three names of royal personages. And he has failed to observe that the genealogy of the kings closes with stanza 9, although —if not the context—the sign of interpunctuation after that stanza might have attracted his attention. Manôratha and Madhusûdana were no kings of Gwalior,[3] but the former was the secretary of Bhuvanapâla, and the latter a grandson of Manôratha. The date of the inscription falls within the reign of Mahîpâla's successor, whose name has been lost in stanzas 7 to 9.

The contents of the inscription are, in brief, as follows:—Stanza 1 gives the name of Bhuvanapâla, who is the No. 5. Mûladêva, also called Bhuvanapâla and Trailôkyamalla, of

[1] *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 418.
[2] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. II p. 354.

[3] *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. pp 402f., p. 416 *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 374.

Prof. Kielhorn's paper, *ante*, p. 35.—His son (st. 2) was Aparâjita, Prof. Kielhorn's No. 6, Dêvapâla.[4]—The son of Dêvapâla (st. 3), and the son's son of Bhuvanapâla, was Padmapâla, Prof. Kielhorn's No. 7 of the same name. —Of stanza 4 enough does not remain to shew its purport.—Stanzas 5 and 6 give the name of Mahîpâladêva, Prof. Kielhorn's No. 8 of the same name, the king of Gôpâlikêra.[5]—Stanzas 7 to 9 seem to refer to the death of Mahîpâla, and must have recorded the name of his successor; this name, however, is not now extant. At the end of stanza 9, a peculiar sign of interpunctuation marks the close of the *vaṁśâvali*; thus[6]—

The incomplete stanza 10 seems to have contained an invocation of the god Bhava (Siva) and of his wife Aparṇâ (Umâ), by which the genealogy of the builder of the temple was introduced.—Stanzas 11 to 13 give the name of Manôratha of Mathurâ, the secretary of Bhuvanapâla,[7] who was married to Bhâvâ (?).—His son (st. 14 to 16) was Mânichandra, who caused to be built a temple (*kîrtana*)[8] containing statues of Smarâri (Śiva) and other gods, and who married Râsagati (?).—Their son (st. 17 to 20) was Madhusûdana.—His younger brother (st. 21 and 22) was Âśâchandra, who caused a temple[9] of Hara (Śiva) to be built.

Stanza 23 records that the inscription was composed by the *Nirgranthanâtha* Yaśôdêva.[10]

Stanza 24 contains an invocation of the god Bhava (Siva).

The concluding prose passage records that (the *liṅga* of the temple mentioned in stanza 22) was set up on the sixth day of the bright fortnight of the month Mâgha, when eleven hundred and sixty-one years had elapsed from the time of king Vikramârka.

TEXT.

1 [⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ —]द्गात् । भुवनपाल इति क्षितिपालनापचि[⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑]रः ॥ [१ * * * * * *] नन्दी तत्सुतश्चापराजितः । यश्चकार[* * * * * * * *]पराजितः ॥ [२] पौत्रो भुवनपालस्य देवपालाङ्गजन्म[नः । * * * * * *]नारिः पद्मपा[लः ⏑ —] श्रिया ॥ [३] चन्द्रङ्गता पद्मगुणात्र भुक्त[11] इत्यादिभागानुपपन्नम-

2 [— । — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑] [भि]ख्याम् ॥ [४] तमन्वक्प्रतापावनम्राग्मिमौलिस्त्रगभ्यर्च्चनीयांह्रिपीठोपकण्ठः । अधिष्ठाय गोपालिकेराधिपत्ये बभौ भूमिपालो महीपालदेव ॥ [५] प्रतापाखिलक्षत्रियश्रोदक्षो य एकातपत्राम्धरित्रीं व्यधत्त । दिशादन्तिकुम्भस्थलीशंखभूषां स्वकीर्त्तिन्त्रिलोकीतटान्ते व्यधत्त ॥ [६] वैवस्वतकरदण्डाश्लिष्टे प-

3 [⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — । ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑]कुमुदवनविकासकृद्राजा ॥ [७] पादानिह क्षितिभृता दधतः शिरःसु दोषापसारणपदो सदिनश्रियश्च । धामाधिकस्य तरणेरिव दुःसहत्वं यस्यावहद्दिशि दिशि प्रसरत्प्रताप ॥ [८] उदारसमरारम्भो दूरंस्तु कुरुते रिपून् । यस्यप्रयाणवार्त्तापि पलायनपरायणान् ॥ [९] ॥ भवस्य भाल्यस्वकवर्त्मभिदं रुणध्वपर्ण्णालकचू-

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[4] The [illegible] proves that Aparâjita has to be taken as a proper name and a *biruda* of Dêvapâla, whose name occurs in stanza 3.

[5] This seems to be the original form and the immediate source of the modern name 'Gwalior,' or correctly [illegible]. In Prof. Kielhorn's verses 6 and 31, the name that is used is Gôpâdri, 'the mountain of [illegible],' and in other inscriptions Gôpagiri and other synonyms.

[6] Similar signs of interpunctuation occur at the end of the [illegible] Buddhist inscription of the Samanta Devatatta (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 16) and of a Gwalior inscription of [illegible] (*Journ. of the German Oriental Society*, Vol. XL. p. 35).

[7] Stanza 12.—'Bṛihaspati (even) is unable (*to* [illegible] *to* [illegible] sufficiently) the knowledge of the [illegible] and of all manners of writing [illegible] and the deeds of this man who used [illegible] the expenditure, the income, the commands [illegible] dispositions of king Bhuvanapâla.'

[8] [illegible] the small Sasbahu temple [illegible] *Arch.* *Surv. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 362. On *kîrtana*, 'a temple,' see *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 220, 259.

[9] For the probable site of this temple see *Archæol. Surv. of Ind.* Vol. II. p. 364 and Plate lxxxviii.

[10] Probably the word *praśastim* has to be supplied with [illegible]. Yaśôdêva modestly calls himself 'the home of the arts, whose banner is poetry displayed in the six *Bhâshâs*.' What these six *Bhâshâs* are, we learn from a stanza quoted by Jonaraja on stanza 34 of the 25th canto of Mankha's *Śrîkaṇṭhacharita*:—

संस्कृता प्राकृता चैव शूरसेनी तदुद्भवा ।
ततोपि मागधी प्राग्वत्पैशाची देशजेति षट् ॥

Compare also Kalhaṇa's *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, VII. 611, where prince Harsha is called [illegible]. Yaśôdêva was a friend of the poet Manikantha, who composed the [illegible] inscription, and he it was who wrote out that inscription. There he is called Digambarârka and described as [illegible] (*ante*, p. 16).

[11] Read भुंक्त (भुङ्क्ते).

4 [⏑ — — । ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ —] सदा गच्छतु कालयज्वा ॥ [१०] श्रीमान्व-
भूव मथुराभिजनो विमायः कायस्थवंशविपिनांबुधर. प्रहृष्टाः। शिष्टाखिलवर्ग्गपथगामिमनोरथस्य यस्या-
ध्यगीषत मनोरथ इत्यभिख्याम् ॥ [११] भुवनपालनृपद्रविणव्ययागमनियोगनिधन्धन[12]लेखिनः। गणि-
ततत्वसमस्तलिपिज्ञतागुणकृतस्तवनेस्य गुरुर्लघुः ॥ [१२] कांताङ्गका-
5 [⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — — — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ —]ललिताङ्गयष्टिः । स्पष्टीकृतात्मकुलशी-
लकलानुभावा भावानुरक्तिपरमास्य रमेव विष्णो ॥ [१३] यो मानिनां कैरवकुड्मलानां प्रह्लाद[नं वृ]त्तम-
धाद्विन्दुः। स मानिचन्द्रश्चतुरर्ण्णवान्तभ्रान्तोरुकीर्त्तिस्तनयोस्य जज्ञे ॥ [१४] स्मरारिपूर्व्वामरमूर्त्तिसु-
न्दरादरास्मवेस्मप्रकरार्पितध्वजैः। मरुद्धुतैस्तर्ज्जयदङ्गिनामघान्यर्च्चीकरत्कीर्त्तनमा-
6 [⏑ — ⏑ — ॥१५ ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ —]विधानेषु यतस्तदीया। शुचिस्मितो-
ल्लासितहारकान्तिस्ततो जनै रा[स]गतिर्न्निरूचे ॥ [१६] त्रिजगद्वितनात्मयशोविसदीकृतदिक्स तयोस्त-
नयोभिजनोज्ज्वलसर्व्वनिजान्वयजाब्जरविः। मधुसूदन इत्यजनिष्ट विशिष्टगुणप्रणयः स्तुतयोगुरुदारगुणं
प्रति संप्रति यं विदुषाम् ॥ [१७] यशोविकासो मधुसूदनस्य माम्मन्मयूखा-
7 [⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — । *— ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —*] चूर्यमाण क्षयमापदिंदुः ॥ [१८] येन
त्रिलोकजननाशयशुद्धिहेतुर्द्धर्म्मोपि निर्म्मलतमः क्रियते स्म शस्वत्। तस्यावदातचरिताद्भुतवर्ण्णनाया-
मोजो विजृम्भितमहो यदि शारदायाः ॥ [१९] करांजलिपुटोद्धृतं जलमिवैष शस्वत्सुधीः समग्रजगदंगिनां
प्रगल्ददायुरालोचयन्। श्रुतैधिनशमांवुसंशमितरागपात्रापि-
8 [— ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ —] ॥ [२०] आशासु य शिष्टजगज्जनस्य श्रियं
न्यधादात्मकरावकृष्टां। जना यदीयावरजं तमाशाचंद्रं जगुः प्रीतगुरुं सुवृत्तं ॥ [२१] पतितप्रपतत्प्रप-
तिष्यदमर्त्यगृहोद्धरणैः स्वभुजार्ज्जितशुद्धधनव्ययबृंहितपुण्यनिधिः। यतिविप्रवरार्त्तविपन्नजनार्त्तिहरो भवनं
भवनाशकरस्य हरस्य स कारयति स्म कृती ॥ [२२] विद्वद्वृंदांवुजवनरविः श्रीज-
9 [— — ⏑ — — — — — — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑] निर्ग्रंथनाथः। यः षड्भाषावितनकविताकेतु-
हर्म्म्यं कलानां पूर्व्वामेतामकृत स मुनि श्रीयशोदेवनामा ॥ [२३] मनोभवांधकारातिविघातकरणो भवः ॥
दद्याद्व सम्पदां देवो यो गजाजिनभूतिभृत् ॥ [२४] ॥ श्रीविक्रमार्क्कनृपकालातीतसम्वत्सराणां[13] मेकषष्टय-
धिकायामेकादशशत्यां माघशुक्लषष्ठ्याम्प्रतिष्ठाभूत् [॥]

NOTES ON THE MAHABHASHYA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, GÖTTINGEN.

[illegible].—On some doubtful Vârttikas.

While trying to reconstruct the Vârttikas of Kâtyâyana from the Mahâbhâshya, I have never ventured to hope that my attempt would from the beginning be successful in every particular. I indeed feel convinced that the general principles which I have followed are correct, and I believe that my edition is likely to present a fairly true picture of what Kâtyâyana's work was like, before it was embodied by Patañjali in his own work. But I have always been ready to admit, that, in individual cases, the comparison of older or better MSS. than those are which I had at my disposal, the superior knowledge of other scholars, or my own researches, may prove that I have been wrong; and there certainly are Vârttikas in my edition, about whose right to be there I myself feel doubtful, just as in that portion of the text which I have assigned to Patañjali, there are some statements which may have to be regarded as Vârttikas. With the permission of the Editors, I intend in this Journal to discuss some of those doubtful Vârttikas, and I hope that scholars who are versed in the subject, and to whom ancient MSS. are more readily accessible than they are to myself, will take an interest in the matter and assist in the final settlement of a question which is of some moment for the history of Sanskrit grammar.

Not counting the 14 Pratyâhâra or Śiva-sûtras, the total number of rules of Pâṇini's Ashṭâdhyâyî in the published text is 3983. According to my edition of the Mahâbhâshya, Kâtyâyana has appended notes to 1245 rules only, and Patañjali has, independently of Kâtyâyana, attached remarks of his own to 468 other rules. The remaining 2270 of Pâṇini's Sûtras are not directly treated of in the Mahâbhâshya, but I may state incidentally that by far the greater number of them have either been actually quoted by Patañjali, or can

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12 Read निबन्धन.

13 Cancel the *anusvâra*.

be shown to be necessary for the formation of words which have been made use of by that scholar in the course of his arguments.

As Kâtyâyana in his Vârttikas has treated of somewhat less than a third of Pâṇini's rules, and as he has not told us in figures to which particular rule he intended to append a remark or a set of notes, it might be expected that he would have endeavoured to remove our doubts in this respect by some other device, that in some way or other he would have pointed out the Sûtra, to which a Vârttika or a string of Vârttikas must be understood to belong. And I believe that he really has done this, and that the device which he adopted furnishes a means of occasionally testing the accuracy of the MSS., and tends to enable us in a number of doubtful cases to distinguish between his own remarks and those of his successor and commentator Patañjali.

When in the MSS. we examine what in accordance with the general method of the Mahâbhâshya ought to be regarded as Vârttikas, we find that in the case of about 1200 Sûtras the first of a set of Vârttikas, or the one Vârttika that may have been appended to a rule, contains some distinct reference to that rule; that it is worded in a manner which at once renders it apparent to which rule of Pâṇini's the Vârttika or the string of Vârttikas belongs. No less than 131 times Kâtyâyana has repeated a whole rule of Pâṇini's, absolutely unchanged, at the commencement of the first Vârttika which he was attaching to that rule. In numerous cases a first Vârttika contains the whole rule to which it belongs, altered only so far as to allow of its being construed with the other words of the Vârttika. In a very large number of instances a first Vârttika commences with the first word or words of a rule, or repeats that portion of it to which the remark contained in the Vârttika is meant specially to refer. Thus, in the case of 24 rules of Pâṇini's which teach the meaning of technical terms, it is the technical term taught in a rule, compounded with the word **संज्ञायाम्**, that is placed at the beginning of a first Vârttika. Similarly, in the case of about 50 rules which teach the addition of suffixes, the particular suffix taught in a rule, compounded with the word **प्रकरणे**, is made to head the Vârttika or Vârttikas attached to a rule. For those who wish still further to pursue this subject, I may add that there are between 25 and 30 instances, where the reference contained in a first Vârttika is not to the rule under which it is actually placed in the Mahâbhâshya, but to a preceding rule, or where a Vârttika, which according to the Mahâbhâshya heads the Vârttikas of one rule, really belongs to the Vârttikas of the preceding rule, and that a few times we are referred by a Vârttika not to Pâṇini's rule itself, but to the Gaṇa appended to it. Thus much is rendered certain even by a study of the MSS., that in the vast majority of cases Kâtyâyana has clearly indicated the rules to which his notes refer, and the presumption therefore is that he has intended to do so everywhere. If his Vârttikas were taken out from the Mahâbhâshya and printed as a separate work, we should have no difficulty in pointing out the Sûtra to which any given Vârttika or number of Vârttikas belong.

The case is different with many of the notes, which Patañjali has appended to Pâṇini's rules. When Patañjali tells us **गजसहायाभ्यां चेति वक्तव्यम्** (Ed. II. p. 279, 19), we suspect indeed that we are directed to add a certain suffix, which has been taught by Pâṇini, to **गज** and **सहाय**, but that that suffix is **तल्**, we know only when Patañjali's note has actually been appended to or placed under P. IV. 2, 43. What Patañjali has taught in this particular instance, Kâtyâyana would have expressed in a sentence like **तल्प्रकरणे गजसहायाभ्यामुपसंख्यानम्** or **तल्प्रकरणे गजसहायाभ्यां च**, a sentence from the wording of which it would have been clear at once that the suffix to be added is **तल्**, while from the position assigned to it in the order of the Vârttikas, we should have inferred with certainty that the suffix **तल्** alluded to is the **तल्** taught by Pâṇini after the suffix **यन्**; in other words, the **तल्** of P. IV. 2, 43. Similar rules of Patañjali's occur under P. III. 1, 16 **फेनाच्चेति वक्तव्यम्**, P. III. 1, 145 **नृतिखनिरञ्जिभ्य इति वक्तव्यम्**, P. III 3, 17 **व्याधिमत्स्यबलेष्विति वक्तव्यम्**, P. V. 2, 129 **पिशाचाच्चेति वक्तव्यम**, P. VII. 2, 68 **दृशेश्चेति वक्तव्यम**, and elsewhere, and make it clear that Patañjali did not consider it necessary to indicate, by the wording of his notes, to which of Pâṇini's rules a particular note refers. His notes of this kind receive a meaning only when they are actually put under

the text of the Sûtras; taken by themselves they are unintelligible.

It is from such considerations as these, that in my edition of the Mahâbhâshya I have occasionally given, as a remark of Patañjali's what the authority of some of the MSS., sometimes the best MSS. at my command, would otherwise have made me regard as a Vârttika. In Vol. II. p. 120, l. 18, all MSS. except K.[1] have सुप्तमत्तयोरुत्तमः। सुप्तमत्तयोरुत्तम इति वक्तव्यम्, K. has only सुप्तमत्तयोरुत्तम इति वक्तव्यम्. If in this case the MSS. GAa EgB were right, सुप्तमत्तयोरुत्तमः would be a Vârttika; but it cannot be a Vârttika on Pâṇini's rule परोक्षे लिट् because it does not contain any reference to that rule. The first Vârttika on that rule must be परोक्षे लिडत्यन्तापह्नवे च, and all the MSS. excepting K. must be wrong. In Vol. II. p. 217, l. 12, GAEgB. have गोपालिकादीनां प्रतिषेधः। गोपालिकादीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः, aK. have only गोपालिकादीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः Here again गोपालिकादीनां प्रतिषेधः cannot be a Vârttika, because it contains no reference to the rule पुंयोगादाख्यायाम्; the first Vârttika on that rule must be पुंयोगादाख्यायां तद्धितलुग्वचनम्. In Vol. II. p. 278, l. 20, all MSS. except K. have वृद्धाच्च। वृद्धाच्चेति वक्तव्यम्, but वृद्धाच्च can for the reasons given above not be regarded as a Vârttika on P. IV. 2, 39. The same reasoning speaks again गणिकायाश्च on P. IV. 2, 40, महिषाच्च on P. IV. 2, 87 and other statements which some of the MSS. have given as Vârttikas.

I confess that the principle which I have tried to explain here, has not from the very beginning been so evident to myself as it is at present. I now know that some statements, which I have printed as Vârttikas, have as little claim to be such as others which I have already rejected. Such are स्वाङ्गकर्मकाच्च on P. I. 3, 27, which is omitted in the MS. K.; the same on P. I. 3, 28, which also is omitted in the same MS.; अधिकरणाच्च on P. III. 1, 10 which originally was left out in the MS. Deccan Coll. 99 of 1881-82; कर्मकर्तरि च on P. III. 2, 83, and वृत्तेश्च on P. V. 2, 101, which both are given by all the MSS. known to me. I do not feel so certain about परस्परोपपदाच्च on P. I. 3, 16, and अधर्माच्च on P. IV. 4, 41, because these statements may perhaps be considered to contain a reference to the Sûtras to which they are attached; but the former has at any rate been omitted in the MSS. KgB., and the latter is rendered superfluous by Kâtyâyana's own Vârttika 20 on P. I. 1, 72. Apart however from these, there are other Vârttikas about which I feel or have felt doubtful, and I have therefore put together the following list of all first Vârttikas in which I fail to discover with certainty any distinct reference to the rules of Pâṇini under which they are placed in the MSS.

P. I. 4, 24 ध्रुवमपायेऽपादानम्.—Vârt. 1 जुगुप्साविरामप्रमादार्थानामुपसंख्यानम्. If this were really a Vârttika, we should expect it to contain the word अपादानसंज्ञायाम्, just as Vârt. 1 on P. I. 4, 49 contains the word कर्मसंज्ञायाम्, and Vârt. 1 on P. I. 4, 54 कर्तृसंज्ञायाम्. When we strike it out from the list of Vârttikas, we have the expected reference to Pâṇini's rule in the word अपादानसंज्ञा of what in my edition is now Vârt. 2.

P. II. 3, 2 कर्मणि द्वितीया.—Vârt. समयानिकषाहायोगेषूपसंख्यानम्. The MSS. AKk. omit this. If it be really a Vârttika, it should be made to commence with द्वितीयाविधाने, just as there is चतुर्थीविधाने in Vârt. 1 on P. II. 3, 13, तृतीयाविधाने in Vârt. 1 on P. II. 3, 18, पञ्चमीविधाने in Vârt. 1 on P. II. 3, 28, and सप्तमीविधाने in Vârt. 1 on P. II. 3, 36.

P. III. 3, 157. इच्छार्थेषु लिङ्लोटौ.—Vârt. कामप्रवेदनं चेत्. MS. A. has इच्छा कामप्रवेदनं चेत्, but I should like to know if this reading is given by other MSS. The Kâśikâ-Vṛitti has कामप्रवेदन इति वक्तव्यम्.

P. V. 3, 66, प्रशंसायां रूपप्.—Vârt. 1 प्रकृतेर्लिङ्गवचनाभावात्तिङ्प्रकृतेरम्भाववचनम्. This Vârttika, for such it must be, appears to offer two difficulties which I should wish to see removed. In the first place, it should, in my opinion, contain the term रूपप्, which would show to what rule the Vârttika belongs, and which does appear in Patañjali's explanation. And secondly, I cannot get any satisfactory meaning out of लिङ्गवचनाभावात्. The forms to be explained are पचतिरूपम् पचतोरूपम् पचन्तिरूपम्. रूपप् being a *svârthika* suffix, a derivative formed by it should take the gender and number of the primitive word, to which रूपप् is affixed. Now

[1] The letters K. G. A. &c., denote the MSS. described in the prefaces of Vol. I. and II. of my edition of the Mahâbhâshya.

in this case the primitive words have no gender at all, and they are singular, dual, or plural, whereas the words formed by रूप have a gender, *viz.* are neuter, and are all singular. This must be accounted for, and is accounted for, by the final portion of the Vârttika which teaches that अम् is the termination of a derivative formed by the addition of रूप to a primitive word which is a verbal form. Unwilling as I am to alter the text, I would suggest that we ought to read प्रकृतेर्लिङ्गवचनभावांत्तिङ्प्रकृते रूपपो ऽम्भाववचनम्;—"As (*derivatives formed by means of svârthika suffixes*) take the gender and number of the primitives, it is necessary to state that a derivative in रूपप् (*does not do so, but*) takes the termination अम् when the primitive form, to which रूपप् is added, is a verb."

P. V. 4, 68, समासान्ताः.—Vârt. प्रयोजनमव्ययीभावद्विगुद्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषबहुव्रीहिसंज्ञाः. Here we expect to be told in the Vârttika, of what अव्ययीभाव...संज्ञाः are the प्रयोजनम्. The word प्रयोजनम् appears altogether 41 times at the commencement of a Vârttika, but in all these cases that, whose purport is stated in such a Vârttika, has been given to us in a previous Vârttika (Vol. I. p. 87, l. 17; 97, 15; 154, 9; 159, 9, etc.). Seventeen times प्रयोजनम् stands in the middle of a Vârttika, and it is then preceded by a word in the Locative or Genitive, which contains that of which the purport is to be explained by the Vârttika (Compare *e.g.* Vol. II. p. 47, l. 1 श्रुवदतिदेशे प्रयोजनं द्विर्वचने, p. 402, l. 3 विभक्तित्वे प्रयोजनमिद्‌मोनिषेधः, or Vol. III. p. 141, l. 5 उत्तरपदाधिकारस्य प्रयोजनं स्तोकादिभ्योऽलुगानङ्ङोह्रस्वनलोपाः, p. 179, l. 12 अङ्गाधिकारस्य प्रयोजनं संप्रसारणदीर्घत्वं). In accordance with this universal practice of the author of the Vârttikas, I would suggest that we ought to read the Vârttika under discussion either समासान्तत्वे or समासान्ताधिकारस्य प्रयोजनमव्ययीभावद्विगुद्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषबहुव्रीहिसंज्ञाः.

P. VI. 1, 28, प्यायः पी.—Vârt. आङ्पूर्वादन्धूधसोः All MSS. have this, but, as it stands, it cannot, in my opinion, be regarded as a Vârttika. Moreover, considering that अन्धु 'a well' does not appear to be used in the older literature, that, on the other hand, the verb प्यै is frequently used in connection with अंशु 'the stem of the sôma-plant,' and that in *Rigvêda* VIII. 9, 19, we actually read आपीनासो अंशव. one may fairly feel inclined to question the correctness of the reading अन्धूधसोः.

P. VI. 3, 3, ओजःसहोम्भस्तमसस्तृतीयायाः—Vârt. 1, अञ्जस उपसंख्यानम्. AB. and originally E. have तृतीयायां अञ्ज°, E. by alteration तृतीयाया अञ्ज°, One would expect the Vârttika to commence with तृतीयाप्रकरणे, just as Vârt. 1 on P. VI. 3, 2 commences with पञ्चमीप्रकरणे, and Vârt. 1 on P. VI. 3, 21 with षष्ठीप्रकरणे.

P. VII. 1, 39, सुपां सुलुक्पूर्वसवर्णाच्छेयाडाड्यायाजालः—Vârt. इयाडियाजीकाराणामुपसंख्यानम्. AE. omit this; a. and B. omit it too, but the former has a stop and the figure 2 between °ख्यानं and कर्तव्यम् in the next line, and B. has a stop in the same place. I hardly think that it can be rejected from the Vârttikas, because in that case it would be difficult to explain, why Patañjali should have made the subsequent statement आङ्याजयारां चोपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् a separate rule.

P. VIII. 1, 66, यद्वृत्तान्नित्यम्.—Vârt. वा याथाकाम्ये. All MSS. have this, but I doubt its being a Vârttika, as it stands.

P. I. 4, 60 गतिश्च.—Vârt. 1 कारिकाशब्दस्य; Vârt. 2. पुनश्चनसौ छन्दसि. Vârt. 1 is given by all MSS., but DKEg. read कारिकाशब्दस्योपसंख्यानम. Vârt. 2 is omitted in K.; E. has it added in the margin; g. omits it, but has the figure २ after पुनश्चनसौ छन्दसि below. पुनश्चनसौ छन्दसि is quoted thus by Patañjali in Vol. I. p. 377, l. 19; it is there called a Vârttika by Nâgôjibhaṭṭa, and is considered one also by Haradatta on P. II. 1, 72 (पुनश्चनसौ छन्दसीति गतिसंज्ञा वार्त्तिककारीयेति गणकारेणं पठितम). I can only state that we miss the expected reference to Pâṇini's rule, which, if the two Vârttikas were removed, would be contained in what in my edition is now Vârt. 3.

P. II. 2, 8, षष्ठी.—Vârt. 1 कृद्योगा च; Vârt. 2 तत्स्थैश्च गुणैः; Vârt. 3 न तु तद्विशेषणैः.—P. II. 2. 10, न निर्धारणे.—Vârt. प्रतिपदविधाना च.—Patañjali, in the words प्रतिपदविधाना च षष्ठी न समस्यत इति वक्ष्यति on p. 412, l. 20, appears certainly to ascribe the statement प्रतिपदविधाना च to the Vârttikakâra, but we miss in the Vârttikas themselves some distinct indication of the fact that the three first refer to P. II. 2, 8, and the last to the prohibitive rule P. II. 2, 10.

P. II. 4, 3, अनुवादे चरणानाम्.—Vârt. 1 स्थेणोः; Vârt. 2 अद्यतन्यां च. Vârt. 1 is omitted by the MSS. gB., and Vârt. 2 by AkKEgB. The term अद्यतनी for लुङ् is used by Kâtyâyana Vol. II. p. 114, l. 7, and Vol. III. p. 217. l. 17, just as he elsewhere employs भवन्ती, भविष्यन्ती, and श्वस्तनी,

instead of लट्, लृट्, and, लुट्; the two statements given above can nevertheless not be regarded as Vârttikas, so long as the first of them contains no reference to Pâṇini's rule. This objection would be removed, if we were allowed to read अनुवादे चरणानां स्थेणोः.

P. III. 1, 17, शब्दवैरकलहाभ्रकण्वमेघेभ्यः करणे.—Vârt. 1 सुदिनदुर्दिनाभ्यां च; Vârt. 2 नीहाराच्च. The MSS. kK. omit the two Vârttikas and read सुदिनदुर्दिननीहारेभ्यश्चेति वक्तव्यम्; exactly the same reading we find in the Kâśikâ-Vṛitti.

P. IV. 1, 85, दित्यदित्यादित्यपत्युत्तरपदाण्ण्यः—Vârt. 1 वाङ्मतिपितृमतां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम्. Several MSS. omit this and some of the following Vârttikas up to Vârt. 8. In none of the eight MSS. which I have compared does the first Vârttika contain any indication of the Sûtra to which it belongs. We may conjecture the correct reading of the Vârttika to be ण्यप्रकरणे वाङ्मतिपितृमतां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम्, and this reading we actually find in the Benares edition of the Mahâbhâshya.

P. IV. 3, 131, रैवतिकादिभ्यश्छः.—Vârt. 1. कौपिञ्जलहास्तिपदादण्. Vârt. 2 आथर्वणिकस्येकलोपश्च. These two Vârttikas (which have been received into the text of Pâṇini's grammar) have nothing to do with the particular rule P. IV. 3, 131, but they may be regarded as additions to the whole chapter, which begins with the rule 120 and ends with 131. Similarly the Vârttika अन उपधालोपिन ऊधसो ङीप्पूर्वविप्रतिषिद्धम् has been placed under P. IV. 1, 75, which is the last rule in the chapter treating of the formation of feminine bases; आद्युदात्तप्रकरणे दिवोदासादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् under P. VI. 2, 91 etc.

P. VI. 3, 109, पृषोदरादीनि यथोपदिष्टम्.—Vârt. 1 दिक्शब्देभ्यस्तीरस्य तारभावो वा. Several MSS. omit this and some of the following Vârttikas. We must, it seems, assume that दक्षिणतारम् and other words explained in the Vârttikas had been put down in the Gaṇa पृषोदरादि, and that the reference therefore is to the Gaṇa. Similar references to Gaṇas we have on P. IV. 1, 4; IV. 1, 151; IV. 2, 49; and V. 2. 116.

P. VI. 3, 122, उपसर्गस्य घञ्यमनुष्ये बहुलम्.—Vârt. 1 सादकारयोः कृत्रिमे; Vârt. 2 प्रतिवेशादीनां विभाषा. Both Vârttikas are omitted by some of the MSS. The reference to Pâṇini's rule may consist in this, that साद and कार *are* bases formed with the suffix घञ्, which is mentioned in the rule. A similar case we find in असिनपलितयोः प्रतिषेधः on P. IV. 1. 39, which undoubtedly is a Vârttika, and where असिन and पलिन are at once recognized to be such words as are spoken of by Pâṇini in his rule.

P. VIII. 2, 17, नाद्धस्य.—Vârt. 1 ईद्रथिनः; Vârt. 2 भूरिदाव्नस्तुट्. The wording of these two Vârttikas may perhaps be accounted for in a similar way. The Vârttikas preceding them belong undoubtedly to P. VIII. 2, 16; and when then immediately afterwards Kâtyâyana teaches something regarding two bases that end in न्, we must understand him to refer to that न् which is spoken of by Pâṇini in the rule following upon VIII. 2, 16.

I will finally mention a few cases, in which it may be doubtful whether a certain statement, which in my edition has been ascribed to Patañjali, might not, for the reasons which I have explained in the above, perhaps be better regarded as a Vârttika.

On P. I. 1, 75, एङ् प्राचां देशे, I have printed as a remark of Patañjali's एङ् प्राचां देशे शैषिकेष्विति वक्तव्यम्. I was at the time surprised, that Patañjali should have repeated the words of Pâṇini's rule, but the MSS. then at my disposal did contain those words, and they did not in any way suggest the idea, that a Vârttika might have disappeared. I now find that the MS. A. does omit एङ् प्राचां देशे before शैषिकेष्विति, and further consideration has convinced me, that either the MS. A. is right or that a Vârttika has disappeared; on the latter alternative we should have to read एङ् प्राचां देशे शैषिकेषु ॥१॥ एङ् प्राचां देशे शैषिकेष्विति वक्तव्यम् ।

On P. II. 1, 23, द्विगुश्च, I have assigned to Patañjali the statement द्विगोस्तत्पुरुषत्वे समासान्ताः प्रयोजनम्, but I now feel almost certain that this is really a Vârttika. When however we compare such Vârttikas as अव्ययीभावस्याव्ययत्वे प्रयोजनं लुग्मुखस्वरोपचाराः on P. I. 1, 41, ध्रुवदानिर्देशे प्रयोजनं द्वित्वेऽत्वे on P. III. 1, 39, or विभक्तित्वे प्रयोजनमित्प्रतिषेधः on P. V. 3, 1, we should expect to read द्विगोस्तत्पुरुषत्वे प्रयोजनं समासान्ताः.

On P. IV. 1, 16, यञश्च, I may have been wrong in rejecting the reading of the MSS. EgB., which before आपत्यग्रहणं have the Vârttika आपत्यग्रहणं द्वीपाद्यञः प्रतिषेधार्थम्. But if, what seems very probable, this is really a Vârttika, I should expect Patañjali's explanation to be आपत्यग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । किं प्रयोजनम् । द्वीपाद्यञः प्रतिषेधार्थम् । इह मा भूत् । द्वैप्येति ॥ Compare *e.g.* Vârt. 1 on P. III. 4, 2, Vârt. 1 on P. VI. 1,

6; Vârt. 1 and 2 on P. VI. 1, 58; Vârt. 1 on P. VI. 1, 108; Vârt. 1 on P. VI. 1. 171.

On P. V. 4, 103, अनसन्तान्नपुंसकाच्छन्दसि, I have given as a remark of Patañjali's the statement अनसन्तान्नपुंसकाच्छन्दसि वेति वक्तव्यम्; the MS. a. omits here अनसन्तान्नपुंसकाच्छन्दसि, and g., a very indifferent MS., has the same words twice. The repetition of Pâṇini's rule at the beginning of this statement must again make us suspect that a Vârttika has disappeared in the MSS., and that we ought to read अनसन्तान्नपुंसकाच्छन्दसि वा ॥१॥ अनसन्तान्नपुंसकाच्छन्दसि वेति वक्तव्यम्. It is true that Kâtyâyana, when he wishes to make a rule of Pâṇini's optional, generally employs the word वावचनम् (compare *e.g.* Vârt. 1 on P. III. 1, 27, Vârt. 1 on P. V. 1, 10, Vârt. 1 on P. VIII. 2, 103), yet on P. III. 3, 156 हेतुहेतुमतोर्लिङ्, we have the Vârttika हेतुहेतुमतोर्लिङ्वा, to which अनसन्तान्नपुंसकाच्छन्दसि वा would be similar in every respect.

The doubts and conjectures, which I have expressed in the above, are in the first instance suggested by the principle that the first Vârttika on a rule must contain some distinct reference to that rule. There are other matters, on which I should wish to elicit the opinions of Indian scholars.

We frequently find in the Mahâbhâshya statements, which end with the word उक्तम्, 'something has been said,' 'a remark has been made.' They are invariably followed by किमुक्तम् 'what has been said?' When we examine the answers to this question, we are struck by the fact, that almost everywhere they consist in one or more Vârttikas met with in different parts of the Mahâbhâshya. We are thus led to the conclusion that the statements ending with उक्तम् are themselves Vârttikas, and that in them Kâtyâyana is referring us to other Vârttikas, which generally precede, sometimes follow, the Vârttikas ending with उक्तम्. And our belief in the soundness of this conclusion is strengthened, when we examine those statements a little more closely.

When we try to ascertain what Vârttikas Kâtyâyana may have appended *e.g.* to P. I. 1, 60, अदर्शनं लोपः, the first Vârttika to present itself will be लोपसंज्ञायामर्थसतोरुक्तम्. It is explained by Patañjali as other Vârttikas are, with this difference only that the comment on the words preceding उक्तम् has taken the form of an introductory remark. It does contain the necessary reference to Pâṇini's rule, for like other Vârttikas on *Saṁjñâ*-rules it does begin with the technical term defined by Pâṇini, compounded with संज्ञायाम्. It must be considered a Vârttika, because the wording of the sentence which in my edition is given as Vârt. 2, and which undoubtedly is a Vârttika, shows that there must be a Vârttika preceding it, and because in the preceding we find nothing that could possibly be regarded as one, excepting our लोपसंज्ञायामर्थसतोरुक्तम्. "The remarks that have been made," and to which we are referred by उक्तम्, are इतिकरणोऽर्थनिर्देशार्थः and सिद्धं तु नित्यशब्दत्वात्, the former being the Vârt. 3 on P. I. 1, 44, and the latter the Vârt. 9 on P. I. 1, 1.

Now, what I have proved in this one instance may be shown to be true elsewhere, and it becomes evident, that by the Vârttikas described Kâtyâyana has furnished a means of testing to some extent the value of any attempt at reconstructing his work. For whenever we find a statement of his ending with उक्तम्, our *Vârttika-pâṭha*, if it be right, must contain the Vârttika or Vârttikas, to which he refers us. And when, to give a somewhat striking instance, in the Vârt. 10 on P. I. 2, 45 he tells us "that he has said something regarding the question as to whether letters have a meaning or not," and when, in order to show what Kâtyâyana has said, Patañjali quotes the seven Vârttikas on pp. 30 and 31 of Vol. I. of my edition, exactly as they have been printed there, it will appear probable that the principles followed in the reconstruction of the Vârttikas were correct. On the other hand, the question किमुक्तम् should everywhere be answered by Vârttikas only; and if anywhere in the Mahâbhâshya it should have been answered differently, it must be possible to substitute a Vârttika or Vârttikas for the answer actually given by Patañjali. If in any particular case it should be found impossible to point out the Vârttika to which Kâtyâyana could have referred us, such a case should either make us doubt our having fully understood the drift of his remarks, or suspect some fault in our method, or in the readings of the MSS. used for the reconstruction of his work.

In my edition the number of Vârttikas ending with उक्तम् is 45; not one of them has been given in the Calcutta edition of Pâṇini. 38

times we are referred by उक्तम् to something which precedes the Vârttika containing the word उक्तम्; 7 times to what follows. 36 times Patañjali has answered the question किमुक्तम् by quoting one, two, three, five, or even seven Vârttikas exactly as they are given in the edition; thrice he has considered it sufficient to quote only part of a Vârttika; and four times he has quoted a Vârttika, but completed it by words of his own. Once (in Vol. I. p. 229), instead of quoting the actual text of the Vârttika, he has given his own explanation of it. Once only has Patañjali referred us to a remark, which is purely and exclusively his own, and it is this particular case that has induced me to discuss this matter under the head of the (as yet) doubtful Vârttikas.

To the rule P. VI. 4, 66, Kâtyâyana appends the exception (Vârt. 1), that ई is not substituted for the final of दा, धा, etc. before a suffix commencing with the letter व्, and as an instance in point he quotes the word घृतपावन्, which occurs *e.g.* in Vâj. S. VI. 19. Patañjali then raises the question, how with such an exception one is to account for the words धीवरी and पीवरी, in which ई apparently *has* been substituted before a suffix commencing with व. This question is answered in the sentence (Vârt. 2) धीवरी पीवरीति चोक्तम् "as to धीवरी and पीवरी you are referred to what has been stated"; and Patañjali by way of explanation tells us that the statement alluded to is नैतदीत्त्वम् । किं तर्हि । ध्याप्योरेतत्संप्रसारणम् ।—" here we have no substitution of ई for the आ of धा and पा, but that of Samprasâraṇa for the य् of ध्यै and प्यै, (together of course with the operations attendant on or caused by the substitution of Samprasâraṇa)." Now the statement quoted by Patañjali is certainly not a Vârttika, but is a remark made by Patañjali himself in Vol. III. p. 197, l. 22, and the alternative we have to face is this: either Patañjali is wrong in citing his own words instead of quoting a Vârttika, or the MSS. are wrong in reading धीवरी पविरीति चोक्तम् । किमुक्तम्. We must either point out the Vârttika, which Patañjali should have quoted, or substitute for धीवरी पीवरीति चोक्तम् । किमुक्तम् । words such as उक्तमेतत्. I confess that, without having examined other MSS., I do not venture to express any decided opinion; should such an examination, however, prove favourable to the retention of the second Vârttika, I might probably suggest that Patañjali ought to have referred us to the Vârttika ध्यायतेः संप्रसारणं च on P. III. 2, 178.

Of more frequent occurrence even than the Vârttikas described, taking them all together, is another Vârttika, to which the same general remarks are applicable,—I mean the Vârttika उक्तं वा. It has been shown elsewhere, that Kâtyâyana has not merely stated his doubts and objections in regard to some of Pâṇini's rules, but that often he also has shown how those doubts may be solved and the objections removed, and it is mainly for the latter purpose that the Vârttika उक्तं वा has been employed by him. For, when making use of this phrase, he thereby intimates that an objection raised is met, or an additional rule rendered unnecessary, by some Vârttika or Vârttikas in another part of his work, Vârttikas to which we are referred by the very words उक्तं वा, and which after the usual question किमुक्तम् are generally pointed out by Patañjali. On P. III. 1, 30, after having stated (Vârt. 1 and 2) that the Anubandha ङ् of the suffix णिङ् would by P. I. 1, 5 prevent the substitution of Vṛiddhi in कामयते, Kâtyâyana adds (Vârt. 3) उक्तं वा "or it is as stated"; in other words, he refers us to the Vârt. 4 on P. I. 1, 5, in which he himself has explained why that rule of Pâṇini's can have nothing to do with कामयते. In Vol. III. p. 2 and also p. 440 he similarly refers us to the four Vârttikas 2-5 on P. I. 1, 21, in Vol. II. p. 242 to the six Vârttikas 4-9 on P. IV. 1, 163, and so elsewhere. Here too we must in every case be able to point out the Vârttikas to which Kâtyâyana can have referred us, and the probability here also is, that there is something wrong in our work or in the MSS. which we have followed, when we are unable to do so.

In my edition the phrase उक्तं वा occurs as a Vârttika 55 times; among the Vârttikas appended to Pâṇini's rules in the Calcutta edition I have not found it once. In 33 out of these 55 cases Patañjali has cited the Vârttikas, to which we are referred by उक्तं वा, exactly as they are found in the edition. In 10 other cases he has either quoted only part of a Vârttika, or quoting a whole Vârttika he has rendered its meaning more easily intelligible by adding words of his own, or he has given in

his own words the sense of a Vârttika, not the actual text of it. Twice (Vol. I. p. 194 and Vol. II. p. 182) Patañjali refers us first to a Vârttika, and afterwards, objecting to Kâtyâyana's reasoning, to remarks of his own; and three times (Vol. I. p. 225, p. 423; and Vol. III. p. 223) he refers us to Vârttikas and at the same time to other statements, which it is unnecessary to discuss here. Five times (Vol. I. p. 141; Vol. II. p. 427 and 433; and Vol. III. p. 353 and 416) he has referred us only to remarks of his own, but in these cases it is easy to point out the Vârttikas which he should have quoted. Thus by the Vârttika उक्तं वा on P. V. 3, 88 and P. V. 4, 27, Kâtyâyana can have referred us only to his Vârttikas 6 and 7 on P. IV. 1, 92, where Patañjali himself has given the very examples कुटी कुटीरः etc., the gender of which has occasioned Kâtyâyana's remarks on P. V. 3, 88.

From this general survey it will appear then, that in 53 cases out of 55 we have either been actually referred to the Vârttikas, to which allusion is made by the phrase उक्तं वा, or that we, at any rate, can point out the Vârttikas, which should have been cited by Patañjali. It is different with the two remaining cases, which on that very account demand a more detailed discussion.

On P. II. 3. 8, Kâtyâyana proposes to add the rule (Vârt. 1), that प्रति etc., when conveying the meanings spoken of in P. I. 4, 90, etc., govern the Accusative, such a rule being considered necessary to prevent the employment of the Locative and Ablative cases taught in P. II. 3. 43, and P. II. 3, 10; and Patañjali adds that Kâtyâyana's rule would prove advantageous also in enabling us to dispense with the word अप्रतेः in P. II. 3, 43. The Vârt. 2 उक्तं वा would lead us to expect that in the sequel Kâtyâyana's additional rule should have been rejected by means of some other Vârttika of Kâtyâyana's. In reality Kâtyâyana's suggestion has been met, as regards the Locative, by the remark that Pâṇini in his rule II. 3. 43. *has* said अप्रतेः, and, as regards the Ablative, by showing that for reasons given the परि in P. II. 3, 10 can only be the परि spoken of in P. I. 4. 88, not the परि of P. I. 4, 90; nor do I see how it could have been met in any other way. Such being the case, I consider that the words उक्तं वा। किमुक्तम्। at the top of Vol. I. p. 447 of my edition are wrong and must be struck out, notwithstanding the fact that they are given by all the MSS. hitherto examined by me.

Similarly I, for the present, believe that the MSS. are wrong in giving as a Vârttika what is now Vârt. 3 on P. VIII. 1, 15, for there too the statement लिङ्गमशिष्यं लोकाश्रयत्वाल्लिङ्गस्य, to which we appear to be referred, is not a Vârttika. That statement occurs as part of Patañjali's commentary, *e.g.* in Vol. I. p. 390, l. 18, where we certainly might have expected Kâtyâyana to allude to it, had it been possible for him to do so. It occurs too in Vol. II. p. 418, l. 24, where the Kaśmîr MS. appears to me to be right in omitting before it the words उक्तं वा। किमुक्तम्।, which have found their way into all the Dêvanâgarî MSS., just as the phrase उक्तं वा has found its way into some of the MSS. in Vol. II. p. 173, l. 23. On the other hand, I will not conceal that, in Vol. II. p. 198, l. 15, Patañjali has introduced the statement लिङ्गमशिष्यं लोकाश्रयत्वाल्लिङ्गस्य by the words पठिष्यति ह्याचार्यः, and that at any rate Nâgôjibhatta understands the Âchârya there referred to to be the *Vârttikakrit.*[2]

Besides the Vârttikas which I have treated of in the above, there are some others, which I should call 'doubtful Vârttikas,' but to which I have nevertheless assigned a place in my edition, because in a first attempt I wished to be guided rather by the MSS., than by my own views as to what ought to be a Vârttika and what not. One or two examples may show, that at least I have not been quite unconscious of the objections that might be brought against the text given by me. By the Vârt. 10 बह्वादीनामग्रहणम् on P. I. 1, 23, my edition makes Kâtyâyana, who in the preceding Vârttikas has tried to amend Pâṇini's rule, reject that rule altogether,—reject it, without his giving any reasons, and without intimating that the rejection of the rule would be an alternative proceeding. Now this is altogether contrary to what we see Kâtyâyana do else-

[1] I may add that Kâtyâyana has referred us to other Vârttikas of his also in the Vârt. उक्तं [illegible] in Vol. I. p. 73 in the Vârt उक्तं [illegible] in Vol. I. p. 102 and p. 104, and in the Vârt उक्तं सख्यान्ते प्रयोजनं तस्मादिड्ग्यर्थग्रहणानर्थक्यम् in Vol. II. p. 349.

where. Kâtyâyana always proves his propositions; he always shows what is the good of his proposals; when he suggests an alternative course, he tell us that he does so. When he rejects the rule P. III. 3, 119, he does so by saying गोचरादीनामग्रहणं प्रायवचनाद्यथा कषो निकष इति; when, after having discussed the rule P. I. 1. 44, he desires to show that that rule may be dispensed with, he says (Vârt. 19) अशिष्यो वा विदितत्वात्. I am convinced then, that on P. I. 1, 23, Kâtyâyana could not have simply said वह्यादीनामग्रहणम्, and that the MSS. are wrong. What appears to be a Vârttika is really a translation, into the language of Kâtyâyana, of Patañjali's statement वह्यादीनां ग्रहणं शक्यमकर्तुम्.—Chance repetition of Patañjali's words has caused the reception into the text of false Vârttikas elsewhere. In his Vârt. 5 on P. I. 4, 52, Kâtyâyana states that that rule does not apply to अद्, खाद्, नी, and वह्; in the following Vârt. 6, which is given by all the Dêvanâgarî MSS., he is made to say that Pâṇini's rule does not apply in the case of वह् provided that verb be not used in connection with beasts of burden. Here it is clear that Kâtyâyana would not have included वह् in the list of verbs given in Vârt. 5, if he had intended to make a special rule for it in a separate Vârttika. The special rule concerning वह् is really, if I may say so, a Vârttika of Patañjali's on Kâtyâyana's Vârt. 5, and has taken the form of a true Vârttika, because Patañjali's words वहेरनियन्तृकर्तृकस्य were wrongly put twice in the MSS. Such has, I believe, been the case with what is now Vârt. 29 on P. II. 2, 24 (omitted in the Kaśmîr MSS.), with the Vârt. 4 on P. III. 2, 110 (omitted in the MS. K.) and in one or two other instances, and this is one of the reasons why I appeal particularly to those scholars, who have old MSS. within reach, to assist me in the task of improving my work.

BOOK NOTICES.

Book of Indian Eras, with Tables for Calculating Indian Dates: by Alexander Cunningham, C.S.I., C.I.E., Major-General Royal Engineers (Bengal). Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1883. 8vo. pp. xiv. and 227.

No publication of General Cunningham's is more useful than this Book of Indian Eras, but it does not seem to have attracted as much attention as it deserves, and has remained unnoticed by the Press. The author would have been better advised if he had published his book in England.

The large number of eras with which the treatise deals is a proof of the real progress made in Indian Archæology since Prinsep's time; that is to say, during the period of General Cunningham's active career. The initial dates of three of these eras, viz., the eras of Śrî-Harsha of Kanauj, Lakshmanasêna of Bengal, and the Kalachuri kings of Chêdî, have been determined by General Cunningham himself.

The determination of the beginning of Śrî-Harsha's era was easy, and merely involved the confirmation of Abû Rihân's statement.

The statements of the various authorities respecting the exact initial date of the Lakshmanasêna era are conflicting. General Cunningham on p. 76 says that he believes he has "succeeded in clearing up the difference"; but his conclusion is expressed in such a way that it is difficult for the reader to make out exactly what it is. A reference, however, to page 160 of Vol. XV. of the Reports of the Archæological Survey of India, shows that the General has adopted 1107 A.D. as the year 1 of this era; and the determination appears to be correct.

There is no reason apparently to doubt the soundness of the arguments which fix 250 A.D. as the year 1 of the Chêdi or Kalachuri Samvat, and the determination of this era marks an important advance in the study of Indian Chronology.

It would be impossible in a brief book-notice to enter on a discussion of the vexed question as to the Gupta era, and, pending publication by Mr. Fleet of the inscription which, in his opinion, fixes the commencement of the era in or about 315-19 A.D., further discussion would, at present, be premature. It is, however, not inopportune to remark that General Cunningham's observations, both in the Preface and text of the work under review, will require very careful consideration at the hands of those who impugn the accuracy of his conclusions; and that his reply to Dr. Thibaut's criticism on his astronomical calculations, is, at all events, very plausible. I know nothing of astronomy, and cannot venture to say more.

A copper-plate inscription of Samudra Gupta, dated S. 10, is quoted on page 53. This inscription has not been published, and no information is given about it. Presumably it is the inscription

mentioned in one of the Reports as having been formerly extant in Benares, but it would have been more satisfactory if the author had given some information concerning the document, before quoting it as an authority.[1]

Table XVI., which gives the initial days A.D. of each Hijra year, is one of the most useful in the book, and has the merit of being intelligible at a glance. Some of the explanations of other tables would be better if made a little fuller.

I have noticed the following misprints in addition to those enumerated in the list of Errata:—

Preface, page v. line 16, *for* 1789,168·9067 *read* 1789,767·9067

Ibid ,, ,, line 20, *for* 6·7 or 7 days over *read* leaves 6 7 or 7 days over

Page	24	line	23	*for*	627	*read*	1027
,,	86	,,	31	,,	Table III.	,,	Table II.
,,	,,	,,	35	,,	Table II.	,,	Table I.
,,	87	,,	8	,,	Table IV.	,,	Table III.
,,	,,	,,	10	,,	Table II.	,,	Table I.
,,	227	,,	8	,,	1043	,,	1013

The book under review contains much matter which invites comment; but I have already occupied my share of space, and must content myself with remarking that it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the dates of the Indo-Scythian kings are expressed in terms of the Seleucidan era.

V. A. SMITH.

25th April 1886.

DIE KAÇMIR-RECENSION DER PANÇAÇIKA, von Dr. W. SOLF. Kiel: C. F. Hasler. 1886.

It is a well-known fact that many of the most celebrated literary productions of India have come down to us in different recensions, greatly varying from each other in essential points, and frequently leaving an editor in doubt as to which to adopt as the best and most original form of the text. Thus, for instance, the *Râmâyaṇa* exists in three, and Kâlidâsa's *Śakuntalâ* in five recensions; and it certainly speaks more for the popularity than for the artistic value of the comparatively small poem now under consideration, that the three principal versions, in which we find it spread over India, coincide only in seven stanzas, and that these, moreover, exhibit a considerable variety of reading.

The *Pañchâśikâ* was first published in 1833 by Professor von Bohlen, together with Bhartṛihari's *Aphorisms*, under the title *Carmen quod Chauri nomine fertur eroticum*, from a Dêvanâgarî manuscript of the Indian Museum, No. 33 of Colebrooke's collection. According to the commentary thereon, the poet, under sentence of death on account of his intrigue with a king's daughter, is represented as picturing to himself, in the presence of death, the charms of his beloved and the joys of bygone days, in fifty stanzas, each beginning with *adyâpi*, "even today," the supposed pathos and tender beauty of which win for him the forgiveness of the incensed father and his consent to the union of the enamoured couple. In general conformity with Bohlen's text, the poem appeared again in Haberlin's *Sanskrit Anthology*, Calcutta, 1847, and in three more editions by native scholars, in all of which, however, Sundara is given as the name of the author. The reading on which these five editions are based, forms what Dr. Solf calls the Middle-Indian or Bengali Recension, and to it belongs also Manuscript No. 146 of the India Office, containing the text with a commentary by one Râmatarkavâgîśa.

Almost simultaneously with Häberlin's edition, a French scholar, M. Ariel, published in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1848, a new version of the poem, founded on two South-Indian manuscripts, both written in the Grantha character, and differing but slightly from each other. The name of the author is here Chôra, but the hero of the tale is called Paṇḍit Bilhaṇa,* and his love-story forms the larger part of the work, of whose 118 stanzas only 46 begin with *adyâpi*. With this version tallies in most essentials a manuscript of the Bodleian Library in Oxford (Aufrecht, *Catalogus*, p. 133b.), which the author of the present pamphlet designates the "South-Indian Recension."

The abovementioned Bilhaṇa, a poet of the second half of the eleventh century A.D., is known as the author of the *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita*, which was published in 1875 by Dr. G. Bühler, and in his introduction the learned editor first throws out the suggestion that the *Pañchâśikâ* might also be a work of his. Two years later, Dr. Bühler published his *Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit MSS., made in Kaśmîr, Râjputânâ and Central India*, and here he was able to substantiate his previous surmise, by obtaining a manuscript of the *Pañchâśikâ*, "which settles all doubts about its authorship, and explains the origin of the anecdote connected with it." It is this third Kaśmîr or "North-Indian Recension" which Dr Solf has now edited, translated into German, and annotated. His little work will be received as an interest-

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[1] This inscription will be published shortly in the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol III No. 60.

Plate xxxvii. The date that it purports to record, is the year 9, not 40. But it is a spurious grant.—J. F. F.

ing and valuable contribution to Indian textual criticism, although we doubt whether his new explanation of the origin and purport of the poem will meet with an equally ready acceptance.

THE TAPROBANIAN: A Dravidian Journal of Oriental Studies in and around Ceylon, in Natural History, Archæology, Philology, History, &c. Edited by HUGH NEVILL, Ceylon Civil Service, F.Z.S., &c. Bombay: The Education Society's Press. London; Trübner & Co. 1885-1886. Vol. I. Parts I. to IV. Super-royal quarto, pp. 128. With Plates to be issued subsequently.

This Journal has been started with the object of collecting information from more specially the Drâvidian districts of India and Ceylon. There is a large field of work open to it; and we heartily welcome its appearance, in the hope that it may do for the south of India what the *Indian Antiquary* is doing for the more northern parts. Judging by the fact that nearly all the articles up to date are from the Editor's own pen, the *Taprobanian* seems to have hardly become as yet as well known as it deserves to be; this, however, is a point in which time doubtless will effect a change. It is desirable that in a period like this, when so much sound information is available, such mistaken identifications as that of the ancient Śûrpâraka with the modern Surat (p. 51) should be avoided; as also such untenable suggestions as that the Chalukyas "are named after the Keluksar, who annoyed the Zendic Arians, taking their name from 'Keluk' a wolf" (p. 51); or that the Hûṇas were the subjects of the monkey-chief Hanuman (p. 111). But, setting aside points like these, the four numbers of the *Taprobanian* that have already appeared, contain a good many interesting and valuable notes and hints on the topics to which it is devoted; and we hope to see the Journal continue and posper.

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE IN EARLY ARABIA, by W. ROBERTSON SMITH. Cambridge: University Press.

It would be quite impossible in the space allotted to us to do justice to the arguments adduced in this remarkable book in support of Professor Robertson Smith's theory—if an opinion based on the results of a fair discussion of all the available evidence can be so called—that the male kinship of the Arabs has been generated from a system of kinship through women only by steps common to a similar change in all rude societies, where such has taken place; and all we can do is to direct the attention of our readers to these arguments and to promise all students of the structure of society in the East much food for reflection and much guidance of a safe kind in the study of one its most important and yet most difficult and complicated features.

It should be remembered that the study of the social structure of the early Arabs, which involves, of course, that of the Semitic races generally, is no abstract study, but includes matters, without the proper comprehension of which, many things observable in the habits and manners of modern Orientals—never matters of indifference to Englishmen in the present day—are meaningless freaks of custom, and much of what is in the sacred books and traditions of three most important religions—Christianity, Judaism and Muhammadanism—is a mere tissue of incomprehensible texts. Any work, therefore, which helps to clear up the dense mists in which the subjects of kinship and marriage in the East are still enveloped is not only welcome: it is of practical importance.

Professor Robertson Smith goes steadily through his subject from point to point commencing with the theory of the Genealogists as to the origin of Arabic Tribal Groups and showing with much cogency the errors it contains, the causes that led to them, and the literary forgeries with which they were supported. He then passes on to the discussion of the kindred group and its dependents or allies, and the homegeneity of the kindred group in relation to the law of marriage and descent. The very titles of these divisions of his subject will arrest the attention of the student in India of social systems, which are in no way connected with that of the Arabs by descent or development; *e.g*, that of the Râjpûts. The opening sentences of the two chapters devoted to these points are strangely applicable, too, to much observable in India among purely Hindû Societies. "The two principles underlying the genealogical system of the Arabs are that every tribe is a homogeneous group, *i.e.*, a collection of people of the same blood and that the son is of the blood of the father." "An Arab tribe regarded itself as a group of kindred united by the tie of blood for purposes of offence and defence." The Professor then by a natural transition goes on to discuss the social laws of paternity, polyandry with male kinship,—a very suggestive heading to Anglo-Indians in a book on Arabia;—and then polyandry with kinship through women, which carries our thoughts at once to the state of things still largely in existence in the South of India in a comparatively highly civilized society. And lastly in this connection and in pursuance of his general argument the author examines the difficult subject of female kinship and bars to marriage, on which so much always depends.

The last and most interesting point, which occupies the Professor's attention, is Totemism. He is of opinion that the Arabs once had this

system and his chapter concerning it, though professedly only a commencement of the investigation, is most suggestive throughout and thoroughly worth careful study. It has often [illegible] that evidence is procurable in India of general prevalence of a like system now or at [illegible] earlier period, and as an instance of the existence of a custom at the present day pointing [illegible] this direction we would quote the following. Many of the Musalmâns of Kasûr in the Pañjâb, [illegible] descendants of old Pathân settlers, [illegible] the "Snake" Caste or Tribe [illegible] [illegible] special ceremonies, performed in honour [illegible] partake of the nature of ancestor [illegible]. Thus they hold that the snakes of the [illegible] day are the descendants of a great king, as [illegible] themselves are. When they find a dead [illegible] they clothe and carefully bury it and [illegible] themselves free from the results of [illegible] snake-bite.[1] Prof. Robertson Smith [illegible] local observation would do much towards gathering more and conclusive evidence [illegible] former prevalence of pure Totemism in [illegible] and we would suggest that the existence [illegible] customs as that just described is an [illegible] towards investigations being prosecuted seriously in India with a like object [illegible].

[illegible] of NEPAL. Translated from the Parbatiya by [illegible] PANDIT SRI [illegible] by DANIEL WRIGHT, M.D., [illegible] University Press.

[illegible] by the Mir Munshi of the [illegible] at Kathmandu [illegible] a MS. [illegible] History of Nepal [illegible] by [illegible] a representative [illegible] of the professional genealogists of [illegible]. The original MS. is in Parbatiyâ, [illegible] with Sanskrit and Newari. Dr. Wright, the [illegible] Residency Surgeon at Kathmandu, [illegible] so far as an editor with no pro[illegible] Oriental scholarship can do so, from [illegible] observations extended over several years [illegible] in Nepal. In this work he has [illegible] the aid of Professors Cowell, Eggeling [illegible] Wright. The work is illustrated with chromo-[illegible] based on native drawings.

[illegible] work therefore gives the native view of [illegible] History, and must be taken for what is [illegible] in view of the revived interest in [illegible] History, consequent on the recent [illegible] inscriptions in that country more [illegible] alluded to in the last volume of this [illegible] the work is undoubtedly one that [illegible] should keep by them.

The appendices are very interesting and useful being a list of the musical instruments used in Nepâl, of the agricultural instruments, of the coinage, weights and measures, and measures of time, a Parbatiyâ and Newârî Vocabulary, several Newârî songs in original with rendering, a [illegible] list of the kings of Nepâl, and a long catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. collected by Dr. Wright and now in the Cambridge Library.

A DICTIONARY OF ISLAM by T. P. HUGHES, B.D., M.R.A.S., etc. Allen & Co., London.

This great work follows the same lines in cyclopædic form as the author's short and, we must say, wonderfully accurate *Notes on Muhammadanism* published in 1877. To the former work we have often had occasion to refer and have always done so with the certainty of finding correct information on the point looked for. That the volume before us has the same high claim on our confidence there can be no doubt—so abundant are the signs of the care bestowed on it through[illegible] its 750 closely printed pages.

The author has wisely, in a first edition at any rate, limited himself to an exposition of the Sunnî variety of the Muḥammadan faith, treating the Shî'as and Wahhâbîs as dissenters and noting the differences in their doctrines from those of the Sunnîs. Keeping in view the numerical strength of the great sects of Muhammadanism this is undoubtedly the correct method of dealing with Islâm as a whole. Comparatively small [illegible] the number of the Wahhâbîs is, Mr. Hughes [illegible] quite right in paying such special attention to their tenets as his articles prove him to have given them, since, as the Puritans of Islâm, they have better preserved the original teachings of that faith than its other followers have done. As a proof—if proof were wanting—of the great [illegible] taken to include everything that bears upon or can elucidate the faith of Islâm Mr. Hughes has treated Sikhism as one of its sects, because Gurû Nânak really intended his doctrines to be a compromise between the two great faiths of the Pañjâb in his day—Muhammadanism and Hinduism, and we would recommend the reader to study the article *Sikhism* contributed by Mr. Pincott as one of the best expositions of that ill-understood belief that has as yet been published.

The presence of such a title as *Sikhism* among the articles in this *Dictionary* leads us to notice a pleasant and important feature of the book. Articles of general import are not headed necessarily under the Arabic terms for the subjects discussed but under their English equivalents:—*e.g.*,

[1] [illegible] of this [illegible] to be found in Vol. II. [illegible] Notes and Queries, note 534.

we find magic, marriage, paradise, philosophy, sacrifice, Hell, guardianship and so on as article headings, though we find essentially Muhammadan doctrines such as *Qiṣāṣ* (Retaliation), *Shirk* (Idolatry), *Masjid*, *Khuṭbah* (Sermon), *Hajj* (Pilgrimage to Makkah) and so on under their appropriate *Arabic* titles.

As specimens of the thoroughness with which the more important subjects have been discussed we would point to the articles *Qur'ân*, 91 columns, *Muhammad*, 63 columns; *Marriage*, 28 columns; and many others of like lengths. A Bibliography of all such subjects is added to each article, that under *Muhammadanism* being specially noteworthy. Cross references, too, abound, and the work has been rendered all the more valuable by an Index to the Arabic technical terms scattered throughout the articles.

The Illustrations are very numerous and an admirable help to the elucidation of the descriptions in the purely descriptive articles. We specially note those under Prayer, Shoes, Muharram, Masjid, Marriage and Writing. This last article which is, by the way, from the pen of Dr. Steingass is a capital *résumé* of the subject and the illustrations of the various scripts, though somewhat incomplete, are excellent of their kind.

Mr. Hughes is to be congratulated on the success which has attended his efforts to present a trustworthy and unbiassed account of one of the great religions of the world to those who care to study it, and the much-maligned Missionary body in India on this fresh proof that its members—at any rate the leaders amongst them—do thoroughly understand the belief of those whom they have undertaken to convert to the doctrines of Christianity. Quite lately we had the pleasure to note the splendid mastery of his subject exhibited by the Rev. T. D. Bate in his *Claims of Ishmael*,—though this was a book of another class to that under review and the work of a Missionary belonging to another sect.

With the *Dictionary of Islam* on his shelf no writer can be excused from mis-statements regarding the commonplace of Muhammadanism: no Government Official, no Christian Missionary, and no Oriental traveller from ignorance on matters that require his attention.

RHODES IN ANCIENT TIMES, by Cecil TORR. Cambridge University Press.

The object of this short treatise is to put together all the information regarding the ancient condition of the Island of Rhodes which has been collected by the research of the last fifty years. The author has further pressed into his service all the literature of the subject that has come to his knowledge both in England and on the Continent. The result of his labour is a monograph both complete and useful.

The book discourses on the Geography, History, Polity, Religion, Art, Learning and Folklore of the ancient Rhodians so far as modern research has thrown light on these subjects, and it will thus be seen that by extending his observations over so wide a field the author has given [illegible] an opportunity of presenting a fairly complete picture of this society of days long gone by.

There is always something wonderfully fascinating in reading about the social economy of any of the ancient Greek populations, when well portrayed as in the present instance, and the [illegible] of the people of ancient Rhodes are no exception to the rule. Much as we may admire—and [illegible] some of us do idolatrously worship—the [illegible] their art and literature in an abstract way, [illegible] the genuine humanity, so to speak, of [illegible] so conspicuous in their doings, which wins [illegible] sympathy. For instance, what can be more deliciously human than the following.—It w[as the] habit of the Rhodians to set up statues to their worthies as a "good example" to their successors, much as the modern Chinese Government [illegible] those whose example it wishes the public [at] large to respect and follow. However, this praiseworthy custom in time degenerated, as all [illegible] [illegible], and by the time the Romans became the dominant people in those parts the setting up of statues came to be much abused. "Every Roman who touched at Rhodes got a statue, [illegible] the possession of one there was a valueless [illegible]. But this naturally created a demand for statues beyond the capabilities of the local supply, and so the *Stratêgos* would take off the old inscriptions and put up others till some figures had [illegible] duty for Greeks, Romans, Macedonians and Persians! Sometimes the *Stratêgos* was careless and assigned an old man's statue to a young man, or an athlete's to an invalid, or that of a general on horseback marshalling his troops to some man too lazy to leave his litter!" The Cæsars were always allowed a *new* statue!

However, the bulk of Mr. Torr's book is occupied with much more serious matters than this, and we would instance his remarks on the guilds which covered the Islands, the system of self-government, the administration of justice, and the methods of trade, as well worth perusal. The notices of the coinage and the chapters on Art and Folklore will interest specialists. On the whole the work is worth study for itself irrespective of the fact that it is so far the only complete

résumé of recent research into the subject. Every statement is vouched for, chapter and verse, in footnotes, and there is a useful index.

BURMA, AS IT WAS, AS IT IS, AND AS IT WILL BE, by T. G. SCOTT (Shway Yoe) London: Redway.

This little book is the outcome of a lecture delivered before the Society of Arts, and is in reality a rapid popular sketch of the History, Country and People of Burma, written with literary skill and in the lively style that distinguishes its author.

There is, of course, little that is new in it; but the chapters on the Country and the People are written as only he can write who has a close practical acquaintance with both, and come therefore with a force that the mere student of books can never hope to rival. The historical chapter is a rapid—and withal an accurate—survey of the known facts about the history of the Burmese, which belong to the useful sort. They remind us very much of those sections marked 'History' in an Indian Gazetteer or *Settlement Report*, where the ancient history is dismissed in a very few words and we are brought at once to events which will directly elucidate modern facts. The book is, however, readable throughout; much of it contains, as we have above observed, information at first hand, and all its pages bear the stamp of a careful consultation of the best authorities procurable. Can we say anything better of a purely popular work?

THE MAHABHARATA OF KRISHNA-DVAIPAYANA-VYASA; Translated into English Prose. Published by PROTAP CHANDRA ROY; Bharata Press, Calcutta.

The last instalment that has been issued of this extremely useful work is Part XXII., carrying us down to the commencement of Section 295 of the *Vana-Parva*. The translation has now attracted much favourable notice by the Press, both in this country and in Europe; and it is almost impossible to say too much in support of an undertaking which, in addition to making the contents of this interesting Epic available to students unacquainted with Sanskrit, is of the greatest practical use to Sanskrit scholars also, who, unable to find time to search the original text for passages that they require to look up, have now a quickly progressing means of ready reference being provided for them. The undertaking is one that involves a very heavy expenditure on the supporters of it, the Dâtavya-Bhârata-Kâvyâlaya, or Society for the Presentation of the Bhârata; since, like all its other works, this Translation is distributed almost entirely *gratis*, and it is therefore a pleasure to note, from the cover of Part XXI., that such munificent pecuniary support has recently been given by His Highness the Nizam, H. H. the Mahârâja Gaikwar of Baroda, H. H. the Mahârâja Holkar, and Their Highnesses the Mahârâjas of Faridkote, Jeypore, Dhar, and Rewah. With such examples as these before them, we may confidently hope that the work is in no chance of languishing from want of recognition by the leading Native representatives of the country whose ancient legendary history is thus being made so practically available for the researches of general readers all over the world. And we are glad to take this opportunity of recommending the general work of the Society to the support of patrons of literature in Europe and other countries.

ASIATIC RESEARCHES (Popular Edition), VOL. I. A reprint by Brojendro Lall Doss, Calcutta. 1884-85. Royal 8vo. pp. 383.

This reprint represents the first results of a very commendable desire on the part of the publishers to reproduce in a handy, compact, and cheap form the valuable series of volumes known as the *Asiatic Researches*, which comprise many of the writings, belonging to the latter part of the last and the early part of the present century, of Sir William Jones, Sir Charles Wilkins, and other well-known Oriental Scholars, who gave the first start to the study of Indian Archæology, and carried it on so successfully until the Bengal Asiatic Society was established. The original volumes have long been out of print, and can be obtained only at an almost prohibitive price; and the present enterprise of reprinting them will, therefore, supply a real public want, and has every chance of success, if subsequent volumes are only turned out as carefully and as well as the one under notice. The plates of the present volume do not altogether stand the test of comparison with the originals from which they have been reduced; and succeeding volumes will be capable of some improvement in this respect. But the more important part, of course, is the letter-press; and this appears to be reproduced throughout with scrupulous fidelity and care. On the whole, the publishers are decidedly to be congratulated on the general appearance of their first volume; and we may hope, from this specimen, that the others will be equally up to the mark. It is much to be wished, though, that the publishers would bring the work out in larger, or at least more frequent, parts. At the present rate it will take twenty years to complete, which, for the majority of students of such books, is rather too long a time to have to wait

DISCURSIVE CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ASIATIC SYMBOLISM.

BY H. G. M. MURRAY-AYNSLEY.

No. VI.

Sacred Trees.

IN *Revelations* xxii. 2, is mentioned "the tree of life which bore twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month, and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations."[1] Now it is most interesting to find the symbol of the tree with its twelve leaves, or occasionally the same number of flowers or fruits,[2] on Persian carpets to this day. I have seen it also on Yârkand carpets, on which latter the tree is represented in a more conventional form. To quote Sir George Birdwood's *Industrial Arts of India*:—"In Yàrkand carpets the tree is seen filling the whole centre of the carpet, stark and stiff as if cut out in metal;[3] in Persian art, and in Indian art derived from the Persian, it becomes a beautiful flowering plant, or a simple sprig of flowers; in purely Hindu art it remains in its pure architectural form, as seen in temple lamps, and the models in brass and copper of the sacred fig, as the Tree of Life."

In India two figs—the banian (*ficus Indica*) and the *pîpal* (*ficus religiosa*) are held to be especially holy. The *pîpal*, indeed, is so sacred that oaths are taken under the shade of it and merchants will sometimes object to have one near their stalls or shops, as they say that in such case they could not ask more than a proper price for their goods! It was beneath a tree of this species that Buddha attained *nirvâna*;[4] and a descendant of the sacred tree (quite a young one), under which it is believed to have taken place, is still worshipped at Bôdh-Gayâ. According to Buddhist tradition, it was once desired to send a branch of the original tree to Ceylon, but no knife could be permitted to touch it. In the dilemma thus caused the tree came to the rescue, for a branch dropped off of itself into the golden vessel which had been prepared for it.

The following is a curious account of a sacred fig in the East. I was fortunate enough, when in Naples in 1883, to pick up at a street bookstall a copy of the works of Pietro della Valle, a Sicilian who visited India in 1623.[5] In one place he speaks of a tree outside the town of Cambay, of the same kind as those which he saw on the coast of Persia, near Hormuzd where it was called *lál*. He adds, that it is unknown in Europe and that the Hindûs style it *bar* (*i.e.* banian). The tree near Cambay was held in great veneration. "On account of its great size and antiquity the people visit it frequently, and honour it with the superstitious ceremonies belonging to their religion. It is dedicated to one of their goddesses whom they call Pàrbatî, and say was the wife of Mahâdêô, one of the greatest of their gods. At the trunk of this tree, not far from the ground, is a rudely sculptured circle which does not in the least resemble the human countenance, but according to their ideas is the face of their idol. They paint this circle of a bright red colour. The Romans did the same, for Pliny relates that they coloured the face of Jove with vermilion. Moreover, this sacred tree has always round it a circle of certain heart-shaped leaves, these belong to a plant which is here called *pân*, but in other parts of India *betel*."

Another interesting instance of a peculiarly sacred fig is to be found in the Fort at Allahâbâd, where there is a Hindu temple, which, owing to an accumulation of the soil, is some 20 feet below the present level of the ground, and can only be approached by descending a flight of steps. This temple is a great resort of pilgrims, and inside it the priests show the stump of a tree of the fig species, which they say miraculously throws out leaves at a certain season of the year. When I saw it the stump was perfectly bare of leaves, and had three or four branches, each about four inches in diameter and about three feet in length; they were clean cut at their upper extremities.

[1] On a fragment of a terra-cotta vase in the Museum of Antiquities at Copenhagen, supposed to belong to the Later Bronze Age, a tree is figured which the late Kamer Herr Worsaee calls the Tree of Life. It is present in connection with Sun-symbols; and a similar Tree-symbol has been found in Ireland at New Grange, Drogheda

[2] The number seems to be invariable

[3] One of the notions of the primitive Aryan cosmogony was that of a prodigious tree, which overshadowed the whole world.

[4] A state of complete holiness and rest according to some authorities—of annihilation or absorption into the Deity according to others.

[5] *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle Il Pelegrino.* In Venetia MDCLXXXI.. Presso Gian Battista Tramontino.

and neither the wood nor the bark looked like that of a dead tree. Every year, at the annual fair which takes place at Allahâbâd, it is said that this tree certainly has leaves, but the apparent miracle is accounted for by the generally accepted belief (by Europeans) that the sergeant of the guard (it is a British fort) receives a bribe from the Brâhmans to open the gates the night previous to the fair, and permit them to introduce a new tree. A similar idea also existed formerly in Scandinavia. Near old Upsala in Sweden, tradition says, there was a sacred tree which was always green, and the same thing is related of another tree in the Island of Gothland.

In Scandinavia, too, the trees most reverenced were the birch, which from its heart-shaped leaves, its pendulous branches, and its yellowish white bark more nearly resembles the *pîpal* than any other European tree, the beech, the common ash, and the rowan or mountain ash. When speaking of the tree-worship there M. Holmboé says:[6]—"In Norway one still meets with trees which are reputed sacred. A magnificent birch tree on a farm in the parish of Sognedal, in the diocese of Bergen deserves mention. The inhabitants of this place relate that no sharp instrument has ever touched this tree, and that anciently it was the custom once a year, at Christmas, to [illegible] it with fresh beer." We have here a [illegible] of Buddhist ideas and the Hindu cust[illegible].

In the Himâlayas, where the *pîpal* does not flourish, the *d[illegible]*, which is [illegible] is the sacred tree, as its name, "the [illegible] of the gods," implies. Groves of it are planted near the principal temples, both in the Satlaj and Kullu valleys.[7] In Mexico and Central America cypresses and palms used in former days to grow near the temples, generally in groups of three. They were tended with great care, and often received offerings of incense and other gifts, but they do not seem to have been dedicated to any particular god, as amongst the Romans, where Pluto had the cypress, and Victory the palm. Mention has been made by some authors on America of a cypress at Santa Maria di Tule which was one of the most sacred of South American trees, and whose trunk measured ninety feet in circumference at a height of six feet from the ground.[8]

In Europe 'sacred trees' have been put to a more practical use, and instances innumerable could be given in which in ancient times European courts of justice and other public assemblies were illegal, unless held in the open air, beneath the shade of some tree, most frequently the oak. The same idea prevails in Africa amongst the people of the Congo, where the village chief and the members of his family form the legislative and judicial council, which meets under a tree. It is stated that the *ficus religiosa* is the tree selected for this purpose.

Many of the English "Gospel Oaks,"[9] too, were planted to mark the parish boundaries, and it was beneath their shade that the clergyman read the Gospel on Ascension Day[10] (or Holy Thursday), when he with the parish officials and others assisted at the beating of the bounds. In fact, nearly all the celebrated oak-trees in England were boundary trees, *e.g.* the Shire-oak in Sherwood Forest. The beating of the bounds is practised in some of the Metropolitan parishes to this day. The procession consists of various charity and parish schools dressed in quaint uniforms, and provided with long willow canes. They are headed by the parish clerk, beadle, and other functionaries. In some cases the procession passes through houses and workshops, and, on the different spots being pointed out to them, which divide their respective parishes, the lads strike the ground vigorously with their canes. They are then generally regaled with buns and milk, given a small coin, and granted a half holiday.

[6] *B[illegible] on N[illegible].*

[7] The oak was the sacred tree of Great Britain: its name in Gaelic is *d[illegible]* [illegible] nation, in form at any rate, to the name given to the sacred tree of the Himâlayas.

[8] Bancroft *[illegible]* [illegible]

[9] The oak was [illegible] to [illegible] the red colour of its fresh-cut [illegible]. In the Southern Peninsula of India it is worth noting that the [illegible] to have acquired [illegible] the [illegible] from one point to another [illegible] north of Europe the [illegible] was used to take possession of unoccupied or newly purchased land, as the owner drove over it in a cart. In Scandinavia this was done by lighting a fire upon the ground.

[10] Ascension-Day is said to be always observed [illegible] by the quarry-men who are employed on Lord Penrhyn's slate quarries in Carnarvonshire, not, however, from any religious regard for the day, but on account of a superstition which has long been current, that [illegible] working on that day is invariably [illegible] with some fatality. A few years ago with [illegible] persuaded the men to work [illegible] there was a serious accident [illegible] few of them will venture even to go in [illegible] quarries on Ascension Day.

Mention has been made above of the custom of making offerings to trees. Offerings are, of course, all the world over, made to all objects of worship, and among the Buddhists of Ladák or Western Tibet, and the Láhaul valley, they are of a propitiatory nature. The people of these parts are in the habit of depositing stones engraved with sacred inscriptions on *manis* or walls of loose stones, before they undertake a journey, and also, I believe, when they register a vow. Similarly the *Hindus* at Ahmadâbâd in Gujarât hang up tiny horses made of white calico and stuffed with bran (which, however, more nearly resemble giraffes than horses) on the railings surrounding the tomb of a former *Muhammadan* ruler of that province before they commence any important work. They imagine that they thus insure its success. Tavernier, who visited India in the time of Akbar, also mentions that in his time it was the custom for pilgrims going to a temple for the cure of any disease to bring with them figures or models of the limbs affected, made either of gold, silver, or copper, according to rank or ability, as offerings to the god. At Fattehpur-Sîkrî, near Âgrâ, again, propitiatory offerings are made at the shrine of Salîm Chishtî, the friend of the Emperor Akbar. Certain Hindus are in the habit of jumping off a high wall into a tank below, a distance of about 60 feet, in order to amuse (or rather distress) European visitors.[11] These men are said always to give a third or a fourth part of whatever they receive for performing this feat to the shrine of the saint. His tomb is in the courtyard, and they believe that were they to omit their offerings, they would perish at their next attempt to make this jump.

Offerings to shrines soon become extended to the trees in the neighbourhood, and such votive offerings, as an expression of thankfulness for blessings received, may be seen in every Roman Catholic country. At Lourdes in the Pyrenees they number hundreds of thousands of various kinds, in shrines by the wayside, and as pictures hung up in trees. At Nâgkhaṇḍì (the Shoulder of the Snake) about 40 miles from Simla, several small trees and shrubs on the highest point of a low mountain pass are decorated with votive rags. The streamers thus formed are of various colours, and are, it is believed, thank-offerings placed there by native travellers on attaining the summit of the hill, which is at times encumbered with snow. When approaching Nâgkhaṇḍì from Simla, the grassy knoll on which these bushes grow much resembles a coiled snake, whence no doubt the name of the locality. In his *Folklore of the Northern Counties of England*, Mr. Henderson cites a similar custom in use at St. Helen's Well, near Thorp Arch in Yorkshire, where "the offering was a scrap of cloth fastened to an adjoining thorn, which presented a strange appearance under its bundle of rags." I have been told, too, that in certain parts of the South of Ireland the people are in the habit of hanging up shreds of cloth on the bushes or trees, but whether these are intended as propitiatory or as thank-offerings I have been unable to learn. Sir W. Ouseley, in one of his works on the East, speaks of a monolith about 10 feet high, at a place called Tang-i-Karm in Persia which is surrounded by a dwarf wall to denote its sacredness. The top of the stone is hollowed out, he thinks for fire, and it is locally known as the stone of the fire-temple. On a tree near it are remnants of garments left there as votive offerings by superstitious persons.[12]

Holed stones and trees form a [illegible] subject for speculation and the [illegible] seems to have been hit upon by Maurice in his *Indian Antiquities*, where he says, "The In[illegible] are in the habit of purifying themselves by passing through a natural or artificial cavern, where the spiritual pilgrims enter at the South Gate, and make their exit at the Northern [illegible], as was anciently the custom in the Mithraic mysteries." In pursuance of this notion in India certain stones which have natural holes in them, are regarded as sacred. Those persons or children who pass through such holes are held to receive thereby a "New Birth of the Soul." Under the same idea, the rulers of Travancore, who are Nairs by caste, are made into Brâhmaṇs when they ascend the throne, by passing through a golden cow or lotus flower which then becomes the property of the Brâhmaṇ priests.

Two [illegible] instances of such [illegible]

[11] A similar custom [illegible] near the tomb of Niẓâmu'ddîn Auliâ near Delhi.—ED.

[12] [illegible] Vol IV, p. [illegible]

stones are described in the first part of a work which has very recently appeared[13] embracing the monuments of Cornwall only. One of these, called the Tolven, situated near St. Buryan, has been used superstitiously within living memory for curing infirm children of their diseases by passing them through it; the other near Madron is called the Men-an-tol. Both are figured in Plate XII. (see p. 123 above) by the kind permission of Mr. Lukis. The Tolven, a slab of large dimensions, has a hole 16½ inches in diameter bored through its centre, which was made by picking away the opposite sides equally. This stone has been shifted from its original site by the tenant of the house behind which it stands, in order to make room for a pathway to his back door. The Men-an-tol is on the moors, a short distance to the right of Lanyon Farm House, in the direction of Kara Galva. The hole in this latter stone is not a perfect circle, being 21 inches in diameter in one direction, and 18 in the other. It stands exactly midway between two high stones which are in the same line with it in the direction N. E. and S. W. The hole has been made in the same manner as that in the Tolven, with this difference:—the counter-sinking is not equal. "This, it is obvious, was intentional—the deeper sinking is on the eastern side of the stone." One of the most interesting features of these monuments is the names by which they are known. *Men* or *maen* is the word for stone both in Brittany and in Wales to this day, and in the word *Tolven* we find both the Welsh and the Norwegian word for a hole.[14]

Many curious superstitions still exist on the island of Tiru in Scotland, the property of the Duke of Argyll, and on the west side of it is a rock with a hole in it, through which children are passed when suffering from whooping-cough and other complaints. Ripon Minster has beneath its central tower a crypt which goes by the name of St. Wilfred's Needle, entered from the nave by a narrow passage 45 feet in length. It consists of a vaulted cell 9½ feet high, 7 feet 9 inches wide, and 11 feet long. An opening in the north side of the cell 13 inches by 18 is called "The Needle." The original use for which this crypt and the singular opening were intended cannot now be ascertained with certainty, but there is a popular tradition that the Needle was in former times used 'a test.' "They pricked their credits who could not thread the Needle," is the quaint remark of old Fuller in reference to the supposed use of the opening.[15] The idea of the necessity for a spiritual or bodily new birth controls probably the modern customs as to certain pillars in the courtyard of the Mosque of 'Umar at Cairo, two of which are much closer together than any of the rest. The natives say of these that only an honest or a good man (one new born?) can pass between them.

In Europe the purposely distorted branch of a tree, as well as the naturally or artificially perforated stone, seems to have been used[16] for the purpose of curing diseases and thereby producing as it were a "New Birth of the Body."

In 1883, when staying at the country-house of some Danish friends, whose estate is situated about 10 or 12 miles from Roeskilde, I one day, during a drive, passed through some large woods, and at one point an old beech tree was pointed out of which one branch, at a height of about a foot from the ground, formed a perfect bow, and was higher up again united to the trunk. This tree had most probably been operated upon when young, by a portion of the trunk being split, and held open by wedges. My hosts informed me, that to their certain knowledge up to within eight years previously, parents who had sick children, were in the habit of coming there from considerable distances in order to pass their little ones through this hole, believing that thereby their maladies would be cured. The ceremony was not complete, however, till they had torn a strip of cloth from the child's dress and tied

[13] *Prehistoric Stone Monuments of the British Isles*, by Rev. W. C. Lukis, published for the Society of Antiquaries, London. 1885.

[14] There is a mountain in Norway called Tolhattan which has an enormous natural hole in it, about 200 to 300 feet above the sea level. When viewed from a ship, as I saw it, the sky is seen through a vast square opening far above the spectator. A Norwegian gentleman told me that he had once walked through this hole, and it took him a quarter of an hour, which will give one some idea of its length. Possibly it was clambering rather than walking, for my informant remarked that the hole is gradually increasing in size owing to stones and rocks falling from its upper part.

[15] Other explanations regarding this vault, make it a confessional, or a place of penance, or a sepulchre for the host on Good Friday.

[16] It is said they are so still in some parts of England and in Scandinavia.

it to this branch of the tree, in the belief that when this decayed, or was borne away by the wind, the little sufferer would be healed, showing thereby one use of the rag-bush. My friends added that occasionally many such streamers might have been seen hanging on this tree at one time. Gilbert White of Selborne says that in his time there stood at that place "a row of pollard ashes which, by the long seams and cicatrices down their sides manifestly show that in former times they had been cleft asunder. These trees when young were severed and held open by wedges, whilst sick children stripped naked were passed through the apertures under the persuasion that by such a process the poor babies would be cured. As soon as the operation was over, the tree in the suffering part was plastered over with loam and carefully swathed up. If the part coalesced and soldered together, as usually fell out when the feat was performed with any adroitness at all, the infant was cured; but where it still continued to gape it was supposed that the method used would prove ineffectual." "We have," he goes on to say, "several persons now living in the village, who, in their childhood, were believed to have been healed by this superstitious ceremony, derived perhaps from our Saxon ancestors, who practised it before their conversion to Christianity." It is said that a similar custom is still in vogue as regards the ash tree in some of the Southern counties of England, and that there also, children suffering from whooping-cough are made to pass through the loop formed by a bramble which has taken root at both ends.[17]

FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

No. V.—*The Unfortunate Merchant.*

Once upon a time there lived in a certain country a merchant, who was at one time very prosperous, but having suffered great losses in trade, he came to be in such poor circumstances that starvation stared him in the face. As the king of the country knew him well, his wife advised him to go to court, feeling sure that the king would do something for him.

The merchant, however, felt reluctant to go to the king as a suitor, but when, after suffering great privations for a long time, he saw that there was nothing left for his family but starvation, he made up his mind to follow his wife's advice, and one morning presented himself at the court, which he found crowded with many persons, who had come there on the same errand as himself. This sight rather unnerved him, and he devoutly hoped the king would not recognize him. When his turn came, however, to be ushered into the royal presence, the king recognized him at once, and asked what he could do for him. The merchant with great hesitation related his case, and the king, being a very thoughtful man, feared that he would hurt the dignity of one so respectable as the merchant, if he gave him pecuniary assistance before so many people. So he requested him to wait till all had left the court, and then going into his private apartments he ordered a water-melon to be brought to him, in which he made a hole, and, pouring out its contents, refilled it with gold coins. Then summoning the merchant before him, he gave him the melon and said, "Take this to your family, it is a refreshing fruit, and you will all enjoy it this hot day."

The merchant thanked the king, and returned homewards very much grieved at receiving only a water-melon, when he expected something more substantial. As he was walking along on his way home, he met two travellers, who were very thirsty and looked wistfully at the melon he was carrying, and being of a very generous disposition and thinking that they needed the melon more than he did, he gave it to them and walked quickly home empty-handed.

After passing many more months of privation and misery, he was persuaded by his wife to go to the king a second time, in the hope of better luck. The king was, however, much surprised at the merchant's paying him a second visit so soon after the first, but when he

[17] Since writing the above a lady friend has told me that when she lived in Wiltshire she well remembers this being practised.

heard that he was as poor as before, he thought he had invested the money he had given him in trade and had lost it. He, therefore, filled a water-melon once more with gold coins, and presented it to him.

The merchant was again greatly disappointed at being sent away with such a trifle, but he nevertheless made his obeisance to the king and returned homewards. This time, however, he resolved not to part with the fruit, knowing that it would be welcome to his starving children. He had not proceeded very far, however, when he met a beggar who asked alms of him, saying that he was very hungry. The merchant could not resist this appeal, and, having no money, gave the melon to the beggar.

When he reached home, his wife was sorely vexed at his bad luck, and wondered very much why the king, who was reputed to be very charitable, should treat her husband so shabbily, as to send him away with a melon every time he went into his presence. Being, however, of a persevering nature, she once more persuaded him to go to court and ask the king for help. He accordingly went there and stood before the king as before. This time, however, before giving him anything the king asked him to explain what use he had made of the two water-melons he had given him. The merchant related to his sovereign how he had given the first to two travellers, who were very thirsty, and the second to a hungry beggar, who asked him for alms.

The king laughed at the merchant for what he considered his folly, and told him what the two melons were filled with. His Majesty then filled another water-melon with precious jewels in the merchant's presence, and gave it to him, admonishing him to be very careful of it.

The merchant went away rejoicing, full of hopes that the contents of the fruit would enable him to start in life anew. Now it happened that as his house was situated on the other side of the river which passed through the town, he had to cross it, and in doing so, his foot slipped, and the fruit fell into the water and was carried away by the flood. The poor merchant wept over this misfortune, and returned home cursing his evil star.

He was now fully persuaded that it was the will of Îswar that he should remain poor, and thinking it useless, therefore, to struggle against destiny he resolved never to ask anybody for help again, but to live as best he could till it should please Îswar that he should see better days.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

By J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

(*Continued from p. 201.*)

No. 163.—MANDASOR INSCRIPTION OF YASODHARMAN AND VISHNUVARDHANA

THE MALAVA YEAR 589.

This inscription, which has not been previously brought to notice, is from a stone-tablet which, when shewn to me in 1885, was in the possession of Sir Michael Filose, K.C.S.I., at Ujjain, but which had come originally from an old well, somewhere in the lands of Dasôr or Mandasôr,[1] the chief town of the Mandasôr District of Scindia's Dominions in the Western Mâlwa Division of Central India, where it was found, in the course of repairs, built up with the inscribed surface inside. I could obtain no accurate information on the point: but possibly this is the large and ancient well, just inside the eastern entrance of the Fort, which I have mentioned at page 195 above.

The stone is a smooth and beautifully engraved tablet, apparently of slate-stone, measuring about 1′ 11″ broad by 1′ 6½″ high and 2½″ thick. There are no sculptures on it connected with the inscription. But, on the back, which is divided into two compartments by what seems to be either a spear with a curved handle, or a shepherd's crook, there are

[1] See p. 194 above, and note 1.

engraved in outline, very roughly,—at the upper corners, the sun on the proper right, and the moon on the proper left; and, lower down, on each side, a man on horseback, facing towards the central dividing sculpture; the horseman on the proper right side carries either a *chaurî* or a *śaṅkha*-shell in his left hand; the other horseman carries something in his right hand, but I could not distinguish the object. These sculptures were engraved, of course, when the tablet was fixed in the position in which it was discovered, with the inscribed surface inwards; and it is owing to this position that the inscription has remained in so perfect a state of preservation. The writing covers the entire surface of the stone, with a margin of from 1″ to 1½″; and is in a state of excellent preservation almost throughout, though there are just a few letters from which it was impossible to clear out the hard incrustation of lime with which the writing was blocked up from beginning to end, sufficiently for them to come out quite perfectly in the ink-impression and so in the lithograph. At the ends of lines 1, 2, and 3, a few letters have been lost by the edges of the stone being chipped here; and at some other places a few letters have been damaged in the same way. But the only place where the missing letters cannot be supplied, is at the commencement of line 16.—The average size of the letters is ¼″. Differing from the Mandasôr inscription of Kumàragupta and Bandhuvarman, No. 162 above, page 194 ff., the characters here belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include the very rare initial *au*, in *aulikara*, line 5: and the rather rare *ḍh*, in *mûḍham* and *gûḍha*, line 7; *rûḍha*, line 11: and *ûḍhâṁ*, line 13; also the separate sign for *ḍ*, as distinguished from *d*, in *ḍimbaṁ*, line 17.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening word *siddham*, and the two words at the end recording the name of the engraver, the entire inscription is in verse.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, in *vaṅśa*, lines 6 and 9; *aṅśu*, line 9; *aṅśam*, line 11, and *abhraṅśi*, line 12; (2) the use of the dental nasal in *bhûyânsi*, line 2, and *yaśânsi*, line 4, though we have the more usual *anusvâra* in *mandâṁsi*, line 22; (3) the doubling of *t* in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. *śattru*, line 4; *kalattrât*, line 11; and *pâriyâttrasya*, line 16; and (4), the doubling of *dh* in conjunction with a following *y* and *v*, in *addhyâsita*, line 16-17, and *addhvani*, line 18, though not in other places.

As I shall shew in a following paper, this inscription is of extreme importance, in supplying, by its date, the key to the whole history of the period. It refers itself to the time of a tribal ruler[2] named Y a ś ô d h a r m a n, and of a king[3] named V i s h ṇ u v a r d h a n a, who, though he had the titles of *Râjâdhirâja* and *Paramêśvara*, would appear to have acknowledged a certain amount of supremacy on the part of Yaśôdharman. Vishṇuvardhana's family is mentioned as the lineage that had the *aulikara*-crest; but I have not been able to obtain any explanation of the word *aulikara*. The inscription is dated, in words, when the year five hundred and eighty-nine had expired from the tribal constitution of the Màlavas, and, therefore, when the year five hundred and ninety (A.D. 533-34) was current; but no further details of the date are given. The object of it is to record the construction of a large well by a person named Daksha, the younger brother of Dharmadôsha who was a minister of Vishṇuvardhana, in memory of their uncle Abhayadatta, who had formerly held the same office.

The genealogy of this family of ministers is given; and it includes a somewhat noticeable name in that of B h â n u g u p t â, the wife of Daksha's grandfather, Ravikìrtti. Her date would be just about one generation before that of the king B h â n u g u p t a for whom we have the date[4] of Gupta-Saṁvat 191 (A.D. 510-11); and the coincidence of name and time is such, that it is almost impossible not to imagine some family connection between him and her. Bhânugupta, of course, must have been a Kshatriya; and Bhânuguptâ's husband, Ravikìrtti, was evidently a Brahmaṇ. But the ancient Hindu law authorised the marrying of Kshatriya wives by Bràhmaṇs. And we have an epigraphical instance of this practice in the Ghaṭôtkacha cave inscription of Hastibhôja, a minister of the Vàkàṭaka *Mahârâja*

[2] *janêndra*; *lit.* 'a lord of a people or tribe.
[3] *narâdhipati*; *lit.* 'a chief ruler of men

[4] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol X. p. 89f.

Dêvasêna; it tells us that Hastibhôja's ancestor, the Brahman Sôma, "in accordance with the precepts of revelation and of tradition" married a Kshatriya wife, through whom Hastibhôja was descended, in addition to some other wives of the Brâhman caste, whose sons, and their descendants, applied themselves to the study of the *Vêdas*.[5]

TEXT.[6]

1 Siddham [‖*] Sa[7] jayati jagatâṁ patiḥ Pinâkî smita-rava-gîtishu yasya danta-kântiḥ I dyutir=iva taḍitâṁ niśi sphurantî tirayati cha sphuṭayaty=adaś=cha viśvam ‖ Svayambhûr[8]=bhûtânâṁ sthiti-laya-[samu]-

2 tpatti-vidhishu prayuktô yên=âjñâṁ vahati bhuvanânâṁ vidhṛitayê I pitṛitvaṁ ch=ânîtô jagati garimâṇaṁ gamayatâ sa Śambhur=bhûyânsi pratidiśatu bhadrâṇi bhava[tâm] ‖ Phaṇa[9]-maṇi-guru-bhâr-[âkk]r[â]-

3 nti-dûr-âvanamraṁ sthagayati rucham=indôr=mmaṇḍalaṁ yasya mûrdhnâm [I*] sa śirasi vinibadhnan=randhriṇîm=asthi-mâlâṁ sṛijatu bhava-sṛijô vaḥ klêśa-bhaṅgaṁ bhujaṅgaḥ ‖ Shashṭyâ[10] sahasraiḥ Sagar-âtmajânâṁ khâta[ḥ]

4 kha-tulyaṁ rucham=âdadhânaḥ I asy=ôdapan-âdhipatêś=chirâya yaśânsi pâyât-payasâṁ vidhâtâ ‖ Atha[11] jayati janêndraḥ śrî-Yaśôdharmma-nâmâ pramada-vanam=iv=ântaḥ śattru-sainyaṁ vigâhya vraṇa-

5 kisalaya-bhaṅgair=yyô=ṅga-bhûshâṁ vidhattê taruṇa-taru-latâ-vad=vîra-kîrttîr=vvinâmya ‖ Âjau[12] jitî vijayatê jagatîm=punaś=cha śrî-Vishṇuvarddhana-narâdhipatiḥ sa êva I prakhyâta aulikara-lâñchhana âtma-

6 vaṅśô yên=ôdit-ôdita-padaṁ gamitô garîyaḥ ‖ Prâchô nṛipân=su-bṛihataś=cha bahûn=udîchaḥ sâmnâ yudhâ cha vaśa-gân=pravidhâya yena [I*] nâma=âparaṁ jagati kântam=adô durâpaṁ râjâdhirâja-paramê-

7 śvara ity=udûḍham ‖ Snigdha[13]-śyâm-âmbud-âbhaiḥ sthagita-dinakṛitô yajvanâm=âjya-dhûmair=ambhô-mêghyaṁ Maghôn=âvadhishu vidadhatâ gâḍha-sampanna-sasyâḥ I saṁharshâd=vâṇinînâṁ kara-rabhasa-hṛit-ô-

8 dyâna-chût-âṅkur-âgrâ râjanvantô ramantê bhuja-vijita-bhuvâ bhûrayô yêna dêśâḥ ‖ Yasy[14]=ôtkêtubhir=unmada-dvipa-kara=vyâviddha-lodhra-drumair=uddhûtêna van-âdhvani-dhvani-nadad-Vindhyâdri-randhrair=bbalaiḥ bâlê-

9 ya-chchhavi-dhûmarêṇa rajasâ mand-âṅśu saṁlakshyatê paryâvṛitta-śikhaṇḍi-chandraka iva dhyâmaṁ ravêr=mmaṇḍalam ‖ Tasya[15] prabhôr=vvaṅśa-kṛitam nṛipâṇâṁ pâd-âśrayâd=viśruta-puṇya-kîrttiḥ I bhṛityaḥ sva-naibhṛitya-jit-â-

10 ri-shaṭka âsîd=vasîyân=kila Shashṭhidattaḥ ‖ Himavata[16] iva Gaṅgas=tuṅga-namraḥ pravâhaḥ śaśabhṛita iva Rêvâ-vâri-râśiḥ prathîyân [I*] param=abhigamanîyaḥ śaddhimân=anvavâyô yata udita-gari-

11 mnas=tâyatê Naigamânâm ‖ Tasy[17]=ânukûlaḥ kulajât=kalattrât=sutaḥ prasûtô yaśasâṁ prasûtiḥ I Harêr=iv=âṅśaṁ vaśinaṁ var-ârhaṁ Varâhadâsaṁ yam=udâharanti ‖ Sukṛiti[18]-vishayi-tuṅgaṁ rûḍha-mûlaṁ

12 dharâyâṁ sthitim=apagata-bhaṅgaṁ sthêyasîm=âdadhânam [I*] guru-śikharam=iv=âdrês=tat=kulaṁ sv-âtma-bhûtyâ ravir=iva Ravikîrttiḥ su-prakâśaṁ vyadhatta ‖ Bibhratâ[19] śubhram=a-bhraṅśi smârttaṁ vartm=ôchitaṁ satâm [I*] na visaṁvâ(va)-

13 ditâ yêna Kalâv=api kulînatâ ‖ Dhuta-dhî-ddhiti-dhvântân=havirbhuja iv=âdhvarân [I*] Bhânuguptâ tataḥ sâdhvî tanayâṅs=trîn=ajîjanat ‖ Bhagavaddôsha ity=âsît=prathamaḥ kâryya-vartmasu I âla-

[5] *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 11[illegible] and note.

[6] From the original stone.

[7] Metre, Pushpitâgrâ.

[8] Metre, Sikharinî.

[9] Metre Mâlinî.

[10] Metre Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ.

[11] Metre Mâlinî.

[12] Metre, Vasantatilaka: and in the next verse.

[13] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[14] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[15] Metre, Indravajrâ.

[16] Metre, Mâlinî.

[17] Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ.

[18] Metre Mâlinî.

[19] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh), and in the next two verses.

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SCALE ·42

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

14 mbanaṁ bândhavânâm=Andhakânâm=iv=Ôddhavaḥ ॥ Bahu[20]-naya-vidhi-Vêdhâ gahvarê=py=artha-mârggê Vidura iva vidûraṁ prêkshayâ prêkshamâṇaḥ । vachana-rachana-bandhê saṁskṛita-prâkṛitê yaḥ kavibhir=udi-

15 ta-râgaṁ gîyatê gîr-abhijñah ॥ Praṇidhi-dṛig-anugantrâ yasya bauddhêna ch=âkshṇâ na niśi tanu davîyô v=âsty=a-dṛishṭaṁ dharittryâm [1*] padam=udayi dadhânô=nantaraṁ tasya ch=âbhût=sa bhayam=Abhayadattô nâma

16 chi[nva?]n=prajânâm ॥ Vindhyasy[21]=âvandhya-kaimmâ śikhara-taṭa-patat-pâṇḍu-Rêvâmbu-râśêr=ggôlâṅgûlaiḥ sa-hêlaṁ pluti-namita-tarôḥ Pâriyâttrasya ch=âdrêḥ । â-sindhôr=antarâlaṁ nija-śuchi-sachiv-âddhyâ-

17 sit-ânêka-dêśâṁ râjasthânîya-vṛit[t*]yâ suragurur=iva yô varṇṇinâṁ bhûtayê=pât ॥ Vihita[22]-sakala-varṇṇ-âsaṅkaraṁ śânta-ḍimbaṁ Kṛita iva kṛitam=ètad=yêna râjyaṁ nirâdhi । sa dhuram=ayam=idânîṁ

18 Dôshakumbhasya sûnur=guru vahati tad-ûḍhâṁ dharmmatô Dharmmadôshah ॥ Sva-sukham=an-ativâchchha(ñchha)n=durggamê=ddhvany=a-saṅgâṁ dhuram=atiguru-bhâraṁ yô dadhad=bhartur=arthê । vahati nṛipati-vêshaṁ kêvalaṁ lakshma-mâttraṁ

19 valinam=iva vilambaṁ kambalaṁ bâhulêyaḥ ॥ Upahita-hita-rakshâ-maṇḍanô jâti-ratnair=bhuja iva pṛithul-âṁsas=tasya Dakshaḥ kanîyân [1*] mahad=idam=udapânaṁ khâtayâm-âsa bibhra-

20 ch=chhruti-hṛidaya-nitânt-ânandi nirddôsha-nâma ॥ Sukh[23]-âśrêya-chchhâyaṁ pariṇati-hita-svâdu-phala-daṁ gajêndrêṇ=êrugṇaṁ drumam=iva Kṛitântêna balinâ । pitṛivyaṁ prôddiśya priyam=Abhayadattaṁ pṛi-

21 thu-dhiyâ prathîyas=tên=êdaṁ kuśalam=iha karmm=ôparachitam ॥ Pañchasu[24] śatêshu śaradâṁ yâtêshv=êkân=na navati-sahitêshu । Mâlava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśât=kâla-jñânâya likhitêshu ॥ Ya-

22 smin[25]=kâlê kala-mṛidu-giràṁ kôkilânâṁ pralâpâ bhindant=îva Smara-śara-nibhâḥ prôshitânâṁ manâṁsi । bhṛiṅg-âlînâṁ dhvanir=anu-vanaṁ bhâra-mandraś=cha yasminn=âdhûta-jyaṁ dhanur=iva nadach=chhrûyatê pushpa-

23 kêtôḥ ॥ Priyatama[26]-kupitânâṁ râmayan=baddha-râgaṁ kisalayam=iva mugdhaṁ mânasaṁ mâninînâṁ [1*] upanayati nabhasvân=mâna-bhaṅgâya yasmin=kusuma-samaya-mâsê tattra nirmmâpitô=yam ॥

24 Yâvat[27]=tuṅgair=udanvân=kiraṇa-samudayaṁ saṅga-kântaṁ taraṅgair=âliṅgann=indu-bimbaṁ gurubhir=iva bhujaiḥ saṁvidhattê suhṛittâm [1*] bibhrat=sandhânta-lêkhâ-valaya-parigatiṁ muṇḍa-mâlâm=iv=âyaṁ sat-kûpas=tavad=â-

25 stâm=amṛita-sama-rasa-svachchha-vishyand-itâmbuḥ ॥ Dhîmân(n)[28] Dakshô dakshiṇaḥ satya-sandhô hrîmâñ=chhûrô vṛiddha-sêvî kṛitajñaḥ । baddh ôtsâhaḥ svâmi-kâryyêshv=a-khêdî nirddôshô=yaṁ pâtu dharmmaṁ chirâya ॥ Utkîrṇṇâ Gôvindêna ॥

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! Victorious is he, (the god) Pinâkin, the lord of (*all*) the worlds,—in whose songs, hummed with smiles, the splendour of (*his*) teeth, like the lustre of lightning sparkling in the night, envelops and brings into full view all this universe! May he, (the god) Śaṁbhu, confer many auspicious gifts upon you,—employed by whom in the rites of (*effecting the*) continuance and the destruction and the production of (*all*) things that exist, (the god) Svayaṁbhû,[29] is obedient to (*his*) commands, for the sake of the maintenance of (*all*) the worlds;

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20 Metre, Mâlinî : and in the next verse.
21 Metre, Sragdharâ.
22 Metre, Mâlinî : and in the next two verses.
23 Metre, Śikharinî
24 Metre, Âryâ.
25 Metre, Mandâkrântâ.
26 Metre, Mâlinî.
27 Metre, Sragdharâ.
28 Metre, Śâlinî.
29 *Lit.* 'the self-existent one': the epithet here denotes Brahman.

and by whom, leading him to dignity in the world, he has been brought to the condition of being the father *(of the universe)*! May the serpent of the creator of existence[30] accomplish the allayment of your distress,—(that serpent) the multitude of whose foreheads, bowed down afar by the pressure of the heavy weight of the jewels in *(their)* hoods, obscures the radiance of the moon *(on his master's forehead)*; *(and)* who *(with the folds of his body)* binds securely on *(his master's)* head the chaplet of bones which is full of holes *(for stringing them)*! May the creator of waters,[31] which was dug out by the sixty thousand sons of Sagara, *(and)* which possesses a lustre equal to *(that of)* the sky, preserve for a long time the glories of this best of wells!

(L. 4.)—Now, victorious is that tribal ruler,[32] having the name of the glorious Yaśôdharman, who, having plunged into the army of *(his)* enemies, as if into a grove of thornapple-trees, *(and)* having bent down the reputations of heroes like the tender creepers of trees, effects the adornment of *(his)* body with the fragments of young sprouts which are the wounds *(inflicted on him)*.

(L. 5.)—And, again, victorious over the earth is this same[33] king of men,[34] the glorious Vishṇuvardhana, the conqueror in war; by whom his own famous lineage, which has the *aulikara*-crest,[35] has been brought to a state of dignity that is ever higher and higher. By him, having brought into subjection, with peaceful overtures and by war, the very mighty kings of the east and many *(kings)* of the north, this second name of "supreme king of kings[36] and supreme lord,"[37] pleasing in the world *(but)* difficult of attainment, is carried on high. Through him, having conquered the earth with *(his own)* arm, many countries,—in which the sun is obscured by the smoke, resembling dense dark-blue clouds, of the oblations of the sacrifices; *(and)* which abound with thick and thriving crops through (the god) Maghavan pouring cloudfuls of rain upon *(their)* boundaries; *(and)* in which the ends of the fresh sprouts of the mango-trees in the parks are eagerly plucked in joy by the hands of wanton women,—enjoy the happiness of being possessed of a good king. Through the dust, grey like the hide of an ass,—stirred up by his armies, which have *(their)* banners lifted on high; *(and)* which have the *lôdhra*-trees tossed about in all directions by the tusks of *(their)* infuriated elephants; *(and)* which have the crevices of the Vindhya mountains made resonant with the noise of *(their)* journeying through the forests,—the orb of the sun appears dark *(and)* dull-rayed, as if it were an eye in a peacock's tail reversed.[38]

(L. 9.)—The servant of the kings who founded the family of that lord was Shashṭhidatta,—the fame of whose religious merit was known far and wide through the protection of *(their)*

[30] *bhavasṛij.* Originally, Brahman was the creator; Vishṇu, the preserver; and Śiva, the destroyer. But of course the Vaishṇavas and the Śaivas invested their own special gods with all three attributes. And, that *bhavasṛij* here denotes Śiva, is shewn by the general purport of the preceding two verses, and especially by the mention of the chaplet of bones in this verse. He is always represented with a necklace of skulls, a serpent hanging round his neck, and the crescent moon on his forehead.

[31] The ocean. The allusion in this verse is to the legend that the bed of the ocean was excavated by the sons of Sagara in their search for their father's *aśvamêdha*-horse, which was stolen from their custody by the sage Kapila, and was only found by them when they had dug down through the earth into the lower regions. Kapila, in his anger, reduced them to ashes, but subsequently restored the horse on the intercession of Amśumat, the grandson of Sagara. The obsequies, however, of the sons of Sagara remained unperformed, and their transfer to heaven was barred, until Bhagîratha, the grandson of Amśumat, brought the river Ganges down from heaven, and led it over the earth to the chasm made by the sons of Sagara. Flowing down through this, it washed their bones and ashes, by which they were raised to heaven. And, as much of its waters as remained in the chasm constituted the ocean, the latter was called *sâgara* in commemoration of Sagara and his descendants.

[32] *janêndra*: see page 223 above, note 2.

[33] This expression looks at first sight as if Yaśôdharman and Vishṇuvardhana were one and the same person. But the general structure of this verse, as well as the use of the two distinct titles *janêndra* and *narâdhipati* and and of the expression *âtma-vamśa*, shews that this is not the case. "This same," simply means "this reigning king," in whose time the inscription is written.

[34] *narâdhipati*; see page 223 above, note 3.

[35] I have not been able to obtain any explanation of the word *aulikara*; but it seems to denote either 'the hot-rayed (sun),' or 'the cool-rayed (moon).'—As regards *lâñchhana*, 'a mark, sign, token, spot,' which I render by 'crest,' it is the technical term for the principal emblem impressed by kings on the copper-seals attached to their charters, and is quite distinct from the emblem on their *dhvajas* or banners. Thus, the Raṭṭas of Saundatti and Belgaum had the *suvarṇa-garuḍa-dhvaja* or 'banner of a golden Garuḍa,' but the *sindhura-lâñchhana* or 'elephant-crest' (*e.g.* line 43 of the Terdal inscription of Saka-Samvat 1045 &c.; *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 18, and p. 24, note 24). The Chalukyas, in all their branches, had the *varâha-lâñchhana* or 'boar-crest' which appears on the seals of all their charters; and the special connection of the *lâñchhana* with the *śâsana* or 'charter,' is shewn by a passage in lines 73 ff. of the Korumelli plates of Râjarâja II.,—"on whose charter the mighty form, that of the first boar, of (the god) Vishṇu, which lifted up the entire circle of the earth on the tip of *(its [illegible])* tusk, became in a pleasing way the crest" (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 85).

[36] *râjâdhirâja*.

[37] *paramêśvara*.

[38] *i.e.* "looked at from the wrong side of the feathers."

feet; who by his resoluteness conquered the six enemies (*of religion*);[39] (*and*) who was indeed very excellent. As the torrent, flowing high and low, of (the river) Gaṅgâ (*spreads abroad*) from (the mountain) Himavat, (*and*) the extensive mass of the waters of (the river) Rêvâ from the moon,—(*so*) from him, whose dignity was manifested, there spreads a pure race of *Naigamas*,[40] most worthy to be sought in fellowship.

(L. 11.)—Of him, from a wife of good family, there was born a son, resembling him (*in good qualities*), the source of fame,—whom, (*being named*) Varâhadâsa, (*and*) being full of self-control (*and*) of great worth, people speak of as if he were an (*incarnate*) portion of (the god) Hari.

(L. 11.)—As if it were the sun (*illumining*) the mighty summit of a mountain, Ravikîrtti with the wealth of his character illumined that family, which was made eminent by men who combined good actions with worldly occupations; which had its foundations well established in the earth; (*and*) which maintained a very firm position of endurance that was free from (*any risk of*) being broken;—(Ravikîrtti), by whom, sustaining the pure (*and*) undeviating path of traditional law that is acceptable to good people, nobility of birth was shown to be not a thing of false assertion (*even*) in the Kali age. From him, (*his*) chaste wife Bhânuguptâ gave birth to three sons, who dispelled the darkness (*of ignorance*) with the rays of (*their*) intellects,—as if (*she had produced three*) sacrifices from a fire.

(L. 13.)—The first was **Bhagavaddôsha**, the prop of his relatives in the paths of religious actions, just as Uddhava (*was*) of the Andhakas,—who was a very Vêdhas in displaying much prudence in the hard-to-be-traversed path of the meaning (*of words*); who, like Vidura,[41] always looked far ahead with deliberation; (*and*) who is with great pleasure sung of by poets, in Sanskrit and Prâkrit construction of the arrangement of sentences, as being well versed in speech.

(L. 15.)—And after him there came that (*well-known*) **Abhayadatta**, maintaining a high position on the earth, (*and*) collecting (*in order to dispel it*) the fear of (*his*) subjects (?);—by whose eye of intellect, which served him like the eyes of a spy, no trifle, however remote, remained undetected, (*even*) at night;—(Abhayadatta), of fruitful actions, who like (Vṛihaspati) the preceptor of the gods, to the advantage of those who belonged to the (*four recognised*) castes, with the functions of a *Râjasthânîya*[42] protected the region stretching from the pale mass of the waters of (the river) Rêvâ which flows down from the slopes of the summits of the Vindhyas, and from the mountain of Pâriyâtra, on which the trees are bent down in (*their*) frolicsome leaps by the long-tailed monkeys, up to the (*western*) ocean, and containing many countries presided over by his own upright counsellors.

(L. 17.)—Now he, **Dharmadôsha**, the son of **Dôshakumbha**,—by whom this kingdom has been made, as if (*it were still*) in the Kṛita-age, free from any intermixture of all the castes, (*and peaceable through*) having hostilities allayed, (*and*) undisturbed by care,—in accordance with justice proudly supports the burden (*of government*) that had (*previously*) been borne by him;[43]—(Dharmadôsha), who,—not being too eager about his own comfort, (*and*) bearing, for the sake of his lord, in the difficult path (*of administration*), the burden (*of government*), very heavily weighted and not shared by another,—wears royal apparel only as mark of distinction (*and not for his own pleasure*), just as a bull[44] carries a wrinkled pendulous dew-lap.

(L. 19.)—His younger brother, **Daksha**,—invested with the decoration of the protection of friends, as if he were (*his*) broad-shouldered (*right*) arm (*decorated*) with choice jewels,—caused to be excavated this great well, that bears the name of "the faultless" which causes great joy to the hearts of those that hear it. This great (*and*) skilful work was achieved here by him, who is of great intellect, for the sake of his paternal uncle, the beloved

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[39] *viz.* love, anger, greed, joy, pride, and passion.

[40] Interpreters of Vêdic quotations and words.

[41] An epic hero, the younger brother of Dhṛitarâshṭra and Pâṇḍu, described as the wisest of all prudent and sagacious people.

[42] See Dr. Bühler's explanation: *ante*, Vol. V. p. 207.

[43] *sc.* Abhayadatta.—Dôshakumbha, the father of Dharmadôsha, must be the younger brother of Abhayadatta, and the third and youngest of the sons of Ravikîrtti and Bhânuguptâ.

[44] *bâhulêya*: this meaning is not given in Monier Williams' *Sanskrit Dictionary*: and I owe it, and the explanation of one or two other passages in this inscription, to Pandit Durga Prasad, of Jaypur.

Abhayadatta, who was cut off (*before his time*) by the mighty (god) Kritânta, just as if he were a tree, the shade of which is pleasant to resort to (*and*) which yields fruits that are salutary and sweet through ripeness, (*wantonly*) destroyed by a lordly elephant.

(L. 21.)—Five hundred autumns, together with ninety less by one, having elapsed from (*the establishment of*) the supremacy[45] of the tribal constitution of the Mâlavas, (*and*) being written down in order to determine the (*present*) time;—in the season[46] in which the songs, resembling the arrows of (the god) Smara, of the cuckoos, whose utterances are low and tender, cleave open, as it were, the minds of those who are far away from home; and in which the humming of the flights of bees, sounding low on account of the burden (*that they carry*), is heard through the woods, like the resounding bow of (the god Kâmadêva) who has the banner of flowers, when its string is caused to vibrate;—in the season in which there is the month of the coming on of flowers, when the wind, soothing the affectionate (*but*) perverted thoughts of disdainful women who are angry with their lovers, as if they were charming fresh sprouts arrayed in colours, devotes itself to breaking down (*their*) pride,—in that season this (*well*) was caused to be constructed.

(L. 24.)—As long as the ocean, embracing with (*its*) lofty waves, as if with long arms, the orb of the moon, which has its full assemblage of rays (*and is more*) lovely (*than ever*) from contact (*with the waters*), maintains friendship (*with it*);—so long let this excellent well endure, possessing a surrounding enclosure of lines at the edge of the masonry-work, as if it were a garland worn round a shaven head, (*and*) discharging pure waters the flavour of which is equal to nectar!

(L. 25).—May this faultless Daksha for a long time protect this act of piety,—(*he who is*) intelligent, skilful, true to (*his*) promises, modest, brave, attentive to old people, grateful, full of energy, (*and*) unwearied in the business-matters of (*his*) lord! (*This eulogy has been*) engraved by Gôvinda.

NOTES ON THE MAHABHASHYA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, GÖTTINGEN.

(*Continued from p. 211.*)

4.—Some suggestions regarding the verses (Karikas) in the Mahabhashya.

Besides the *Vârttikas* of Katyâyana, which are in prose, and to explain which is the main object of Patañjali, there occur, scattered through the Mahâbhâshya, a number of verses treating of grammatical matters. Some of these verses have been fully commented upon by Patañjali; of others he has merely given the general import, or he has appended to them an occasional remark only. Again, there are verses which appear to repeat in a summary way what has been already stated before in prose; and still others, which are neither commented upon, nor partake of the nature of summary verses. Sometimes the discussion on a rule of Pâṇini's is carried on solely by means of verses that are explained by Patañjali; on other occasions verses, commented upon or without comment, precede the prose *Vârttikas* on a rule, or follow them, or occur in the midst of them. In a large number of cases the verses occur singly, but sometimes two, three, four, five, or even six verses are grouped together; and we also meet with a considerable number of half-verses, and even quarter-verses.

The total number of these verses is about 260. The metres in which they have been composed are the following:—

The ordinary Âryâ: about 40 verses.
  Portions of an Âryâ: Vol. II. pp. 127, 129.
 Gîti: one verse and a half: Vol. III p. 216.
The ordinary Ślôka: about 165 verses.
  Three quarters of a verse: Vol. II. p. 29.
  Half-verses: 16.
  Quarter-verses: 12.
 Vaktra: 2.—Vol. I. p. 273; and Vol. II. p. 97. Half a verse: Vol. I. p. 63.
 Vidyunmâlâ: 3.—Vol. I. p. 356; Vol. II. p 203; and Vol. III. p. 350.
  A quarter-verse: Vol. I. p. 14, l. 3 (लिङ्गार्थं तु प्रत्यापत्तिः)
 Samânî: 2.—Vol. I. p. 502.

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[45] [illegible], but it is very difficult to find a really satisfactory meaning for this word in this passage.

[46] Sc., the spring.

Indravajrà: 3.—Vol. I. pp. 96, 336; and Vol. III. p. 52.

Upajàti: 4.—Vol. I. p. 96; Vol. II. pp. 124, 232; and Vol. III. p. 54.

Dòdhaka: 12.—Vol. I. p. 484; Vol. II. pp. 65, 138; Vol. III. pp. 182, 189, 410, 423.

Sàlinî: 4.—Vol. II. p. 72; Vol. III. pp. 206, and 247.

Vaṁśasthâ: Half a verse. Vol. III. p. 216.

Tôṭaka: 2.—Vol. I. pp. 334, 335.

Jagatî:[1] One verse.—Vol. III. p. 409.

Irregular Trishṭubh or Jagatî verses occur besides in Vol. I. pp. 13, 144; and Vol. II. p. 123. As verses I am inclined to consider also Vol. I. p. 362, l. 4 and 13; Vol. II. p. 60, l. 1 and 4, and perhaps a few other lines, regarding which I have not been able to arrive at any decided opinion.

The name which by the commentators is most frequently applied to these verses, be they commented upon or not, is that of *Vârttika*. Sometimes they are called by the fuller name *Ślôka-vârttika*, or ascribed to the *Ślôkavârttikakâra*. Thus Bhartṛihari assigns to the *Ślôkavârttikakâra* the verses in Vol. I. p. 36; Kaiyaṭa the verses in Vol. II. p. 329; Vol. III. pp. 189, 273, 402. Nâgôjîbhaṭṭa uses the term *Ślôkavârttika* of the verse in Vol. III. p. 466; and a note in the MS. G. calls by the same name the verses in Vol. II. p. 383. That the terms *Vârttika*, *Ślôka*, and *Ślôka-vârttika*, when used with reference to verses, are equivalent, may be seen from the fact, that the verses in Vol. III. p. 402, by Kaiyaṭa ascribed to the *Ślôkavârttikakâra*, have by Nâgôjîbhaṭṭa on P. viii. 2, 22 been called simply *Vârttikas*, and that the verse in Vol. III. p. 466, called *Ślôkavârttika* by Nâgôjîbhaṭṭa, is called simply a *Ślôka* by Kaiyaṭa.

When the term *Ślôkavârttikakâra* is *opposed* to the term *Vârttikakâra* (or *Vâkyakâra*), as has been done by Kaiyaṭa on Vol. III. p. 189, or by Bhartṛihari on Vol. I. p. 36, both of course denote different persons; and in such a case it was hardly necessary for Nâgôjîbhaṭṭa to tell us that the *Vârttikakâra* (or *Vâkyakâra*) is Kâtyâyana, and the *Ślôkavârttikakâra another*.[2] But from this it by no means follows that the *Ślôkavârttikakâra* has been regarded by the commentators to be different from the ordinary *Vârttikakâra* in every case. On the contrary, we have abundant proof for it, that both Kaiyaṭa and Nâgôjîbhaṭṭa (as well as Haradatta and other commentators whose works have been examined by me) have considered Kâtyâyana as the author, not only of prose *Vârttikas*, but also of *Vârttikas* in verse. When Kaiyaṭa on P. i. 1, 21 opposes the *Vârttikakâra* to the *Sûtrakâra*, the former must be understood to be Kâtyâyana, just as the *Sûtrakâra* can be no other than Pâṇini; and, as the particular statement ascribed here to the *Vârttikakâra* is a verse on P. vi. 4, 74, Kaiyaṭa must have taken Kâtyâyana to be the author of that verse.[3] Similar instances might be quoted from Nâgôjîbhaṭṭa's work. So far then, what we learn from the commentators amounts to no more than this, that in their opinion some of the verses in the Mahâbhâshya are by Kâtyâyana, and others by another author of *Vârttikas*.

But the commentators' assign some verses also to the author of the Bhâshya. Thus Puṇyarâja ascribes to the *Bhâshyakâra* the verse in Vol. I. p. 356; Nâgôjîbhaṭṭa calls the verse 2 in Vol. III. p. 267 a *Bhâshya-ślôka*; and he states that the verses in Vol II. p. 229—verses fully commented upon—belong to the

[1] The special name of this particular kind of the Jagatî metre does not appear to be known. The first line of the verse in Vol III. p. 409 is wrong, and the last line is interesting, inasmuch as it has been curiously misunderstood by both Kaiyaṭa and Nâgojîbhaṭṭa. Both take the first word of the line

जगन्यनूना भवति हि रुचिरा

to be जगति, the Loc. Sing. of जगत्, and they understand the meaning of the line to be, that the explanation given of परिकृश will please everywhere, because it fully accounts both for the form and for the accent of that word. Really, the first word of the line must be taken to be the Nom. Sing. जगती. The author of the verse has said all he had to say about परिकृश in three lines, and finding that his Jagatî verse required a fourth line, he somewhat facetiously adds 'that a complete Jagatî verse is indeed pleasing.'—I am well aware of the fact, that about six per cent. of the verses in the Mahâbhâshya are wrong: in some of these cases a slight alteration of the text would have sufficed to set the metre right.

[2] Bhartṛihari on Vol. I. p. 36:—यदेवोक्तं वाक्यकारेण वृत्तिसमवायार्थ उपदेश इति तदेव श्लोकवार्त्तिककारोऽप्याह. Kaiyaṭa on Vol. III. p. 189:—वार्त्तिककारोक्तेषु प्रयोजनेषु प्रत्याख्यातेषु श्लोकवार्त्तिककारोक्तप्रयोजनोपक्षेपः; and Nâgôjîbhaṭṭa:—वार्त्तिककारः कात्यायनः श्लोकवार्त्तिककारस्त्वन्य एवेति भावः.

[3] Patañjali refers to the same verse by means of the word वक्ष्यति in Vol. I. p. 113, l. 10, and Vol. III., p. 188, l. 16, indicating thereby that that verse at any rate is not his own. By वक्ष्यति he refers to other verses in Vol. II. p. 378, l. 6, and Vol. III. p. 400, l. 13. He introduces verses with अत उत्तरं पठति, Vol. I. p. 253; Vol. III. p. 181, 257, 410.

Bhâshyakṛit, not to the *Vârttikakṛit*.[4] All this (whether right or wrong) is mere conjecture; and so is another statement of Nâgôjîbhaṭṭa's, according to which the half-verse in Vol. II. p. 292 belongs *either* to the author of the Bhâshya *or* to *another* Vârttikakâra.[5] Nâgôjîbhaṭṭa evidently had no traditional knowledge as to the authorship of the verses, and even when he tells us that the verse शैषिकान्मतुब॰ in Vol. II. p. 393, also found at Vol. II. p. 15, is taken from some Śâstra or other,[6] which probably is true, he must be considered to state only his own opinion.

The case is different, when Kaiyaṭa volunteers the remark that the verse जग्धिविधि॰ in Vol. I. p. 484, which might be called a summary verse, has been composed by Vyâghrabhûti.[7] A distinct statement like this cannot have been invented by Kaiyaṭa. It must have been copied from the works of older commentators, who may be supposed to have had good reasons for what they were reporting. It is the only important statement that we owe to the commentators, regarding the authorship of at least one verse in the Mahâbhâshya.

A priori there is no reason why Kâtyâyana should not have written some of his *Vârttikas* in verse. Among the few *Vârttikas* of the Bhâradvâjîyas, handed down to us in the Mahâbhâshya, there is one, in Vol. III. p. 199, l. 19, which *is* in verse,[8]—a sufficient proof, that a combination of prose *Vârttikas* and of *Vârttikas* in verse could not in itself be regarded as objectionable. But what we must demand of a work written partly in prose and partly in verse (supposing that work to have been composed by a scholar like Kâtyâyana), is, that the several portions of it should form an harmonious whole; that there should be some connection between its verses and its prose statements, and that the former should not contradict the latter; that a question, which has been fully discussed and disposed of in the prose, should not be raised and discussed again in the verses; that the terminology employed should be the same in both, and that at any rate its prose and metrical portions should contain evidence of having proceeded from one and the same school of grammar. We also might fairly expect that the prose portion should not entirely ignore that part of the work which is in verse.

If from such points of view we examine the verses which have been commented upon by Patañjali,—and it is only these verses that could possibly be regarded as *Vârttikas*,—we shall indeed discover many reasons why such verses should not be assigned to the writer of the prose *Vârttikas*, while it might be difficult to bring forward a single argument in favour of their having been composed by Kâtyâyana. In a previous article, I have shown[9] that about a hundred times Kâtyâyana has referred us by the word उक्तम् or the phrase उक्तं वा to statements or arguments which occur in other parts of his work; in all these cases the reference is to prose *Vârttikas*; and there is not a single instance in which Kâtyâyana has thus alluded to a statement in verse.[10] I have similarly already[11] drawn attention to the circumstance, that Kâtyâyana purposely has so worded the first *Vârttika* on a rule, as to indicate the rule to which such *Vârttika* must be understood to belong. Now it is a fact, that 27 times in the Mahâbhâshya a first prose *Vârttika* is preceded by verses, many of which *do* contain some distinct reference to the rule of Pâṇini's to which they have been appended, and that nevertheless, in every one of these cases, the reference to Pâṇini's rules is repeated in the following prose *Vârttikas*.[12] Those who

[4] Nâgôjibhatta on Vol. II. p. 229:—एते श्लोका भाष्यकृत एव न वार्त्तिककृतः संपुटीकरणाभावात्.

[5] Nâgôjibhatta on Vol. II. p. 229:—परिगणनं भाष्यकृतोऽन्यवार्त्तिककारस्य वेति विप्रतिपत्तिर्वार्त्तिककारस्तन्न जानातीति भाव.

[6] Nâgôjibhatta on Vol. II. p. 393:—एव चायं श्लोकः कस्यचिच्छास्त्रस्येति बोध्यम्.

[7] Kaiyaṭa on Vol I. p. 484, l. 17:—अयमेवार्थो व्याघ्रभूतिनाप्युक्त इत्याह जग्धिविधिरिति.

[8] भारद्वाजीयाः पठन्ति । भ्रस्जो रोपधयोर्लोप आगमो रम्विधीयत इति ॥

[9] See p. 209 f. above.

[10] In Vol. III. p. 223, l. 15, Patañjali does also refer us to the verse on P. VI 4, 127; but Kâtyâyana's reference is solely to the Vârttika 13 (and 15) on P. VII. 1, 1.

[11] See p. 204 above.

[12] If the verse परोभावः परस्यार्थे on P. III. 2, 115 were Kâtyâyana's, he would not have repeated परोक्षे लिट् in his Vârttika on that rule. If the verses on P. VI. 3, 46 were his, he would have omitted महदात्त्वं from his first Vârttika. If the verse, with which the discussion on P. VII. 1, 73 opens, were Kâtyâyana's, he would not have worded his first prose Vârttika, as he has done. In this last case, the very way in which Patañjali introduces the first Vârttika, shows that now only Kâtyâyana is about to speak.

would assign the verses to Kâtyâyana, must certainly admit that here again he himself would have completely and intentionally ignored those verses in his prose statements.

To adduce more direct proof, I would certainly deny that verses like those in Vol. I. p. 33, अनुवर्तते विभाषा, and p. 145, even though they have been fully explained by Patañjali, can by any possibility be ascribed to Kâtyâyana. Those and similar verses stand in no connection whatever with preceding or following *Vârttikas*, and by themselves they are unintelligible. They receive a meaning only when taken as part of the discussions that have been started by Patañjali, and their presence cannot be accounted for unless we assume that they have been borrowed by Patañjali from elsewhere. Nor can we assign to Kâtyâyana verses like those on P. I. 1, 19 or P. VI. 4, 74; for what we learn from the former is really nothing but what Kâtyâyana has already told us in his Vârt. 5 on P. I. 1, 11, and the views propounded in the verses on P. VI. 4, 74 are contrary,—I should perhaps say, intentionally opposed,—to statements contained in the prose *Vârttikas* on P. I. 1, 21; VI. 1, 95; and elsewhere.[13] Similarly, it would be wrong to ascribe to Kâtyâyana verses like those in Vol. I. p. 36 and Vol. III. p. 466; for the former of these verses raises a question which has been disposed of by Kâtyâyana in the first *Âhnika*, and the latter merely repeats the substance of that scholar's *Vârttikas* on the first *Sivasûtra*. Again, it is impossible to admit that Kâtyâyana would in Vol. II. p. 267 seriously have discussed a question which he had settled in his Vârt. 26 on P. I. 4, 1; or that the same scholar, who in a prose *Vârttika* in Vol. II. p. 354 has taught us to form पञ्चदश with the suffix ड, would in a verse in Vol. II. p. 378 have derived the same word by means of the suffix डट्; that in Vol. II. p. 301 he would have formed मध्यमीय with the suffix छ, and on p. 310 with मीय; दैव्य and बाह्य on p. 236 with यञ्, and on p. 311 with ष्यञ्. Besides, I consider it altogether unlikely that Kâtyâyana would, for no apparent reason, have used the term ल for लुक् in the verses in Vol. II. pp. 284, 378, and 425, or that he would have employed for उत्तरपद the term घु[14] in the verses in Vol. III. pp. 229, 247, and, 318, when he has never employed those terms in his prose *Vârttikas*. It is also certain that a verse like that on P. V. 2, 39, which speaks of a suffix डावतु,[15] cannot have proceeded from a scholar who elsewhere accepts Pâṇini's views of the formation of the words यावत्, तावत् etc.; the more so, when the concluding portion of that verse is distinctly directed against the prose *Vârttika* of that scholar on P. V. 2, 37. I might go on quoting other verses which are directed against the prose *Vârttikas*, others that try to improve on them, and again others intended to explain them;[16] but will conclude these arguments by stating that in three instances (in Vol. I. p. 444, and Vol. II. pp. 86 and 117) Patañjali has distinctly intimated that the verses on which he happens to comment, are not by the author of the prose *Vârttikas*,[17] and that Kâtyâyana himself and his *Vârttika* are mentioned in the verses explained in Vol. II. pp. 121 and 176.[18]

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[13] The verses on P. VI. 4, 74, try to show that Pâṇini's rule VI. 4, 72 may be dispensed with, which is not the opinion of Kâtyâyana; they moreover suggest a new rule of which they maintain that it will render Kâtyâyana's Vârttika on P. VI 1, 95 superfluous. In note 3 I have shown that Patañjali does not regard these verses as his own; the verses themselves prove, that they are not Kâtyâyana's.

[14] It is really difficult to say whether this term should be read घु or ग्रु. The authority of the MSS. is decidedly in favour of reading it ग्रु, and I have read it घु mainly because this gives a correct verse in Vol. III. 318, l. 5. Perhaps I have attached too much importance to the metre, which, after all, is violated in many verses in the Mahâbhâshya. In the MSS. of the Jainêndra grammar, too, the term is read both घु and ग्रु.

[15] Kaiyata on P. V. 2, 39: डावताविति | पूर्वाचार्यैनाक्रियापेक्षो निर्देश· | इह तु वतुपं विधाया सर्वनाम्नः (P.VI.3,91) इत्यात्वं विहितम | पूर्वाचार्यैस्तु डावतुं विदधिरे |.

[16] Compare the verses in Vol II. pp. 132, 210; Vol. III. p. 182; in Vol II. p. 214, and Vol. III. p. 218, and the portions of verses introduced, after a prose Vârttika, by अत्यन्तामिदमुच्यते in Vol. II pp. 29, 398, and Vol. III. p. 352; and, as an explanatory verse, the verse in Vol. II. p. 72.

[17] In the three instances given above Patañjali introduces verses, which are explained by him, by the words अपर आह, after prose Vârttikas. By the same phrase he introduces, after prose Vârttikas, a verse on which he does not comment, in Vol. II. p. 38. By अपर आह he introduces verses, after other verses or after remarks of his own, in Vol. I. pp 13, 63, 226, 335; Vol II. pp 87, 217, 225; and Vol. III. p. 410. After a verse he introduces another verse by एष एवार्थः | अपर आह in Vol. I. p. 33; and by एष एवार्थः alone in Vol. I. p. 484 and Vol. III p. 410 On Vol. I p. 484 Nâgôjibhatta is in doubt as to whether the verse so introduced is by Patañjali or by another. We should have expected to find the words एष एवार्थः before the second verse in Vol. I p. 500.

[18] Besides, the Bhagavân Kâtyaḥ is mentioned in a so-called summary verse in Vol. II. p. 97.

My opinion then of the verses which have been explained in the Mahâbhâshya, is, that they do not belong to Kâtyâyana at all, but have been borrowed or quoted by Patañjali from *other* works. There is every reason to believe that those works were composed after the *Vârttikas*. Though they were written in verse, their aim, so far as we can judge, was the same which Patañjali himself has had in view in writing his own work, to elucidate, or to correct and improve on, the *Vârttikas*, and to discuss matters connected with individual rules of Pâṇini's or with the system of Pâṇini's grammar, that had not been touched upon by Kâtyâyana. Moreover, we shall probably be doing no injustice to Patañjali, when we maintain that he frequently has taken the substance of his discussions and many of his arguments from those older works, even where he has not actually and distinctly quoted from them. For, not to mention that such an opinion accords with what tradition tells us were the circumstances under which the Mahâbhâshya was composed, it is only by a supposition of this nature, that we can account for a curious fact which is sure to arrest the attention of the student of the Mahâbhâshya.

It sometimes happens that in the midst of Patañjali's prose discussions we meet with quarter-verses or smaller fragments of verses which taken by themselves are unintelligible, but which fit exactly into the discussions of which they form part. They are not and cannot have been intended as quotations; nor can they be of Patañjali's own authorship, because there is no conceivable reason why Patañjali should suddenly have given utterance to part of a verse, and because he repeats their meaning in prose. In fact, they might have been omitted without the slightest loss. Now those portions of verses must have been taken from somewhere; where there were quarter-verses, there must have been whole verses; and when those quarter-verses fit into Patañjali's *prose* discussions, they must have fitted into discussions that were carried on in *whole verses*. I believe, then, that in the cases alluded to Patañjali is merely reproducing, in prose, what was before him in verse, and that only by chance, and not intentionally, he has repeated in his own discussions fragmentary portions of his metrical originals. As typical instances of such portions of verses, that must have been taken from older works, I may quote the words in Vol. I. p. 14, l. 3, **लिङ्गार्था तु प्रत्यापत्तिः**, the meaning of which in Patañjali's own language is **लिङ्गार्था सा तर्हि भविष्यति**: the words **णिश्विभ्यां नौ निमातव्यौ** in Vol. I. p. 49, l. 12; **शतृशानचौ यदि लटो वा** in Vol. II. p. 127, l. 11; **सन्मात्रे चर्षिदर्शनात्** in Vol. II. p. 394, l. 5; **न स बिल्वकात्** in Vol. III. p. 229, l. 10; and **एकाचस्तौ वलीति वा** in Vol. III. p. 280, l. 12; all of which might and should have been omitted from the Mahâbhâshya, and the accidental presence of which merely shows that Patañjali is indebted to his predecessors for the arguments which he happens to be propounding. The same conclusion may be drawn from the occurrence in the Mahâbhâshya of certain half-verses and of some complete verses, which resemble the smaller portions of verses spoken of in so far as they too, by themselves, are meaningless, and which must therefore likewise be considered to have been part originally of works that were discussing in verse the same questions which Patañjali happens to treat of in prose. Half-verses of this nature we find, *e.g.*, in Vol. I. p. 16, l. 10, **स्थानी प्रकल्पयेदेतावनुस्वारो यथा यणम्**, and p. 284, l. 6, **सहयुक्ते तृतीया स्याद्व्यतिहारे तङो विधिः**; complete verses in Vol. I. p. 33, l. 16, **अनुवर्तते विभाषा**: p. 145, l. 11 **आरभ्यमाणे नित्योऽसौ**; and elsewhere.

That Patañjali sometimes has merely reproduced the information which he had obtained from works composed in verse, might be shown also in another way. When we examine, *e.g.*, his remarks on P. VII. 3. 107, the quarter-verse **अम्बार्थं द्व्यक्षरं यदि** of course shows us that, in this particular point, he is not giving us his own argument. But, more than by this, we shall be struck by the extraordinary construction **पुत्रार्थमर्हते**.[19] in the

[19] In पुत्रार्थमर्हते the adjective अर्हत् qualifies पुत्र in पुत्रार्थम्; the whole phrase is equivalent to पुत्रमर्हन्तमभिधातुम्. I believe that all Patañjali's remarks on P. VII. 3. 107 are based on statements that were in verse.—For other ungrammatical expressions. that occur in verse, compare *e.g.* Vol. I. p. 335 त्वविधिः and त्वमतिः; p. 336 अन्वगन्तव्य (for which Kaiyata records the various reading अन्वगम्यन्त); Vol. II. p. 138 प्रकृतेस्तनदृष्टेः, and कार्यमदोषविधेः: 229 चतुष्प्रभृतिकर्तव्य; Vol. III. p. 53 गुणवृद्धिबाध्य.

last statement adduced by Patañjali. That neither he himself nor Kâtyâyana would have written thus, is certain, and it is a relief to discover that the whole statement मातॄणां मातच्पुत्रार्थमर्हते is really the end of a verse, and that the bad Sanskṛit finds some excuse in the exigencies of the metre. It is not difficult to conjecture that the original verse belongs to the same writer to whom we owe the half-verse on P. VI. 1, 14. Similar proof is afforded, to mention only one other instance, by Patañjali's remarks on P. IV. 2, 60. The statement तस्येदंप्रत्ययस्य च in the fifth line of these remarks is again the end of a verse, and the first line on p. 284 forms a correct half-verse, when we omit from it the word विद्या, which is unnecessary, because a special rule is given for it in the sequel. Besides, the term इकक् and the word स्मृत: in the line prove that we have to do with verses,[20] not with the prose of either Kâtyâyana or Patañjali.

Excepting, perhaps, the so-called *Saṁgraha-ślôkas*, or summary verses, there is really no valid reason why any of the verses in the Mahâbhâshya should have been composed by either Kâtyâyana or Patañjali. On the contrary, we have shown that many of the verses, which have been fully commented upon by Patañjali, can certainly not be ascribed to Kâtyâyana. And having proved that Patañjali has undoubtedly borrowed from older works which were in verse, we shall regard those works as the source of those verses also to which he has appended an occasional remark only—verses like those in Vol. I. p. 96, l. 1-5, Vol. II. p. 137, l. 4-7,—or the meaning of which he has merely indicated in a general way—like those in Vol. I. p. 147, l. 12-13, p. 356, l. 9-10,—as well as of those verses which have been left without any comment and which clearly are meant to be regarded as quotations—verses such as those in Vol. I. p. 71, p. 75, p. 181, etc.[21] But it may appear doubtful, if even the so-called summary verses should be assigned to Patañjali. To me it seems at least possible, that the commentators may have misunderstood the nature of these verses. Their opinion is that Patañjali, probably to assist the memory of the student, has given in those verses a *résumé* of the arguments which he has stated before in prose.[22] But if Patañjali had really been so kindly disposed, we might well ask, why in the whole of the Mahâbhâshya he should have given proof of such disposition at the utmost on twenty occasions only, and why he should not have appended summary verses to discussions far more lengthy and complicated than those are to which such verses have been attached. Nor can it escape the attention of the student, that occasionally the so-called summary verses contain arguments or statements, of which there are no traces in the prose by which the verses are preceded. The verse in Vol. II. p. 65 speaks of irregularities of accent, that have not been mentioned before. The first verse in Vol. I. p. 500 compares the case in hand with an analogous case, while the discussion in prose has omitted to do so. Besides, we have seen already that one summary verse—the Dôdhaka verse in Vol. I. p. 484—is reported to have been composed, not by Patañjali, but by Vyâghrabhûti. Why should the same Vyâghrabhûti not be the author of the Dôdhaka verse in Vol. II. p. 65, which contains distinct traces of not being a mere summary verse, and of the Dodhaka verses in Vol. III. p. 423? I confess I can discover no reason why the verses spoken of should likewise not be regarded rather as the source of those arguments which Patañjali is propounding in his prose, than as summaries, repeating, for the benefit of an inattentive student, those arguments in verse.

[20] इकक् stands for ठक् as *e.g.* does इकन् for ठन् in the verses on Vol. II. pp. 284 and 398; षिकन् for ष्ठन् in Vol. II. p. 284; and ईय for छ in the verses in Vol. II. p. 310; स्मृत stands at the end of verses, *e.g.* in Vol. II. pp. 258, 292; Vol. III. pp. 67, 140, and 466.

[21] A clear instance of how Patañjali is quoting from other works is furnished by the verse in Vol. II. p. 182. The question raised in the last words गुणे कथम् of that verse has nothing to do with the matter under discussion, but refers to P. III. 4, 93. It must have been answered in a verse following upon the verse that is cited by Patañjali (Kaiyâta says; श्लोकपूरणायैतदुक्तम्).—Similarly the second half of verse 2 on P. VII. 1, 21 refers to P. VII. 1, 23.

[22] See Nâgôjîbhaṭṭa on Vol. I. p. 273, उक्तमर्थं गाथया संगृह्णाति; Kaiyaṭa on Vol. I. p. 401, पूर्वोक्त एवार्थ आर्यया संगृहीत:; on Vol. II. p. 97, उक्तार्थसंग्रहाय श्लोका:; on Vol. II. pp. 383 and 416, पूर्वोक्तार्थसंग्रहश्लोका: ; Nâgôjibhaṭṭa on Vol. III. p. 435, उक्तार्थसंग्राहकश्लोका: etc. On the second verse in Vol. I. p. 484, Nâgôjibhaṭṭa makes the remark [एष एवार्थ:] अन्येन निबद्ध इति शेष:। मया निबध्यत इति वा ।.

A FURTHER NOTICE OF THE ANCIENT BUDDHIST STRUCTURE AT NEGAPATAM.

COMMUNICATED BY SIR WALTER ELLIOT.

Some time after I communicated the former Article[1] on the remarkable and unique edifice at Negapatam, an old friend, an officer in the Madras Army, but now an inmate of the College of St. Joseph at Negapatam, sent me, through his brother, some further information which it may be interesting to place on record. He writes as follows:—"In a pamphlet entitled *Interprétations d'Antiques Idoles Bouddhistes*, by M. Textor de Ravisi, Ancien Commandant de Karikal (Indes Orientales), being *Extraits de Travaux de* 1865 *et* 1866 *de la Société Académique de Saint Quentin*, published at Saint Quentin at the Imprimerie Jules Moureau, 7, Place de l'Hôtel-de-Ville, in 1866, I have found an account of the statuettes that Sir Walter asks after. I have not time to copy in full, but I have given above the title, author, and publisher, so that Sir Walter, who probably may have known the author in India, may get the little pamphlet if it be still in print. Textor de Ravisi says of the towers, that, when the Portuguese discovered India, they spoke in their account of Negapatam of this tower as *la tour ruinée*, and that the Dutch used it at one time as a Lighthouse. The tower, he says, was an irregular square. The materials are enormous bricks beautifully manufactured and very superior to the country manufacture of to-day. The cement is a *terre glaise* (which I take to be polished shell *chunam*). but it is stated that the cement was extremely hard and like stone.

"From those who were present at the demolition of the tower, I have learned that exteriorly there were apparently three storeys, but interiorly there were no traces of landing places or storeys, and that there were only three smooth walls, the fourth side being open all the way up. The bricks are said to have been very large; the cement as M. Textor de Ravisi describes it. The foundations were about eight feet deep, and there had apparently been an underground cellar or storey, for the middle was filled with sand, and the inner walls were covered with very hard shell *chunam* polished. No statuettes or anything else were found in the tower itself, with the exception of four little square pieces of gold, let roughly into the four corners of what appears to be the foundation stone. This stone was at the very bottom of the foundation.

"No statuettes were discovered in digging the foundations for building the dormitories that now form one side of the college quadrangle. It seems they had to cut down, and then to dig and remove, the roots of a venerable banyan tree, and among these roots several curiosities were found. Amongst others five small statuettes, some sitting, some standing, but all Buddhist, and indeed from the drawings in M. Textor de Ravisi's book, identical in shape, but miniatures of the Gaudamas so common in British Burmah. I would also draw Sir Walter's notice to a fact he may have forgotten, that shell *chunam* is very common in many of the Buddhist temples of Burmah, and this is the more remarkable as in that country it is only their temples that are built of masonry. M. Textor de Ravisi incidentally mentions in another part of his pamphlet, "Ces idoles trouvées dans de tels conditions jointés à l'existence de la tour dont la structure indique une construction bouddhiste sembleraient démontrer que ces statues remontent à l'époque où le culte de Bouddha fut définitivement expulsé du sud de l'Hindoustan par le triomphe de Bráhmanisme." And certainly everything that was discovered seems to speak of Buddhism, for among other things a bell was discovered in the neighbourhood of the statuettes. This bell was recast and is now the college bell. The dormitory, which now stands on the place where the statuettes were found is about 60 yards from the position occupied by the ruined tower. I subjoin or enclose some rough copies of some sketches of articles found with the statuettes. I should not forget to mention among other things a human skull that was found in a kind of small arched tomb.[2]

"With regard to the tower, one of the native Fathers now in the college, tells me that he

[1] *ante*, Vol. VII. p 224ff.

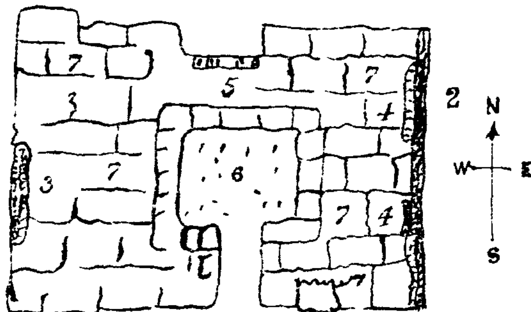
[2] This looks like Chinese Buddhism.

remembers as a boy that the tower was nearly twice the height it was at the date of its final destruction, and that even then it bore the appearance of having been still higher formerly.

"I wrote the above when I was absent from the college. On my return I have consulted the *Records*, and send sketches marked A. and B., showing respectively the ground plan of the tower, and some of the ornaments dug out of the foundations of what is now one of the dormitories, and which I have already referred to above.

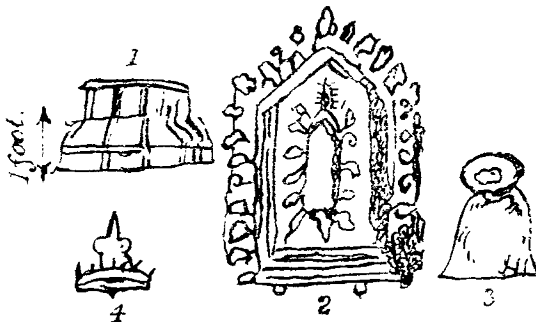
A.

"Les briques sont énormes, sous l'une d'elles au coin de l'ouest à l'intérieur on trouve quatre lames fines, étroites et courtes d'or. Voici le plan des fondements avec le coin où l'on a trouvé les lames, les fondements avaient à peu près 12 ou 13 pieds de profondeur."



1. or
2. decombres anciens
3. mur isolement bati à la face intérieure relié par les coins au reste des fondements
4., 5. idem
6. sable marin
7. grandes briques.[3]

B.



"En creusant les fondements on trouve dans la tranchée du sud-est (1) un piedestal, (2) une plaque sculptée et percée au milieu, (3) une cloche, et (4) une espèce de couronne ; tout excepté la cloche en cuivre doré ; dans la tranchée N. E on trouve un crâne."[4]

"To my idea the figure No. 4 corresponds to the head pieces of the Burmese Gaudamas, and so also No. 3 to the Burmese pagoda bells. But No. 2 certainly is more like Chinese than Burmese."

In conclusion, he adds the following extract[5] from the Records of the College, having reference only to the final demolition of the edifice:—

"A une des extremités du Collège de S. Joseph à Negapatam l'élevait, il y a six ans, une vieille tour carrée mesurant de vingt-cinq à trente pieds de côté. La hauteur de cette tour qui primitivement était de soixante-dix à soixante-quinze pieds, avait été, pour prevenir les accidents, réduite de moitié Une ouverte unique, partant de la base au sommet, donnait entrée et jour du côté du midi. L'édifice était un mur massif de briques et de terre sans aucun caractère architectural. Aux quatres côtés de la base, de profondes excavations s'étaient formées sous l'action séculaire des sels marins. Ces excavations avaient jusqu'à huit pieds de profondeur. Au sommet et sur les côtés l'on voyait une vigoureuse végétation d'arbustes.

* * * * *

Récemment, quantité d'objets, depuis longtemps enfonces, appartenant au culte bouddhique, ayant été découverts dans les environs du vieux monument, on en conclut qu'il avait été un temple, consacré à Bouddha. Une opinion moins accrédité en faisait un simple point de repère (*sic*) pour les navires que approchaient de la côté, et lui attribuait une origine Hollandaise, mais la croyance populaire, sans rien déterminée de son origine et de son usage, lui attachait un caractère sacré et superstitieux."

The above particulars do not add much to our previous scanty knowledge of the old building. The most interesting fact is that of the discovery made in the foundations of

[3] Extracts from the Records of St. Joseph's College, Negapatam.

[4] Extract from Records of St. Joseph's College, Negapatam.

[5] Extract from "Des Missions Catholiques" of 17th July 1874.

four pieces of gold under a large brick in the west corner, which appears analogous to the deposits of gold, coral, pearl, &c., found in the Buddhist Topes, leading to the inference of a common Buddhist origin. The discovery of the skull also tends to the same conclusion.

The only other remark I have to make is in regard to the statement that "interiorly there were no traces of landing places or storeys." With reference to that I repeat what I said in my former paper that "at the top of the lowest storey were marks in the wall showing where the floor of the second had been fixed."[6]

It may also be added that the statement of the native Father above mentioned, that "he remembered the tower twice as high as it was at the date of its final destruction," is easily explained by a reference to the plate at p. 226, fig. 2, Vol. VII. as it stood in 1846, and Mr. Middleton Rayne's sketch in 1866, fig. 1.

AN ENGLISH-GIPSY INDEX.

COMPILED BY MRS. GRIERSON, WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY G. A. GRIERSON, B.C.S.

(*Continued from p. 180*).

OVERCOME, to,—Potrivisarâva, (M.)
OVERSEER,—Dikimengro, diximengro, (Eng.); kandinû, (M.)
OVERTAKE, to,—Arĕsâva, nakavavâva, (M.)
OWE, to,—Kamâva, (M.)
OWN,—Nogo, (Eng.)
OX,—Gurûv, gurî, (Tch., Psp. M.); gheoluk, (As. Tch.); shĕngalô, gurû, gurûû, (dim.) zhunkâye, (dim.) zhunkul, (M.); guruv, (M. 7)
OX, belonging to an,—Guravanò, (Tch.)

P

PACK-SADDLE,—Astêr, (Tch.)
PACKET,—Kâlavo, (Tch); pâchkĕ, (M.)
PAIL,—Vâdra, (M.)
PAIN,—Dukaibê, (Tch.); duk, (Psp. M.)
PAIN, to feel,—Dukâva, (Psp. M., M.)
PAINT, to,—Makâva, (Tch., Psp. M.); mĕchinisarâva, (M.)
PAINT, to cause to,—Makavâva, (Tch.)
PAINTED, to be,—Mâkliovâva, (Tch.)
PAIR,—Pĕrĕt'e, (M.)
PAIR, of oxen,—Zhutô, (M.)
PALACE,—Sarâi, (Tch.); aûlîn, (M.)
PALING,—Kilô, (Tch.); shtakhêturi, (M.)
PALM, of the hand,—Maktî, matî, (As. Tch.)
PANTALOONS,—Dimî, dimîs, karavâna, sostên, (Tch.); dimî, dimish, (Psp. M.); sosten, (M. 8)
PANTALOONS, he who wears,—Dimialô, sostenialô, (Tch.); dimialô, (Psp. M.)
PAPER,—Lil, (Tch.); lir, lil, (Psp. M.); kaghadi, (As. Tch.); hĕrtîyĕ, (M.)
PAPER, of or belonging to,—Lilèskoro, (Tch.)
PARADISE,—Ray, (M.)
PARCEL,—Kâlavo, (Tch.); pâchkĕ, (M.)
PARDON,—Artapen, (Eng.)
PARDON, to,—Artâva, artavellâva, (Eng.); ispĕsiâva, (M.)
PARDONED,—Yertimî, (M.)
PARE, to,—Kushâva, (M., M. 7)
PARROT,—Rokrenchiriclo, (Eng.)
PART,—Pârte, (M.)
PARTNER,—Amâl, (Psp. M.)
PASS, to,—Nakâva, nikâva, (Tch.); nakâva, (Psp. M., M.)
PASS, to cause to,—Nikavâva, (Tch.)
PASSAGE,—Nakaibê, (Tch.)
PASSOVER,—Patranki, (Psp. M.)
PASTE,—Astrâki, khomêr, (Tch.)
PASTE, of or belonging to,—Khomerîskoro, (Tch.)
PAWN,—Simmer, (Eng.)
PAWN-BROKERS,—Simmery-mengrê, (Eng.)
PAY, to,—Pesâva, (Eng.); plasterer, (Span. Gip.); potinâva, (M.); pleiskerâva, pokinâva, (M. 8)
PEACEFUL,—Têcho, (M.)
PEA,—Khrikhil, (M. 7).
PEAR,—Ambrôl, (Tch., Psp. M.); harmô, hermô, (As. Tch.); ambrûl, (M.); ambrol, (M. 7)
PEAR-TREE,—Ambrolîn, (Tch., Psp. M.); ambrulin, (M.)
PEARL,—Mĕrgĕritâr, morĕnklô, mĕrĕnklô, (M.)
PEASE,—Kanior, kaunor, (Eng.); grâhos, (Tch.); mâzere, (M.)
PECK, to,—Curundâva, (M. 7)
PEEL, to,—Cholâva, (Tch.)
PENITENCE,—Pokûta, (M.)
PENMANSHIP,—Por-engri-pen, (Eng.)
PEN-MASTER,—Por-engro, (Eng.)
PENNY,—Hor, horo, (pl.) horry, (Eng.); fêniku, (M.)
PENNYWORTH,—Horsworth, (Eng.)
PEOPLE,—Sueti, (Eng.); norôdu, (M.); them, (M. 8)
PEPPER,—Pipèri, (Tch.); kipêr, kipêri, (M.)
PEPPER-TREE,—Kipêr, kipêri, (M.)
PERCH, wooden, a,—Berând, châkala, (Tch.)

[6] *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 224.

PERCH (a bird's)—Kûrnia, (Tch.)
PERCEIVE, to,—Prinzhanâva, prinjavâva. (M.)
PERCEIVED, to be,—Prinzhand'ovâva, (M.)
PERHAPS,—Pôate, (M.)
PERSON,—Guero, (Eng.); jenô, (Tch., M. 7)
PERSPIRATION,—Kamnioipê, (Tch.); kamlioipê, kamnioipê, (Psp. M.)
PERSPIRATION, he who is in,—Kamnô, kamlô, (Tch.); kamno, (M. 7)
PERSPIRATION, to be in,—Kâmniovâva, (Tch.)
PERSPIRE, to,—Kaniarâva, khanierâva, (Tch.)
PESTLE,—Piv, (M.)
PETTICOAT,—Chofa, (Eng.)
PEWTER,—Mollauvis, (Eng.)
PHILOSOPHER,—Jinney-mengro, (Eng.)
PHYSICIAN,—Dôftoru, (M.)
PHYSICIAN, of or belonging to a,—Doftorîceka, (M.)
PIASTRE,—Astalo, bughlo, (Tch.); astalô, (Psp. M.)
PICK POCKETS, to,—Fakâva, (Eng.)
PICKED UP,—Ghedinô, (Tch.)
PICTURE,—Ikôna, (M.)
PIECE,—Kuttor, (Eng.); kotôr, (Tch.); fĕrĕm, kotôr, (M.); kotor, (M. 7)
PIECE, small,—Kotoricâ, (M.)
PIECES OF GOLD,—Poliâ, (Tch.); poli, (M. 8)
PIERCE, to,—Chinkerâva, chingherâva, (Psp. M.); chingerâva, (M. 7); phusâva, (M. 8)
PIG,—Baulo, (Eng.); balô (Tch.); balo, (M., M. 7)
PIG, of or belonging to,—Balanô, balêngoro, (Tch.).
PIG, SUCKING,—Balishô, balishorô, (M.)
PIGEON,—Holub, (M.)
PILAV,—Beshavdo, (Tch.)
PIKE (fish),—Shebûka, (M.)
PILLAR OF A TENT,—Beli, (Tch., M. 7)
PILLOW,—Kurlo-mengri, (Eng.); sherân, (dim.) sheranorô, (Tch.); sirank, (As Tch.)
PIMPLES,—Bûgones, (Eng.)
PINFOLD,—Pandipen, (Eng.)
PINS,—Skunyes, skunyor, sainyor, spinyor, (sing.) eskunyo, (Eng.); chingabar (Span. Gip.)
PIOUS,—Lashô, (M.)
PIPE,—Swegler, swingle, (Eng.)
PISMIRES,—Krîor, (Eng.)
PISTOL,—Pistolu, (M.)
PIT,—Gûva, khar, (Psp. M.); groapa, (M.)
PITCH,—Rĕeîy, (M.)
PITCHER,—Koro, koru, (Eng.); burkân, (M.)
PITCH-FORK,—Possey-mengri, (Eng.)
PITY,—Bezêh, (Psp. M.)
PITY, to.—Bĕnuiâva, (M.)
PITYLESS,—Bi-bukêngoro, (Tch.)
PLACE,—Tan, (Eng.); bûrji, tan, (dim.) tanorô, (Tch.); tan, (Psp. M.); lok, than, (M.); than, (M. 8)
PLACE, (distant),—Khîndyemi, hîndyemi, (Tch.)
PLACE, to,—Chivâva, chuvâva, (Eng.); tovavâ, (Tch.); shuvâva, thoâva, ĕnkĕpisarâva, (M.); thovâvâ, (M. 8)
PLACE ONESELF, to—Ashâva, (M.)
PLACENTA,—Chiibê, (Tch.)
PLAGUE,—Kaenina-flipen, (Eng.); chûma, (Tch.)
PLAIT, to.—Kuvâva, khuvâva, (Tch.); khuvâva, (M. 7)
PLAIT OF HAIR,—Chunr, churn, (Tch.)
PLAITS, to undo,—Buruvâva, (Tch.)
PLANK,—Sanidî, (Tch.); zĕplâda, (M.)
PLATE,—Châro, (Eng.); charô, (Tch., Psp. M.): tilêle, (M.); charo, (M. 7)
PLATTER,—Skourdilla, (Eng.)
PLAY, to,—Kilâva, (Eng.); kelâva, (Tch.); khelâva, ghelâva, delabâva, kĕlâva, (M.)
PLAY, to cause to,—Kelavâva, kelghiarâva, (Tch.)
PLAYER OF INSTRUMENTS,—Killi-mengro, (Eng.); (Psp. M.); kelnô, (Tch.)
PLEASE, to,—Chalâva, (M. 7)
PLEDGE,—Simmer, (Eng.)
PLENTY,—Dusta, dosta, (Eng.)
PLOUGH,—Puvvesti churi, (Eng.); panghiardô, (Tch.); plûgu, (M.)
PLOUGH, to,—Arisarâva, (M.)
PLOUGHED, to be,—Arisard'ovâva, (M.)
PLUCK, to,—Kiddâva, (Eng.)
PLUG,—T'ilû, (M.)
PLUM,—Dûriya durril, (Eng.); erik, kilâv, (Tch.); helî, helon, (As Tch.); porik, (M.); kilav, (Psp. M., M. 7); slivi, (M. 8)
PLUM-PUDDING,—Dûriya durrileskie guyi. (Eng.)
PLUM-TREE,—Erikîn, kilavîn, (Tch.); kilavin, (Psp. M., M. 7)
PLUNDER,—Hetavâva, (Eng.)
POCKET,—Putsi, (Eng.); bôshka, jêbba, (Tch.); pusĕt'î, puset'î, (M.); posit'i, (M. 8)
POCKET-BOOK,—Putsi-lil, (Eng.)
POINT,—Agôr, (loc.) agorê, (abl.) agorâl, (Tch.); agòr, (M. 7)
POINTED,—Askuenmî, (M.)
POISON,—Drab, drav, (Eng.)
POISON-MONGER,—Drab-engro, drav-engro, (Eng.)
POISON, to,—Drabâva, (Eng.)
POLE,—Berand, (M. 7)
POLICEMAN,—Hok-hornie-mush, (Eng.)
POMEGRANATE,—Darâv, (tree) daravin, (Psp. M.)
POND,—Yâzo, yâzu, tĕu, (M.)
POOL,—Yâzeru, (M.)
POOR,—(masc.) Choredo, (fem.) choredi, choro, chovenno, (fem.) choveni, (Eng.); chorô, (Tch.); chonî, (As. Tch.); chororo, (Span. Gip.); chorô, chorû, (M.); choro, gero, (M. 7; choro, Psp. M.)
POOR, to become,—Chôriovâva, (Tch.); choranovâva, (M.)

Poor fellow,—Tororo, (Eng.)
Poor little thing,—Chororô, (Tch.)
Poplar,—Plôpu, (M.)
Poppy,—Mâko, mâku, (M.)
Poppy-blossom,—Rûzha-mâko, (M.)
Pork,—Baulie-mas, (Eng.)
Portion,—Bazîn, (Tch.)
Position,—Stan, (M. 8)
Possible,—Astis, (Eng.); shay, (M. 8)
Post,—Kilo, (M. 7)
Posterior,—Bul, (Eng.); vul, bul, (Tch., M. 8)
Pot,—Pirry, koro, koru, (Eng.); pirî, (dim.) pìrorî, takhtâi, (Tch.); pirî, (M.); kuchi, (M. 7); piri, (M. 8)
Pots, one who makes or sells,—Piriêngoro, (Tch.)
Pot, chamber,—Kathy'ki, khendiardô, (Tch.)
Potato,—Pov-engro, (Eng.); haïva sev, (As. Tch.)
Potato, of or belonging to,—Pov-engreskoe, (Eng.)
Potter,—Koro-mengro, (Eng.)
Pound,—Pandìpen, (Eng.)
Pounded,—Pandlo, (Eng.)
Pound sterling, a,—Bar, bas, base, (Eng.); bar, (Span. Gip.); bar, (Hun. Gip.)
Pour, to,—Chorâva, dĕruiâva, dĕruisarâva, shuvâva, (M.); chorâva, (M. 7)
Poverty,—Choriness, (Eng.); choripê, (Tch.)
Power,—Mândin, (M.); sila; (M. 8)
Praise, to,—Lĕudiâva, (M.); usharâva, asharâva, (Tch. M. 8); asharâva, (Psp. M.)
Praise oneself, to,—Lĕudisard'ovâva, (M.)
Praise,—Usharibê, (Tch.)
Pray, to,—Moliskerâva, moliserâva, (Tch.); poftiâva, poftisarâva, (M.)
Prayer, the Lord's,—Ochenâshu, (M.)
Pregnancy,—Kabnioibê, kamnioibê, (Tch.)
Pregnant,—Kambori, kambri, (Eng.); kabni, kamnî, (Tch.); kamni, (Psp. M., M.)
Prepare, to,—Pornisard'ovâva, (M.)
Preserves,—Goshalò, (Tch.); potrâvka, (M.)
Press,—Bôfcha, (Tch.)
Press, to,—Spidâva, (M.)
Pretended gold rings,—Fashono wangustis, (Eng.)
Pretty,—Sukâr, shukâr, (dim.) sukarorô, (Tch.); bakyz, pakêzi, (As. Tch.)
Prickles,—Busnis. busnior, (Eng.)
Priest,—Rashi, (Eng.); rashâi, (Tch.); pôpa, rashay, (M.); rashay, (M. 8): rashâi, (Psp. M.)
Priest, wife of a,—Rashanî, (Tch.)
Prince,—Vôda, voyevôda, (M.)
Prison,—Staripen, pandipen, (Eng.); damîa, kotêsh, kotês, (Tch.); phandaipî, (M.)
Prisoner,—Storey, staro-mengro, (Eng.); damîakoro, (Tch.)
Prize,—Astaribê, (Tch.)
Proclaim, to,—Korâva, (Eng.)
Profligate,—Blĕstĕmàto, (M.)
Profit,—Koshtipen, (Eng.)
Profit, to get,—Lelâva kappi, (Eng.)
Proof,—Prûba, (M.)
Prop,—Pikalô, (Psp. M.)
Property,—T'em, zhĕltâ, (M.)
Prosperity,—Bakht, (Tch.)
Prostitute,—Lubni, pirianî, lumnî, nublî, rublî, kelavdì, (Tch.); kûrvâ, (M.); lubni, (M. 8); *See* Harlot.
Prove, to,—Mucuisard'ovâva, (M.)
Proverb,—Povedînka. (M.)
Province,—Dis, (Tch.)
Prudent,—God'avêr, godavêr, (M.)
Prune,—Apûrnes, (Tch.)
Public, (adj.)—Temêskoro, (Tch.)
Public house,—Kitchema, (Eng.)
Pudding,—Gûî, guyi, (Eng.); golli, (Span. Gip.)
Pull, to,—Tardâva, tardrâva, (Eng.); chivâva, (Tch.); cĕrdâva, tĕrĕiâva, (M.); cidâva, chivâva, (M. 7); tradâva, trdâva, varâva, (M. 8)
Pulled off, to be,—Shindovâva, (M.)
Pulpit,—Rashieskey rokkring tan, (Eng.)
Pumpkin,—Gudlô dudûm, (Tch.)
Purchase,—Kinnipen, (Eng.)
Purchasing-day,—Kinnipen-divvus, (Eng.)
Purse,—Kisseh, kissi, putsi, (Eng.); kisî, panlî, baulî, (Tch.); kisi, (M. 7)
Purslain,—Trâvla, (Tch.)
Pursuer,—Plastra-mengro, (Eng.)
Purulent,—Pumbalô, (Tch.)
Pus,—Pumb, (Tch.); rimi, (As. Tch.); phumb, (M. 8)
Push, to,—Shuvâva, (M.)
Put, to,—Chivâva, chivavâva, (Eng.); shuvâva, thoâva, (M.)
Put on, to,—Ĕmprĕzhurisarâva, (M.)
Put in order, to,—Anaskerizava, (Tch.)
Put the horses to, to,—Ĕnzhugisarâva, (M.)
Put down, to,—Biâva, (Tch.)

Q

Quarrel, to,—Chingâva, (Eng.)
Quart measure,—Bânica, (M.)
Queen,—Dakarnî. kralîcha, (Tch.)
Question,—Puchibê, (Tch.)
Quick,—Sig, (Eng.); singô, (Span. Gip.); sigô, singô. tarò, (Tch.); repedûsh, (M.); yito, (M. 7); sigo, (Psp. M., M. 8)
Quickly,—Sĕgo, sĕgu, sĕgû, sêgĕ, (M.)
Quickness,—Sigoibê, (Tch.)
Quiet,—Môlkom, (M.)
Quince,—Haiva, (As. Tch.)

R

Rabbit,—Sheshu, shoshoi, (Eng.); shoshoi, (Hun. Gip.)
Race,—Koshîa, (Tch.)
Race-course,—Nashimescro-tan, (Eng.)
Racer,—Nashimescro, (Eng.)
Rag,—Chandî, kîrpa, ekîrpa, (Tch.); chandi, (M. 7)
Rage,—Kholîn, (Tch.)
Ragged,—Chandilô, (Tch.)
Railroad carriage,—Yag-vardo, (Eng.)
Rain,—Brishen, brisheno, (Eng.); brishên, burshîn, brishindô, (Tch.); varsündi, (As. Tch.); breshino, (Hun. Gip.); brĕshĕnd, brĕshĕn, (M.); brushindô, burshîn, (Psp. M.); brishin, (M.)
Rains, it—Dêla, (Psp. M.)
Rainy,—Brisheneskey, (Eng.); brishindêskoro, (Tch.)
Raise, to,—Tardâva, tardrâva, (Eng.); lâzdâva, (Tch., M. 8)
Raised, to be,—Lazdîniovava, (Tch.)
Raisin,—Porik, (Tch., Psp. M.); chamik, (Tch.)
Rake,—Lokâni, (Tch.)
Rake up, to,—Rĕpĕzĕsard'ovâva, (M.)
Ram, like a,—Berbechîcĕkĕ, (M.)
Ransom, to—Kinâva aley, (Eng.)
Rat,—Kermusô, mishâkos, mushâkos, mussô, mushô, mûssos, (Tch.); mushk, (As. Tch.); (pl. acc.) guzanonên, (M.); kermuso, (M. 7); musho, (M. 8)
Raven,—Chôrĕ; (pl.) kòrbi, (M.)
Ravine,—Lin, ilin, (Tch.); lûhu, (M.)
Reach, to,—Arĕsâva, lâva, ĕnzarâva, (M.); khudâva, (M. 7); resâva, (Tch. M. 8)
Read, to,—Delâva-oprey, (Eng.); drabarâva, chitisarâva, (M.); drabarâva, (M. 7)
Ready,—Gâta, (M.)
Reason,—Gĕndu, (M.)
Reckon, to—Ginâva, (Eng.)
Reckoning,—Ginnipen, (Eng.); nûmĕr, nûmero, numerô, sâma, (M.)
Red,—Lollo, lullo, (Eng.); lolô, (Tch.); lohori, lohri, (As. Tch.); lolô, (M., M. 8., Psp. M.,
Red, to become,—Loliovâva, (Tch.); lol'ovâva, (M.)
Red cloak,—Lolli plaishta, (Eng.)
Red herring,—Lollo matcho, (Eng.)

MISCELLANEA.

SRIPATHA, THE ANCIENT SANSKRIT NAME OF BYANA.

I have published (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 8ff.) two epigraphical instances in which the ancient Sanskrit name of Byânâ, the chief town of the Byânâ Tahsîl or Sub-Division of the Bharatpur State in Râjputânâ, is given as Śrîpathâ.

A third instance is now available in another Byânâ inscription, of which General Cunningham has given a lithograph in *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XX. Pl. xvii. No. 2 (see also *id.* p. 65), and which commences—

Ôm || Siddhiḥ || Saṁvat 1503 varshê Âshâḍha va di 9 Śanau dinê śrî-Śrîpathâyâṁ, &c.

I notice that, at page 61 of the same volume, General Cunningham gives the ancient name of the town as Pathayâmpuri, and adds—"This "I believe to have been the original name of the "place, and also of the present name of Bayâna. "For, by the simple elision of the *th*, Payâmpuri, "or Bayânpur, might easily be shortened to Bayâna." It seems sufficient to add here that no such name as Pathayâmpuri ever existed; it is simply a mistake originating in a total misunderstanding of the locative case *śrî-Śrîpathâyâṁ, puri*, "at the glorious city of Śrîpathâ," in line 6 of the Byânâ inscription edited by me (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 10)

J. F. Fleet.

23rd March 1886.

DR. PETERSON'S EDITION OF THE SUBHASHITAVALI OF VALLABHADEVA.

I came across this book a short time ago at a friend's house; and looked into it because, though not myself a Sanskrit scholar, I take sufficient interest in the subject to be able to read with pleasure, and, I trust, with profit, prefaces of and introductions to such works as this.

In the present instance the Preface consists of pp. i. to ix. Pages i. and ii. on which the learned Professor describes how he has compiled and collated the present work, and how he acquired his coadjutor, are interesting. But from this point onward there is much in respect of which he has laid himself open to serious misapprehension, not to say blame.

On p. iii. he joins issue with Fitz-Edward Hall as to the proper estimate to be formed of Subandhu and "his fellow Asiatics," and concludes with the following appeal:—"It is enough to ask the reader if he finds it difficult to recognize, in the verses that follow, the 'touch of nature'" Here follow a considerable number of passages selected from the extracts forming this volume, which are ingeniously compared with passages taken from works in other languages.

Now, whatever may be the advantage, and I personally can see none, of seeking identic phrases in works of authors separated in time by many years and in distance by many thousands of miles,

it must, I think, be admitted that mere identity of form does not predicate identity of essence. If, however, Professor Peterson, or any one else, derives either profit or pleasure from wandering through such a literary puzzledom, he is fully entitled to enjoy his fancy, so long as he does so in private, or, in public, confines himself to profane authors.

But, in the name of Christianity and of good taste, I feel bound to protest most strongly against the use, for such purposes, of passages taken from the Bible.

My friend gave me literal translations of several of the passages referred to on pp. vi. to ix. of the Preface; and it is certainly only by a considerable stretch of the imagination that Dr. Peterson's etherealized adaptations can be found in the Sanskrit originals.

To two passages I would particularly invite attention. In No. 3487, on p. vii., in the bald words "Worship to Śiva," Dr. Peterson finds a prototype for the opening petition of our Lord's Prayer. I would merely ask him, Does he consider such a comparison to be in accordance with propriety and good taste? Can he find any real point of similarity between the purely heathen Śiva of Hindu mythology, and the Almighty Father of our Christian Religion? No. 3509, on p. viii is another glaring instance of bad taste. It is a complete puzzle to me how any one can possibly identify the mythical nectar of the Hindus with the Water of Life, promised by Our Saviour, and so can find, in the rest of the verse, any analogy to the sublime scene between the dying Christ and the penitent thief.

Possibly such comparisons might be necessary, and even interesting, in a work in which the dogmas of Hinduism are compared with the theology of Christianity. But, in a book which is destined to be a mere text-book for immature schoolboys and irreverent undergraduates, it would have been in better taste had Professor Peterson sought for his analogous passages elsewhere than in the sacred writings of the Christian religion.

It is often charged against us foreigners in India, that we do too little to impress the Natives with any idea that we really believe in the Christian religion. This negative charge is too often well sustained. But I would ask, Is it necessary to add to our sin of omission that of commission?

This work is brought out under the auspices and at the expense of Government. Does our Government, which is nominally a Christian one, exercise any censorship over its educational publications? Does it do anything to prevent our English Bible from being debased into a common school primer, and thereby becoming "a byword among the heathen, a shaking of the head among the people?" When works, with Prefaces of this nature, are issued under official sanction, it is surely time that Government should intervene.

Dr. Peterson will, I trust, not be altogether displeased that he has "drawn a critic's fire" on this part of his work. But, as one who entertains a great admiration for his high abilities, I would ask him in the name of good taste, if on no higher grounds, to cancel pp. vi. to ix. and illustration No. 1059 of his Preface in all future editions, of which I hope there may be many.

G. M. C.

20th May 1886.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE SUBHASHITAVALI of VALLABHADEVA. Bombay Sanskrit Series; No. 30 Edited by Professor PETER PETERSON, B.A., and Pandit DURGAPRASADA, Son of Pandit Vajralala. Bombay; Education Society's Press. 1886. 8vo. pp. ix., 141, 623, and 104.

The thirtieth number of the Bombay Sanskrit Series brings, in the edition of Vallabhadêva's *Subhâshitâvali* and its accompaniments, most important contributions to the history of classical Sanskrit poetry. When I first found this work in Kaśmîr, which through a mistaken confidence in some interpolated passages I attributed to Śrîvara, it struck me at once that a book had come to light which if explored by a competent hand, would yield results as interesting for the student of classical Sanskrit as those gained by Professor Aufrecht from Sârngadhara's extensive *Paddhati*. Want of leisure prevented me, however, from doing more than expressing this view. Later on, the MSS. which I had acquired were sent to Professor Aufrecht, who in an article on the work, published in Professor Weber's *Indische Studien*, corrected my mistake concerning its author, and gave some extracts from it. In the course of his search for Sanskrit MSS. Dr Peterson found two more and, it would seem, better copies. He has now given us, in conjunction with Pandit Durgaprasada of Jaipur, an edition which certainly will be most useful, nay indispensable, to every Sanskritist, both for the critical restoration of many classical texts and for the study of the history of classical poetry.

The text of Vallabha's Anthology is made up of 3527 quotations, culled from the compositions of between three and four hundred different poets. The Editors have not only duly numbered each verse, but have added an alphabetical list

of the *Pratîkas* or opening words of the extracts, and valuable critical and explanatory notes. The names of the authors have been arranged alphabetically in the Introduction; and under each name the *Pratîkas* of the verses, marked with it, have been shown once more. A good deal of interesting information has been added from other sources, especially from various articles by Professor Aufrecht, published in the *Journal* of the German Oriental Society.

This list of poets shews that Vallabhadêva, who was a Kaśmîrian, has chiefly drawn on the literature of his native country and of the northern half of India. Some famous southern poets, such as Daṇḍin, are neglected, probably because their works were as little known to Vallabhadêva as to his countrymen of the present day. More curious is the omission of the great Paramâra Bhôja of Dhârâ, whose less famous descendant, Arjunadêva (Intr. p. 5), has received consideration. The list also shows, as the Editors point out (Intr. p. 114), that the author of the *Subhâshitâvali* cannot be placed earlier than in the first half of the fifteenth century A.D. For he quotes Jônarâja, the author of the *Râjâvali*, and contemporary of Zainulâbuddîn of Kasmîr. Want of space makes it impossible for me to notice all the numerous interesting and important points contained in the Introduction. But I cannot refrain from calling attention to some among them as well as to some passages where I differ from the Editors. Under *Kâlidâsa-Mâghau* (p. 23) the Editors express the opinion that this signature, which is appended to verse 3380, goes to show that a Kâlidâsa and Mâgha wrote at least one joint poem. Without wishing to dispute the possibility of this interpretation, I cannot but point out that the signature may have a very different meaning. It may indicate nothing more than that the same verse occurred in otherwise independent compositions of a Kâlidâsa and of Mâgha. Plagiarism is not unknown in India. In legal literature phrases analogous to the above signature, such as *atrâpi Manu-Dêvalau* or *atha Manu-Vasishṭhau*, refer to identical verses in the separate Smṛitis of Manu, Dêvala and Vasishṭha, while *atha Śaṅkha-Likhitau* indicates the reputed joint composition of the two sages named.

Under Kumâradâsa (p. 25), we have besides the verse from the *Auchityavichâracharchâ*, which contains the pâda quoted in the *Mahâbhâshya*, the very interesting information, attributed to a Râjaśêkhara, that Kumâradâsa wrote a poem entitled *Jânakîharaṇa*, after the composition of Kâlidâsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*. This new information is, I think, extremely important. It probably will greatly help to solve the difficulties, which the agreement of the end of Kumâradâsa's verse with the quotation in the *Mahâbhâshya* has raised. This solution, I think, will not confirm the suspicions, expressed by Dr. Peterson and others against the antiquity of the *Mahâbhâshya*. Eventually, I believe, we shall find that Kumâradâsa is not quoted by Patañjali, but that he has taken the fourth pâda of his verse from the *Bhâshya* and has treated it like a samasyâ.

The list of Kshêmêndra's works (p. 27-28) requires some additions; see S. Lévy, *Journal Asiatique*, Nov.-Dec. 1885, p. 309.

Under Pâṇini, the editors give a *résumé* of all that is known as yet regarding the poet Pâṇini and a recapitulation of the arguments tending to prove his identity with the grammarian. There can be no doubt that the later Hindus have believed in this identity. I cannot say that I am prepared to assert that they must be wrong. I see nothing unreasonable in Dr. Peterson's supposition that Pâṇini may have used, in obedience to the usage of the poets of his day, grammatical forms which his grammar sanctions "*chhandasi*." Nor can I believe that, if the grammarian Pâṇini did write a Kâvya, he must, for that reason, be supposed to have lived in the fourth or fifth Century A.D. The Kâvya literature, and the rules of the Alaṁkâraśâstra, are, in my opinion, much older than is commonly asserted. One of the points, hitherto left out of consideration, is the character of some old inscriptions. The description of king Sâtakaṁṇi in the great Nâsik inscription (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol IV p. 108, No. 18) reads very much like a passage from Bâṇa. It evidently has been composed by a man acquainted with the rules of the Alaṁkâraśâstra, and with a literature based on it. Yet this document belongs, according to those who place it latest, to the first half of the second century A.D.; in my opinion, to the beginning of the first. Considering all things, I am inclined to say regarding the Pâṇini question, with Dr Peterson,—"Let us then wait."

Râjaśêkhara, the dramatist (pp. 100-103), is now pushed back to the middle of the eighth century A.D. One of the arguments put forward by the Editors I would no longer use. I think that it is hazardous to maintain the identity of Kshîrasvâmin, the Commentator of the *Amarakôśa*, with Kshîra, the teacher of Jayâpîḍa (not Jayasiṁha, as the Editors say). In the second argument, the statement that king Mahêndrapâla who was reigning in 761, was Râjaśêkhara's pupil, is based on the date of the Dighwâ-Dubauli Plate published by Mr. Fleet.

ante, Vol. XV. p. 107), I think that it requires further corroboration. A Mahêndrapâla may have reigned at Kanauj in 761 A. D.; but it has not been shown that this king was Râjaśêkhara's Nirbhaya-Mahêndrapâla, the father of Mahîpâla. According to the inscription the sons of Mahêndrapâla were Bhôja II. and Vinâyakapâla.

With respect to Rudraṭa and Ruyyaka Prof. Pichel's new publication "Rudrata's *Sṛiṅgâratilaka* and Ruyyaka's *Sahṛidayalîlâ*" must be compared. Dr. Peterson gains one victory over me. Ruyyaka was certainly also called Ruchaka, a point which I doubted in my view of his Second Report.

In conclusion, I must add that the volume has been most appropriately dedicated to Professor Aufrecht, who has first shown the great importance of the Sanskrit Anthologies. I must also express the wish that future numbers of the Bombay Sanskṛit Series may bring equally handy editions of some of the other unprinted Anthologies.

G. BÜHLER.

I had myself drafted a notice of the above-mentioned book, but have very gladly substituted the one received from Dr. Bühler. In doing so, however, there is one feature in the book, not touched upon by him, as to which I feel myself bound to make some remarks.

I refer to the nature of the Preface. It is unnecessary for me to say much, as I have given insertion above to a letter which shows how the matter strikes an independent observer. But I will add, that I agree emphatically with what the writer of that letter has said, and consider it a matter for, to say the least, extreme regret, that the Scriptural comparisons referred to should have been introduced. If the similarities that are presented could be shewn to exist in reality,—I mean apart from the glamour that is thrown over the Sanskṛit texts by Dr. Peterson's poetical imagination and skill in free translation,—they might form an interesting topic for treatment in a separate special paper or pamphlet. But, in a book like this, which is not concerned in the most remote degree with the subject of Comparative Religion, and is only an ordinary educational text-book that will be used principally in Hindu Schools and Colleges, they are entirely out of place, and should not have been introduced. It is to be hoped that in future editions they will be expunged, both from the Preface and from the Notes (see, for instance, the Notes to Extracts 17, 22, and 225.)

J. F. FLEET.

12th June 1886.

THE SACRED KURRAL OF TIRUVALLUVAR NAYANAR. by the Rev. G. U. POPE, D.D. London: Allen & Co

One of the most interesting works on things Indian is about to be produced by W. H. Allen & Co., the well-known firm of oriental publishers, from the pen of Dr. Pope, already so favourably known for his studies in the Tamil language. The *Kurral* is not only the first work in its own language, but, as "one of the highest and purest expressions of human thought," has also an interest far beyond the ten millions of speakers of Tamil. It is therefore an event of some importance when a scholar entitled to speak with such authority as Dr. Pope undertakes to bring it once more before the European public.

The form in which it is to be given is that of a carefully revised text, accompanied with a metrical version in English, a grammatical excursus, and a complete Lexicon and Concordance. In order also to make the work as valuable as possible, the Latin version of Beschi and the renderings of Ellis are to be added. On the whole, the form of the book is somewhat didactic, and it is indeed an introduction to the poetical dialect of Tamil. But the versified renderings of the original couplets will make it a book that the student of Indian thought will do well to study on that account alone. I would suggest the separate publication of the translation as a work of pure literature and one of no small interest withal. In its present form the book is one rather for the scholar than the general reader.

A work like this has, of course, been a long while on the stocks, and specimens of its style were published in this Journal as long ago as 1878-81 (Vols VII. to X): but it must be understood that it will now be published in a far completer form than in those early specimens.

It is characteristic of an Indian book that it should be without date and anonymous, and the *Kurral* of Tiruvalluvar is no exception to the rule It is in fact nameless as well as anonymous, for *Kurral* really means nothing but 'couplet,' and Tiruvalluvar is a mere title of the priestly teachers of the lowly Parrayas (Pariahs) of Madras Of the author nothing is really known except that he was a weaver and lived at Mayilâpur, that suburb of Madras Town renowned throughout the Christian world as S. Thomé, one of the earliest sites of Christianity in India. From this ancient Christian village came one of the grandest productions of man's brain, much of which bears so strong a resemblance in thought to the *Sermon on the Mount*. It has accordingly been argued ere this, with much show of probability, that the teaching of the Gospel influenced the nameless weaver of Mayilâpur. I would, however, deprecate too

much stress being laid on this fact, and I perhaps sufficiently indicate my reasons by drawing attention to the Buddhist *Khuddaka-Pâtha*, which so clearly reflects the same doctrines.

The *Kurral* is divided into three books, Virtue, Wealth, and Love; and these again, leaving out the introduction, into 8 sections and 129 sub-divisions, embracing really in a series of short stanzas the whole ethics of the daily life, not of any particular race or people, but of mankind generally; though in a truly Indian fashion the last book does not treat of 'love' in a spiritual sense, but as *kâma, i.e.* sensual love. In its own land the *Kurral* owes its popularity as much to the beauty of its versification as to its morality, but it is its breadth of view and its speaking to the heart of man that must make it a favourite with the world at large; and it is undoubtedly these qualities which have made all sects of Hindus in Madras claim the author as their own, just as Hindu and Muhammadan in Northern India alike claimed that other great eclectic weaver, the mediæval reformer, Kabir, feeling that he spoke not to any sect, not to any form of religion even, but to the whole of mankind. As regards the *Kurral* it has so sunk into the hearts of the Tamil people, and so captivated their fancy, that, though composed so long ago (say between 800 and 1000 A.D.), they have preserved it almost intact, repeating it with an infinite variety of commentary indeed, but with a nearly identical textual reading. In this respect it affords a great contrast to the great popular ethical poem of the North, for the *Kabir-Sâgars* vary as the editions.

Ellipsis rules over Tamil poetry, and to such an extent is this the case that the poetical dialect is a thing apart in the language. To this dialect as exhibited in the pure unadulterated diction of the *Kurral*, a complete introduction is to be given in the grammatical remarks, vocabulary and concordance which Dr. Pope will attach to his version. In better hands this part of the subject could not be left.

R. C. TEMPLE.

A COMPENDIUM OF THE CASTES AND TRIBES found in India. By E. J. KITTS, B.C.S. Bombay: Education Society's Press.

This work covers the whole of India, for it includes the important item of the Native States, and the information contained in it is of the latest, being based on the Census of 1881.

In his introduction to this very useful and clear compilation, the author rightly says that "the subject as a whole has indeed been a mighty maze without a plan," and in the six sets of tables, which comprise his *Compendium*, he has endeavoured to supply a bird's-eye view of the entire system of the Castes and Tribes of India, so far as strength and distribution are concerned.

Difficulties, however, soon met him as he proceeded with his task, for the completeness of the various Census Returns in this respect differ enormously. For instance, in Madras minuteness was overdone, while in the North-West Provinces whole castes were omitted from the category. Identification, too, can have been no slight task, what with variations in the matter of transliteration and indeed of actual vernacular spelling and pronunciation of caste names, and the ignorance of compiling clerks and census enumerators, which 'made havoc' with many names. Then again, castes which have wandered have found separate appellations in many places, leading to a host of synonyms by no means easy of detection. The sub-division of castes, too, is a hard nut to crack, and far from being free from controversy, however conscientiously it is tackled.

An enumeration of Mr. Kitts' "Lists" will best show how he has endeavoured to bring out the main facts of the Indian castes as evidenced by numbers and collocation. List I. contains the important castes—*i.e.* those that number 1,000 and upwards or which are found in more than one Province or Native State. List II. contains the small castes, and includes those best to be described as the converse of those entered in List I. List III. shows the synonyms and sub-divisions of the large castes, and List IV. gives them in the order of numerical strength. List V. gives the occupations of the great castes. And List VI. is very important as showing all those that number over 100,000 and their strength whenever they exceed 25,000 in any district, and also as showing the percentage of each caste in any district where it forms more than 10 per cent. of the total population.

It will be seen that these lists are valuable, not only to the ethnological investigator, but also to the politician, if such a term can be applied to those who, in India, have the government of the country in their hands.

Three indices are supplied, (i) to Lists I., II and III.; (ii) to Lists IV. and V.; and (iii) to List VI. and the Lists themselves are so printed as to bring out the facts they refer to as clearly as possible. On the whole, we have no hesitation in saying that Mr. Kitts is to be heartily congratulated in having produced a work which will be of material benefit to all persons interested in the Ethnography of India, and which has materially advanced that study.

The Andaman Islanders, by E. H. Man, Assistant Superintendent, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., etc. London, Trübner & Co.

The Andaman Islanders are to be congratulated in having so indefatigable and capable an officer as Mr. Man placed over them. In this work he has indeed insured them a place in the list of nationalities, a kind office they are badly in want of, for these poor naked savages are, as is the fate of all such, fast disappearing from off the face of the earth before the march of European civilisation.

There is a special interest attaching to the Andamanese. They are a race of coal black pigmies, with woolly hair, consisting of nine tribes closely allied ethnologically and speaking nine languages, differing altogether from each other as such, but of an obviously common origin philologically speaking. Ethnologically they have, like all true races, peculiarities of physical structure proper to themselves, and philologically their language is a special one, showing relationship to no other. They thus stand apart in the world, as it were, and form to the anthropologist a subject of extraordinary interest.

Mr. Man's work is an exhaustive study of these tribes conducted with scientific accuracy of inquiry and systematic care. It ranges over the whole subject of ethnological research, and consists of a series of notes on nearly every conceivable point that can be studied with a view to a proper understanding of a savage race. It is divided into three parts, which may be roughly said to deal with the development of the Andamanese physically, mentally and socially. The work for easy cross reference is divided off into paragraphs, but the index refers to the pages, and it is accompanied by many plates, mostly permanent reproductions of Mr. Man's own photographs. It is further enriched by a *Report of Researches into the Language of the South Andaman Islands*, taken as a model of the whole group, by Mr. A. J. Ellis, F.R.S., late President of the Philological Society, in which its peculiarities are well exhibited. These are that the opposite principles of suffixed and prefixed *grammatical* forms are *both* in full use,—a phenomenon apparently confined to this group,—and the expression of pronominal adjectives by prefixes.—a principle nowhere else so fully developed. Otherwise the language is agglutinative, following the principles common to that class.

The above is but an imperfect sketch of this remarkable work, which is not only a model of ethnological research but also of unusual [illegible]

Vedachrestomathie. Herausgegeben und mit einem Glossar versehen von A. Hillebrandt. Berlin 1885.

In the German Universities where Sanskṛit is mainly studied for general philological purposes, more attention is paid to the Vedic language than to that of the later classical and post-classical literature: and several exclusively Vedic chrestomathies have of late appeared, to be used as text-books at the professional lectures. Delbruck led the way in 1874: the texts selected by him (from the *Rigvêda* only) are accompanied by footnotes and a glossary. Professor Windisch brought out, in 1883, twelve *Rigvêda* hymns with Sâyana's commentary and a glossary to it, with a view to familiarizing the student with the Hindu system of interpreting the *Vêda*. Anyone who has grappled with the peculiar difficulties which the method and diction of the commentators present to the learner, will be able to appreciate the services rendered by the Professor as a guide on that rugged path. The most recent manual is the *Vedachrestomathie* by Professor A. Hillebrandt, of Breslau, which gives not only 39 hymns, or portions of hymns, of the *Rigvêda*, but also twelve taken from the *Atharvavêda*, passages from the *Śatapatha* and *Aitarêya-Brâhmaṇas*, and a chapter from the *Chândôgya-Upanishad*, with the necessary complement of a full glossary. The editor, who has for many years almost exclusively been engaged on Vedic research, and is now bringing out, in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, an edition of the *Śâṅkhâyana-Śrautasûtra*, has already made his mark by several valuable monographs on Vedic mythology and ritual (on the goddess Aditi, 1876; on Varuṇa and Mitra, 1877; on the new and full moon sacrifices of the ancient Hindus, 1880). We hope to meet him again in a field of Indian scholarship which he has been cultivating with such zeal and signal success.

Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Subdialects of the Bihari Language. Part V the South Maithili Dialect By G. A. Grierson, B.C.S. Calcutta: Secretariat Press.

The first four of these Grammars were reviewed at length in our last volume by Mr. Beames, and it is sufficient now to welcome the issue of the fifth. The South Maithili Dialect comprises the speech about South Darbhangâ, North Mungêr and the Mâdhepurâ Sub-Division of Bhâgalpur. The grammar before us is compiled with the same minuteness and the same care that has so distinguished its predecessors. The language differs from that of Northern Maithili by its more flexible form and more convenient phonetic development.

THE HISTORY AND DATE OF MIHIRAKULA.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

ONE of the most important dates in early Indian history, is that of king M i h i r a k u l a, the son of the well-known Tôramâṇa of the inscription on the Boar at Êraṇ in the Central Provinces. The importance of it is two-fold. In the first place, as it is a generally accepted fact that he was a persecutor of the Buddhists at the time when the patriarch Siṁha was killed, his date should give us a very satisfactory means of testing the accuracy of the Chinese accounts of that period. And in the second place, as, after his Indian career, he became king of Kaśmîr, it should give us also a very safe starting-point for the adjustment, backwards and forwards, of the chronology of the early kings of that country, as recorded in the *Râjataraṁgiṇî.*

Until a recent discovery was made, his name, so far as epigraphical records go, was preserved for us only in the Gwâlior inscription, discovered by General Cunningham,[1] which, after the mention of T ô r a m â ṇ a in line 2 f., proceeds—

Tasy=ôdita-kula-kîrttêḥ
putrô=tula-vikramaḥ patiḥ prithvyâḥ I
Mihirakul-êti-khyâtô=
bhaṅgô yaḥ Paśupatim ⏑ — — II

"Of him, the fame of whose family has risen high, the son (*is*) he, of unequalled prowess, the lord of the earth, who is renowned under the name of M i h i r a k u l a, (*and*) who, (*himself*) unbroken, [broke the power of] P a ś u p a t i."[2] Dr. Rajendralal Mitra. who originally edited this inscription, had read the verse somewhat differently, and translated—"Unto him, of the renowned race, was born a son of unrivalled prowess, named Paśupati, the lord of the earth, and the most distinguished of the solar race."[3] This, which has remained the standard reading and translation up to the present time, led to the inscription being always quoted as one of Paśupati, the son of Tôramâṇa. And,—though when, in January 1884, I first saw the original stone, I recognised at once that it contained the name of M i h i r a k u l a, and not simply a reference to the solar race,—I took it to be a secondary title of Paśupati, a king whose existence is proved by his copper coins, which are found in the country round Gayâ and Benares, and even up to 'Narwar' and Gwâlior,[4] and which bear his name in characters of just the same type as those of the Gwâlior inscription. Relying to a great extent upon the apparently safe deduction from the Chinese records,[5] that the patriarch Siṁha was killed A.D. 472, in the time of Mihirakula,—my theory was, that Mihirakula overthrew the Early Gupta kings; that Tôramâṇa came in his train, and subsequently, on the overthrow of Mihirakula, established his own power; and that his son was Paśupati, who was also named Mihirakula in memory of his father's former sovereign. And it was only in the course of writing the present paper that I came to see that the Chinese record cannot be interpreted as giving the date of A.D. 472 for the death of Siṁha, or is incorrect, if it gives that date, and if his death really did occur in the time of Mihirakula; and that Tôramâṇa, so far from being a mere follower, was the father and predecessor of the great Mihirakula himself. This will explain the double-struck coins, published by Dr. Hoernle in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIV. Part I. Proceedings, p. 4 ff. The Tôramâṇa of these coins must be the father of Mihirakula, not, as was thought at the discussion of them, the later Tôramâṇa of Kaśmîr; and I feel sure that a re-examination of these coins will shew that in every case the name and emblems of Mihirakula lie over those of Tôramâṇa.

Setting aside this unrecognised epigraphical record, and another of quite recent discovery that I shall notice below, M i h i r a k u l a's

[1] *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III. No. 36, Plate xxiiiB.

[2] I am unable to supply the damaged *aksharas* after *paśupatim*: but it is plain that they contain an antithesis to (*a*)*bhaṅgaḥ*, 'without breaking; unbroken.'

[3] *Jour. Beng. As. Soc* Vol XXX p. 267ff.

[4] *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIV. p. 115ff.; and *Archæol Surv. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 96.

[5] *viz.* from the *Fù-fâ-tsâṅ-yin-yuen-chin* (No. 1340 in Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*: Clarendon Press Oxford) translated by Chi-chiâ-ye, together with Thân-yâo, A D. 472. of the Northern Wei dynasty, A D. 386-534 It is a history of the succession of twenty-three patriarchs, from Mahâ-Kâśyapa to the *Bhikshu* Siṁha, with whose name it ends.—I do not know how the year A.D. 472 is fixed, and whether this book mentions the death of Siṁha. But the possible period of its translation seems to run down to A.D. 534, which is exactly what is wanted if Siṁha was slain by Mihirakula.

name was known to us only in its transliterated form of *Mo-hi-lo-kiu-lo*, and in its translation, Ta-tso,[6] in the writings of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang; and, apparently, as *Mi-lo-kieu*, a mutilation of the full transliterated form, in the notes of Hwui Wuh Tai-Sse on Wong Pu's *Memorials of Śâkya-Buddha Tathâgata.*

The connection of Mihirakula with the death of Siṁha, Siṁhalaputra, or Âryasiṁha,—who was according to some accounts the twenty-third Patriarch, and according to others the twenty-fourth, in succession after (and exclusive of) Śâkya-Buddha,—rests upon Hwui Wuh Tai-Sse's notes or commentary on the 179th paragraph of the *Memorials of Śâkya-Buddha Tathâgata,* the text of which was written by Wong Pu about the middle of the seventh century A.D. Mr. Beal tells me that Siṁha's name in Chinese is Sz-tsz; and that this is not a phonetic representation of some such name as "Sitsi," as he originally understood it, but a literal translation of the Sanskrit *siṁha*, 'a lion.' Substituting Sz-tsz and Siṁha for the original Sse-tsen and Sitsi of Mr. Beal's translation, we read[7]—"179. The end almost was the appearance of the flowing blood (milk.)[8]—*Notes.* In the order of transmitting the law in India, the twenty-fourth patriarch was the venerable Sz-tsz (Siṁha). He was dwelling in Ki-pan-kwo (Kipan, according to Rémusat is Kandahar" [Gandhâra, or Gàndhâra]. "Knowing the calamities which impended, and from which he could not escape, he delivered the garment and the *gâthâ* to his disciple Po-sz-to Ayushmat (Bashiasita), and said, 'I know there are calamities impending. You must, therefore, go to another country to practise renovàtion (or, to undergo transmutation; *i.e.* to die.)' After this, the heretics increasing in power by flattering the king *Mi-lo-kieu* (? for *Mo-hi-lo-kiu-lo. i.e.* Mihirakula), the kings lost the true faith, overturned the law, destroyed the temples, and murdered Sz-tsz (Siṁha). The waves of the 'Peh-ü' (the Śvêtî, or Subhavastu) rose several feet, owing to the massacres of people. This was the end of the transmission of the law in that country."

Hiuen Tsiang's account of Mihirakula is given in connection with his notice of the ancient town of Śâkala[9] (*She-kie-lo*), fourteen or fifteen *li* to the south-west of the capital of the kingdom of Ṭakka (*Tseh-kia*), which bordered, to the east, on the river Vipâśâ (*Pi-po-che*), the modern Biyas, and, to the west, on the river Sindhu (*Sin-tu*), the modern Indus. It is, in brief, as follows:[10]—

Some centuries[11] before the period (A. D. 629-45) when Hiuen Tsiang was on his Indian travels, there was a king named Mihirakula (*Mo-hi-lo-kiu-lo*),[12] who established his authority in the town of Sâkala, and ruled over India. He desired, in his leisure moments, to study the law of Buddha. But, becoming enraged with the Buddhist priests, because they appointed, instead of one of themselves, a mere household servant to enlighten him, he issued an edict to destroy all the priests throughout the five Indies; to overthrow the law of Buddha; and to leave nothing connected with it remaining. At this time there was a king of Magadha (*Mo-kie-t'o*) named Bâlâditya (*P'o-lo-'o-t'ie-to*; explained by Yeou-jih[13]), who profoundly honoured the law of Buddha. Hear-

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[6] This, however, is a mis-translation (see Beal in *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I. p. 167, note 6): since the Chinese editor explains it by "great tribe or family," which represents a Sanskrit *mahâkula*; whereas the first component of the name, *mihira*, means 'the sun.'—Hiuen Tsiang must in some way or other have confused *mihr* (*mihira*) with *mîr*, 'emperor, prince, lord, governor, chief, leader: head of a family.'

[7] *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, F. S., Vol. XX. p. 203f.

[8] "If the expression used refers to the whiteness of the river Śvêtî or Śubhavastu (the white river), then the text would be "the appearance of the river."—referring to its rising a foot, owing to the massacres. Vid. the commentary, and Jul. II. 197."—Śubhavastu is not, as far as I can find, a dictionary or Purânic word. But it is accepted as the name that is intended by Hiuen Tsiang's transliteration *Su-p'o-fa-su-tu*; and it is identified with the Vedic Śvêtî and the modern Swât river (*e.g. Buddh. Rec West. World*, Vol. I. pp. 120, and note 4, 122 and note 12, and 126, note 24.)—J. F. F.]

[9] Identified by Gen. Cunningham (*Anc. Geogr. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 179ff) with the modern Sâṅgalawâlâṭibbâ in the Pañjâb, in the 'Jhang' District, and on the borders of 'Gujrânwâlâ.' It is the 'Sangla Hill, G. T. S., of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 30, Lat. 31° 42' N., Long. 73° 26' E., about forty-four miles west by north of Lahor.—The word *ṭibbâ* means 'a rising ground, a height.'

[10] Beal's *Buddh. Rec. West. World* Vol. I. p. 166ff., and Stanislas Julien's *Hiouen Thsang*, Vol. II. p. 190ff.

[11] So also Julien—'Plusieurs centaines d'années avant l'époque actuelle.'—There must, however, be some mistake here, either by Hiuen Tsiang, or by his translators. I would suggest that his original text perhaps has "more than a century."

[12] The transliterated form of his name occurs only here: throughout the rest of the narrative the translation, Ta-tso, is used.

[13] *lit.* 'the young son,' or 'the rising sun.'—The transliterated form of his name occurs only here: throughout the rest of the narrative, the translation, Yeou-jih, is used.

ing of the cruel persecution and atrocities of Mihirakula, he strictly guarded the frontiers of his kingdom, and refused to pay tribute. Mihirakula raised an army to punish his rebellion. And then Bâlâditya, knowing his renown, and thinking that he himself could not withstand him, wandered with large numbers of his followers through the mountains and deserts, and hid himself in some islands.[14] Mihirakula committed his army to his younger brother, and himself embarked[15] to go to attack Bâlâditya. But he and his troops were caught and surrounded in the narrow passes; and Mihirakula was captured alive, taken into the presence of Bâlâditya, and condemned to death for his crimes. Bâlâditya's mother, who was of wide celebrity on account of her vigorous intellect and her skill in casting horoscopes, expressed a wish to see Mihirakula once before his death, as she had heard that he was of remarkable beauty and vast wisdom. Mihirakula was brought into her presence, and, after some persuasion, was induced to uncover his face, which, during his interview with Bâlâditya, he had steadfastly kept hidden under his robe. On beholding his face, the king's mother said—"My son is well-favoured; he will die after his years are accomplished. . . . . . I gather from his air that he will be the king of a small country; let him rule over some small kingdom in the north." Eventually Bâlâditya,—moved by his mother's words, and her representation that it was right to forgive crime and to love to give life, and that, if he slew Mihirakula, for twelve years he would have the sight of his pale face before him,—pardoned Mihirakula, gave him in marriage to a young maiden, and treated him with extreme courtesy. Then Mihirakula assembled the troops he had left, increased his escort, and departed from the islands. Meanwhile, Mihirakula's younger brother, who had been left in command of the army when Mihirakula set out to attack Bâlâditya, had gone back and established himself in the kingdom. Mihirakula, having thus lost his royal estate, concealed himself in the isles and deserts, and finally went northwards to Kaśmîr (*Kia-shi-mi-lo*), and sought an asylum there. The king of Kaśmîr received him with honour, and, in pity, gave him a small territory and a town to govern. But, after some years, Mihirakula stirred up the people to rebellion, and placed himself on the throne. After this, Mihirakula made an expedition to the west, against the kingdom of Gandhâra (*Kien-t'o-lo*). He took the king in ambush and killed him; exterminated the royal family and the chief minister; overthrew the *stûpas* and destroyed the *saṁghârâmas*; and slew large numbers of the people by the side of the river Sindhu (*Sin-tu*). Then he took the wealth of the country that he had destroyed, assembled his troops, and returned. But before the year was out he died; and, at the time of his death, there was thunder and hail and a thick darkness, and the earth shook, and a mighty tempest raged. And the holy saints said, in pity,—"For having killed countless victims and overthrown the law of Buddha, he has now fallen into the lowest hell, where he shall pass endless ages of revolution."

The *Râjataraṁgiṇî* (i.; Calcutta edition, lines 291 to 329; French edition, verses 289 to 326) takes up his history from the time when he became king of Kaśmîr, and gives an emphatic account of his cruelty and evil deeds. Except, however, for the hint unconsciously given in the mention of the invasion by the Mlêchchhas, it treats him as a native hereditary king of the country. Thus, after Hiraṇyâksha[16] (line 289), there came his son Hiraṇyakula, who reigned for sixty years (l. 290); and after him, his son Mukula,[17] who reigned for the same period. And then, when the country was overrun by a Mlêchchha tribe,[18] there came his son Mihirakula, who was of cruel deeds and resembled Kâla or Death (in destructiveness) (l. 291); in whom

[14] Julien has simply "sur des îles" (Vol II. p. 192), and, three lines further on, "s'embarqua pour aller attaquer" Beal gives respectively "in the islands of the sea" (Vol. I. p. 169), and "embarked on the sea," but without any remarks as to this important addition concerning *the sea.*—It is difficult to see how Mihirakula and Bâlâditya can have had anything to do with the sea. And the text seems plainly to refer only to up-country islands of the Ganges, *i.e.* to a part of the country intersected by several branches of the Ganges, or tributaries of it; especially as, just before, Bâlâditya had announced his intention of concealing himself "among the bushes of the morasses" ("au milieu des marais").

[15] Or "engaged himself;" see the preceding note

[16] In the *Râjataraṁgiṇîsaṁgraha*, he is called simply Hiranya (*Hiraṇyâkhyô mahîrâjaḥ*).

[17] In the *Râjataraṁgiṇîsaṁgraha*, he is called Vasukula.

[18] *Mlêchchha-gaṇâkîrṇê maṇḍalê.*

the northern region possessed another Antaka or Death, thus rivalling the southern region, the regent of which is Antaka (l. 292); whose approach was always heralded by the flights of vultures, crows, &c., that flew before him, eager to devour those who were being slain by his troops (l. 293); who was a very ghoul of a king, surrounded day and night by thousands of slaughtered beings (l. 294); and who had no pity or respect for children or women or aged men (l. 295).—One day he noticed that the breasts of his queen, who wore a muslin bodice from Siṁhala or Ceylon, were marked with golden foot-prints. Burning with wrath, he questioned the chamberlain, and was told that, in the Siṁhala country, it was customary to impress the material with the stamp of the king's foot. This explanation failed to appease him; and he set out on a campaign as far as the southern ocean, and slew the king of Siṁhala (ll. 297-300).—Instead of him, he set up another king, of cruel disposition; and he brought away a woven cloth called *yamushadêva*, stamped with an image of the sun (ll. 296-301).—On his way back, he overthrew the Chôla, Karṇâṭa, Nâṭa, and other kings, whose ruined cities announced their defeat to those who flocked into them on his departure (ll. 302, 303).—As he came to the "gate" of Kaśmîr, he heard the terrified cries of an elephant that had fallen into a chasm; and the sounds gave him such exquisite pleasure, that he caused a hundred other elephants to be wantonly destroyed in the same way (ll. 304, 305).—"As the touch of the sinful defiles the body, so does a description of them defile the speech; accordingly, all his other evil deeds are not detailed, lest they should pollute (the narrator)" (l. 306).—"But who can fully comprehend the behaviour of men whose minds are uncultivated, and who do unexpected deeds?; for even he made an assumption of religion, for the sake of acquiring merit" (l. 307). Thus, evil-minded as he was, he installed the god Mihirêśvara[19] at Srînagarî, and in Hôlâ he built a great city named Mihirapura (l. 308); and he gave *agrahâras* to Brâhmaṇs of the Gândhâra country, of Mlêchchha birth, Dâradas, full of sin, the lowest of the twice-born, resembling himself in character, who shamelessly cohabited with their own sisters and daughters-in-law; who sold their wives for lucre; and whose women, through being enjoyed by others than their lawful husbands, had become as shameless as themselves (ll. 309-313).—At length when he, a very Bhairava[20] incarnate, had reigned for seventy years, he became afflicted with much disease, and immolated himself in the flames; and a voice from the sky was heard to proclaim that, though he had slain three crores of people, yet he had attained final emancipation, in consequence of the disregard that he had shewn for his own sufferings also (ll. 314, 315).—There are some people who consider that he made amends for his cruelty, by his gifts of *agrahâras*, and similar deeds. And, even when the country was overrun by the Dârada priests, Mlêchchhas by birth, of impure rites, and all (the national) religion was destroyed, yet he insured the maintenance of pious observances. And he firmly established the countries of the Âryas, and then performed a terrible penance, ordaining, as expiation for his sins, the burning of himself; in accordance with which he bestowed a thousand *agrahâras* at Vijayêśvara on Brâhmaṇs born in the Gândhâra country, and then gave his body to the flames, on a pyre which was a flat plank studded with razors, swords, and bows, and thus atoned for all his cruelty (ll. 316-321).—Others, however, say that he acted as he did in order to destroy the Khaśas, who had become powerful when the city was burned by the Nâga[21] (l. 322).—As a final instance of his cruelty, one day, when he was descending into the river Chandrakulyâ, his way was blocked by a large rock that could not be uprooted and removed. Having performed penance, he was told by the gods in a dream that a powerful Yakshas dwelt in the rock, performing the austerities of a Brâhman, and that the obstacle could be removed only by the touch of a chaste woman. Next day he declared his dream, and

[19] Evidently a form of Îśvara or Śiva, combined with the Sun.

[20] One of the most terrible and cruel forms of the god Śiva.

[21] The reference is to *Râjataraṅginî*, i. 247-263, relating how Nara I., who built a city on the banks of the Vitastâ, became enamoured of Chandralêkhâ, the wife of a Brâhman named Viśâkha, and the daughter of the Nâga Suśravas;—how, failing in his attempts to seduce her, he sought, also in vain, to compel her by force to yield to his desires;—and how the Nâga Suśravas took vengeance for the insult, by burning down the city and destroying the king in the conflagration.

had it put to the test; but no woman was found who could prevail against the rock, until a potter's wife, named Chandravatî, touched it and displaced it. Whereupon, filled with anger, he caused three crores of women to be slain, with their husbands and brothers and sons (ll. 323-328).—In short, he behaved altogether in such a way, that it was only the power of the gods, who caused him to do such things, that prevented his subjects from rising of one accord and slaying him (l. 329).—When at length he was destroyed, a certain son of his, named Vaka (l. 334), of good behaviour, was anointed king by the people. He, though born from one who had grievously afflicted them, gave them happiness; and then religion returned, as if from the other world, and security came back, as if from exile in the depths of the forests (ll. 330-333).

In addition to the introduction of Gândhâra Brâhmaṇs into Kaśmîr, which is amply supported by Hiuen Tsiang's account of the invasion of the Gândhâra country by Mihirakula, we have, in the above narrative of the *Râjataraṁgiṇî*, the reminiscence of two distinctly historical occurrences.—The first is contained in the statement that Mihirakula's accession to the throne of Kaśmîr was at a time when the country was overrun by a Mlêchchha or foreign tribe. Mihirakula's name itself is sufficient to shew that he was a foreigner, not a Hindu. I lay no stress upon the fact that the first component of it, *mihira*, 'the sun,' is a word imported into the Sanskrit from a Persian source. But the second component, *kula*, if taken as a Sanskrit word in its meaning of 'a family,' makes up altogether a name, which,—though it might be accepted as a perfectly good Sanskrit appellation for a tribe, family, or dynasty, as meaning "the family of the Sun, or of the Mihiras,"—is an impossible proper name of an individual.[22] This is a point which, I think, must be clear to any one. But, if any doubt should be felt, Mihirakula's coins, which come in large numbers, in copper, from the neighbourhood of Râwalpiṇḍî and from Kaśmîr, suffice to remove it. I have had the advantage of examining those in General Cunningham's collection, and I found them to give two varieties of his name, Mihirakula, and Mihîragula; out of twenty-two of the best specimens, ten gave the termination as *gula*. What the termination *kul* or *gul* may mean, I must leave Persian scholars to decide. But there can be no doubt that his name, as preserved by Hiuen Tsiang, and in the *Râjataraṁgiṇî* and the inscriptions, is simply the Sanskṛitised form of a foreign word *mihrkul*, which, in the sense of a certain kind of cotton cloth, actually does occur in the *Aîn-i-Akbari*.[23] Further, on his coins, his name as Mihirakula is coupled with the Hindu title *Śrî*; whereas the other form, Mihîragula, is coupled with the purely foreign name or title of *Shâhi*.[24] And this not only stamps him decisively as a foreigner, but also enables us to determine precisely the tribe to which he belonged. In the first place, this title directly connects him with Vâsudêva, who also used it in earlier times; *e.g.* in his inscription[25] of the year 87. And Vâsudêva, again, is directly connected with Kanishka and Huvishka by, amongst other things, his use, in his inscription[26] of the year 44 (?), of the title of Dêvaputra or Daivaputra, which is also used by Huvishka in his inscriptions[27] of the years 39 and 47. Mihirakula, and his father Tôramâṇa, therefore, belonged to this same race, which,—whether best and most properly known as Indo-Scythians, Śakas, Hûṇas, Turushkas, Shâhis, or Daivaputras,—had established themselves in the Pañjâb at an early date, and continued in power down to at least the time of Samudragupta, as is evidenced by the record, in the Allahâbâd pillar inscription, that in the north he overthrew, amongst others, the Daivaputras, Shâhis, and Shâhânushâhis. And this explains why we find Śâkala, in the Pañjâb, given by Hiuen Tsiang as Mihirakula's capital. The statement, therefore, of the *Râjataraṁgiṇî*, that Mihirakula's

[22] And equally so the names of Hiranyakula and Mukula or Vasukula.

[23] Blochmann's translation, Vol. I. pp. 95, 617.

[24] Only the second syllable, *hi*, actually falls within the edges of the specimens examined by me. But other coins of the Kaśmîr series give the complete word *shâhi*, and leave no doubt that this was the title on the Mihiragula dies.—The same explanation, and not that it is a coin of Hiraṇya, has to be applied to No. 8 of the coins published by Dr. Hoernle in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIV. Part I. p. 4ff.

[25] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 35, and Pl. xv No. 18.

[26] *id.* p. 32, and Pl. xv. No. 8.

[27] *id.* pp. 32, 33. and Pl. xiv. Nos. 9 and 12.

accession to the throne of Kaśmîr took place at a time when the country was overrun by a Mlêchchha tribe, is historically correct; though it embodies only half the truth, in omitting to add that Mihirakula himself was one of these Mlêchchhas. And the invasion took place, of course, from the south, from India itself, when, on his dismissal by Bâlâditya, Mihirakula sought to re-occupy his own throne, but found himself ousted by his unnamed younger brother.

The other historical reminiscence of the *Râjataraṁgiṇî* is contained in the account of Mihirakula's invasion of Siṁhala or Ceylon. As applied to Ceylon the story is not only improbable to a degree, but impossible. In the *Mujmalu't-Tawârîkh*,[28] however, exactly the same story is told in connection with Mihirakula and king 'Hal' of Sindh, who allowed none of the fine fabrics made in his country to be exported, unless they bore the mark of the imprint of his foot. When Mihirakula found his queen wearing some of this stuff, he sent for the merchant from whom she had purchased it, and, on ascertaining the particulars from him, took an oath to invade Sindh and to cut off the foot of king 'Hal.' In vain his minister represented that Sindh was the country of the Brâhmaṇs, and that it would be impossible to triumph over it. Mihirakula would listen to no expostulations, and set out with his army. King 'Hal,' finding himself unable to resist, consulted his Brâhmaṇs, who advised him to have an elephant made of clay or mud, and to place it at the head of his forces. The elephant was fashioned so that fire came out from it, and consumed many of the soldiers in the vanguard of Mihirakula's army. At length Mihirakula was obliged to consent to terms of peace. But he fulfilled his oath, by fashioning a waxen image of king 'Hal,' and cutting off one of its feet. He then set out, at first embarking on the river Indus, and then, as the waters rose, marching along its banks, to return leisurely to his own country, building temples, towns, and cities, as he went. But, hearing that Kaśmîr had been attacked by his enemies, he hastened his return, and drove them out. After him, concludes this narrative, his authority passed to his children, whom all the people of India obeyed.—All this account is reasonable enough. And the reference of these incidents by the *Râjataraṁgiṇî* to an invasion and conquest of Ceylon, is probably due to a real historical invasion and attempted conquest of Sindh, confusedly mixed up, as Mr. Beal has suggested to me, with the name of the patriarch Siṁha or Siṁhalaputra, who was slain in the religious persecutions of the same period.

A final point, worthy of note, in the narrative of the *Râjataraṁgiṇî*, is the statement that, even when (the national) religion was destroyed, Mihirakula insured the maintenance of pious observances, *i.e.* evidently of those habitual to the country. This is confirmed and illustrated by other characteristics of his coins, which shew clearly his religious or sectarian tendencies, both foreign and Hindu. Nine of the coins examined by me, with the Sanskrit legend *Śrî-Mihirakula* on the obverse, have, as the principal symbol on the reverse, a bull, the emblem of Śiva and the Śaiva worship; coupled in seven cases with the legend *Jayatu vṛisha*[*ḥ**], "victorious be the bull." Another leading symbol of his coins is an eight-rayed sun or planet, usually with a periphery or circle round it; this appears on the obverse of three of the same set of coins, and in two instances on the reverse, below the fore-feet of the bull. And a third leading symbol is the crescent moon, which occurs in eight instances on the same set on the reverse, over the back of the bull. Also, two coins of the same set, and one of the set that has the Sanskritised foreign legend *Shâhi-Mihîragula*, have on the obverse a standard, the top of which is either the eight-rayed sun, or a crescent moon, or perhaps a *triśûla*, another emblem of the Śaiva faith. Probably throughout his career Mihirakula adhered in person to his own national and hereditary solar worship; and indications of this are given in the *Râjataraṁgiṇî*, in the god established by him at Vijayêśvara, and the city built by him in Hôlâ, both having names be-

[28] Reinaud's *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, p. 42ff. I owe this reference, which I had overlooked, to the kindness of Dr Bühler.—In this narrative, Mihirakula is not mentioned by name, but is only spoken of as "the king of Kaśmîr." There can be no doubt, however, that, as was recognised by M. Reinaud, it is Mihirakula who is referred to.

ginning with *mihira*, 'the Sun'; and in his bringing back, from Ceylon according to the narrative, the *yamushadêva*-cloth, stamped with an image of the Sun. At the same time, that he did encourage the national Hindu religion, is indicated very plainly by the Śaiva emblem of the bull, with its legend, on some of his coins, as noted above.

Before entering on the question of Mihirakula's date, it will be necessary to notice here some additional information that Hiuen Tsiang gives us about his antagonist, Bâlâditya of Magadha; since part of it, at any rate, has been used in an attempt to fix the date of Bâlâditya, and, through him, of Mihirakula. In his account of the kingdom of Magadha (*Mo-kie-t'o*),[29] the Chinese pilgrim tells us that, not long after the *nirvâṇa* of Buddha,[30] a former king of this country,[31] named Śakrâditya (*Shi-kia-lo-'o-t'ie-to*), a Buddhist, built a *saṁghârâma* at Nâlanda.[32] His son and successor was king Buddhagupta (*Fo-t'o-kio-to*),[33] who built another *saṁghârâma* on the south of the above After this, king Tathâgatagupta (*Ta-tha-kie-to-kio-to*) vigorously practised the former rules of his ancestors, and, east from this, built another *saṁghârâma*. King Bâlâditya (*P'o-lo-'o-t'ie-to*) succeeded to the kingdom, and built a *saṁghârâma* on the north-east side; and also, in the same neighbourhood, a great *vihâra*, three hundred feet high.[34] And his son Vajra (*Fa-she-lo*) came to the throne in succession, and built a *saṁghârâma* on the west side of the convent.

A somewhat different account is given in the *Life* of Hiuen Tsiang,[35] which makes, of these five kings, a direct lineal succession of father and son. According to this, if Śakrâditya is really to be placed not long after the *nirvâṇa* of Buddha, Bâlâditya must be placed not more than a hundred years or so after that same event; *i e.*, at the very latest, somewhere about B.C. 375. This, however, even in respect of the earliest date that has been proposed for Mihirakula,—that of A.D. 180, by Mr. Fergusson,—is at least nearly five hundred years too early; since there can be no doubt that Bâlâditya, the fourth of these kings, is the person who successfully resisted the attack of Mihirakula.

Either, therefore, we must look upon the regular genealogical succession, given in the *Life*, as an amplification, and an erroneous one, of Hiuen Tsiang's original account, which asserts no connection (except that they were rulers of the same kingdom) between, in the first place, Buddhagupta and Tathâgatagupta, and, in the second place, Tathâgatagupta and Bâlâditya. Or, as in the case of the "some centuries ago" to which Hiuen Tsiang appears to refer Mihirakula, we must look upon him, or his editors, as wrong in allotting to Śakrâditya so early a period as "not long after the *nirvâṇa* of Buddha."[36] In the former case, we may, without objection, accept Śakrâditya and his son Buddhagupta as belonging really to a very early period, and remain, at the same time, free to increase the intervals between Buddhagupta and Tathâgatagupta, and the latter and Bâlâditya, to any extent that may be necessary; looking upon the whole account as simply commemorating the names of five more or less disconnected kings of the country, who had specially signalised themselves by the erection of certain famous buildings. But, whether all these five kings succeeded each other as father and son, or not, the second supposition seems the more pre-

[29] Beal's *Buddh. Rec. West. World*. Vol. II. p. 168ff; Julien's *Hiouen Thsang*, Vol. III. p. 41ff.

[30] So also Julien—"Peu de temps après le nirvâṇa du Buddha."

[31] But, according to Julien, the *first* king of the country,—"premier roi de ce royaume."

[32] Śakrâditya's *saṁghârâma*, and Bâlâditya's *vihâra* or *stûpa*, are also mentioned Hwui Lun, as reported by I-tsing (*ante*, Vol. X pp. 111, 192).

[33] In a note on the date of Bâlâditya (*Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol I p. 168, note 9), Mr. Beal has confused this Buddhagupta with the Budhagupta of the Éran inscription. So also did Mr. Fergusson, who, in treating of these two names, wrote—"I do not think the difference of spelling here indicated of any importance. Hiouen Thsang's name was translated first from Sanskrit into Chinese, and from Chinese into French, and might easily have been more changed in the process" (*Jour. R. As. Soc*, N. S. Vol. IV. p 118, note 4.)—The two names, however, are utterly distinct, and belong to totally different persons. In respect of the king mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang, we are not dependent on the correctness of the restoration in the French (or English) translation. Hiuen Tsiang gives, as the first component of this name, the well-known *Fo-t'o*, which he uses so habitually for Buddha, the teacher, the holy Śâkya-Tathâgata, and in respect of which he could not possibly be mistaken. Whereas, in respect of the king mentioned in the Éran inscription, the metre, as well as the perfect clearness of the reading, shews as conclusively that the first component of that name is Budha, the planet Mercury Sanskrit scholars will recognise at once the thorough difference between the two names

[34] *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. II. p. 173f.

[35] Julien's *Hiouen Thsang*, Vol. I. p. 149f.

[36] In the *Life*, Śakrâditya is called an "ancient king" of the country, and is simply placed vaguely "after the *nirvâṇa* of Buddha," without any hint as to whether he came shortly, or a long while, after that event.

ferable of the two; for, as General Cunningham has pointed out,[37] the total silence of Fa-hian regarding any of the magnificent buildings at Nâlanda, leads us to infer that they must all have been built after A.D. 410. This, however, is a matter that we must look to Mr. Beal to clear up, in his forthcoming translation of the *Life* of Hiuen Tsiang; and I have noticed it in passing only because of the use which, in his attempt to fix the date of Mihirakula and Bâlâditya, Mr. Beal has made, as noted below, of the name of Buddhagupta, the second of these kings.

The dates that have been proposed for Mihirakula and Bâlâditya are (1) by the late Mr. Fergusson,[38] A.D. 180 to 200; (2) by General Cunningham,[39] during the century from A.D. 450 to 550; and (3) by Mr. Beal,[40] A.D. 420.—Mr. Fergusson based his date on the opinion, which he then held but afterwards abandoned, that the reign of Kanishka ended A.D. 21; coupled with the statement of the *Râjataraṁgiṇî*, that twelve reigns intervened between Kanishka and Mihirakula.—General Cunningham's date was based partly on Fa-hian's silence regarding Bâlâditya's *saṁghârâma* and the other buildings at Nâlanda; and partly on the similarity of the architectural style of Bâlâditya's temple with that of a temple near the *Bôdhi*-tree at Bôdh-Gayâ, which, he had already shewn,[41] must have been built about A.D. 500.—And Mr. Beal based his date (*a*) upon his erroneous identification[42] of the Buddhagupta of Hiuen Tsiang's account with the Budhagupta of the Êraṇ inscription; which, coupled with his adoption of the theory that the Gupta era commenced A.D. 190, gave for Buddhagupta the date of A.D. 349 to 368, and for his "grandson" Bâlâditya a period fifty years later; (*b*) on the fact that, in Fa-Hian's time (A.D. 399-414), Buddhism was still flourishing, and there were five hundred *saṁghârâmas* in the neighbourhood of the Swât river; whereas in Hiuen Tsiang's time all the convents were ruined and desolate; which shewed that Mihirakula's persecution, during which Siṁha was killed, must have taken place at any rate after that period; (*c*) on the concurrent testimony of the Chinese accounts, which state that a life of Vasubandhu, the twenty-first patriarch, was written by Kumârajîva in A.D. 409, and that a history of the patriarchs, including Siṁha,[43] was translated in China in A.D. 472; and (*d*) on the fact that the twenty-eighth patriarch, Bôdhidharma, was certainly alive in A.D. 520, as he arrived in China, from South India, in that year; which, allowing one hundred years for the four patriarchs between him and Siṁha, brought us again to A.D. 420, the period already arrived at on grounds (*a*) and (*b*).

The real date, however, of Mihirakula and Bâlâditya,—with, of course, the margin of a few years either way,—is now fixed with certainty by the duplicate pillar inscription of Yaśôdharman, from Mandasôr, which I publish at page 253ff. below.

This inscription records that this powerful king Yaśôdharman had worship done to his feet by king Mihirakula, "whose forehead was pained through being bent low down by the strength of his arm, in the act of compelling obeisance;" *i.e.* that he subjugated Mihirakula. And, as another Mandasôr inscription, published by me at page 222 ff. above, has already given us the date of Mâlava-Saṁvat 589 (A.D. 532-33) expired, for Yaśôdharman, we now know very closely the time of the overthrow of Mihirakula's power in at any rate Western and Central India.

As regards the beginning of his reign, we have only to notice that Mihirakula's Gwâlior inscription is dated in his fifteenth year. Considering all that he did subsequently in Kaśmîr and Gândhâra, it will be admitted that this date must be very near the end of his Indian career. His fifteenth year, therefore, must fall somewhere about A.D. 532-33, the recorded date of Yaśôdharman; and in all probability a year or two before it. And we shall probably be very near the mark indeed, if we select A.D. 515 for the commencement of his career.

[37] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 30.

[38] *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., Vol. IV. pp. 95, 102. 116, 117; and *Tree and Serpent Worship*, second edition, p. 265.

[39] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol I. p. 30.

[40] *Buddh. Rec. West. World.* Vol. I p. 119, note 1, and p. 168. note 9

[41] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 7f.

[42] See p. 251 above, note 33.

[43] See page 245 above, note 5. What we require to know is whether this account includes the death of Siṁha: and, if so, how A.D. 472 is arrived at for its translation.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

By J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

(*Continued from p.* 228.)

No. 164.—MANDASOR PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF YASODHARMAN.

This is another inscription from Dasôr or Mandasôr,[1] the chief town of the Mandasôr District of Scindia's Dominions in the Western Malwa Division of Central India. With the inscription of Kumâragupta and Bandhuvarman, No. 162 above, page 194ff., it was discovered in 1884, in consequence of information given by Mr. Arthur Sulivan; and it is now published for the first time. Like the following inscription, No. 165, it is on one of a pair of magnificent monolith columns, apparently of very close-grained and good sandstone, lying in a field immediately on the south side of a small collection of huts, known by the name of Sôdaṇi or Sôndaṇi, but not shewn in the maps as a separate village, between two and three miles to the south-east of Mandasôr.

The column with the present inscription lies partially buried, north and south, with the top to the north. The base of it is rectangular, about 3′ 4″ square by 4′ 5″ high; and, as there is no socket at the bottom to indicate that it was fitted into any masonry foundation, this part must have been buried when the column stood upright. From this base there rises a sixteen-sided shaft, each face of which is about 8½″ broad where it starts from the base; part of the shaft, about 17′ 0″ in length, is still connected with the base, making the length of this fragment about 21′ 5″; and the present inscription, occupying five of the sixteen faces, is on this fragment, the bottom line being about 2′ 2″ above the top of the base. Immediately in continuation of this, there lies the remainder of the shaft, about 17′ 10″ long, at the upper end of this, the faces are each about 7″ broad, shewing that the column tapers slightly from bottom to top. The upper end of this fragment is flat, with a round socket projecting from it: which shews these two fragments make up the entire shaft, the total length of which was thus about 39′ 3″, or 34′ 10″ above the base. This column appears to have broken naturally in falling, and not to have been deliberately divided, as the other column was, in the manner described below. The next part of this column, the lower part of the capital, lies about forty yards away to the north, close up to the hedge of the hamlet, and is a fluted bell, about 2′ 6″ high and 3′ 2″ in diameter, almost identical in design with the corresponding part of a small pillar from an old Gupta temple at Sâñchi, drawn by General Cunningham in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. Plate xxii. No. 1. In the bottom of it there is a socket-hole, about 11″ in diameter, answering in size to the socket on the top of the shaft; and on the top there is a projecting socket. About twenty-five yards south of this, and fifteen yards north of the column, I found a flat stone buried in the ground, just level with the surface; and, on excavating it, it proved to be the next portion, the square upper part of the capital. It measures about 2′ 8″ high by 3′ 10″ square, with the vertical corner edges trimmed off. I could not get at the bottom of it; but there must be there a socket-hole, answering to the projecting socket on the top of the bell-shaped part that came below it. I only exposed one side of it; but this was sufficient to shew that it is a lion-capital, exactly like the capital of the other column, noticed more fully below. On the top surface of it, there is in the centre a circular socket-hole about 11½″ in diameter and 4″ deep, with eight other rectangular socket-holes round it, one in the centre of each side, and one opposite each corner. The total length of this column, up to the top of the lion-capital, is about 44′ 5″ or forty feet above the ground, if it stood with the entire base buried. The square lion-capital must have been surmounted by a statue or statues, of the same kind as that which stands on the summit of the pillar at Èraṇ which has Budhagupta's inscription on it;[2] but I cannot feel sure of having found it. I found, indeed, in the same field, towards the west

[1] See page 194 above, and note 1.

[2] See *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 81, and Plate xxvi.

side, in three pieces, a very well executed sandstone bas-relief slab, 9′ 0″ high, with a rectangular pedestal 3′ 2″ broad by 1′ 8″ deep and 8″ high, of a male figure, standing, somewhat larger than life-size, wearing a *kirîṭa* or high head-dress, with necklace and armlets, and draped from the waist downwards, with a small figure standing by the right leg. And close by this there were, in two pieces, the *kirîṭa* and the head and shoulders of another figure of the same size, evidently a duplicate of the above. Unless, however, there were some intervening parts that have been altogether lost, these slabs cannot belong to the columns, since their pedestals have no sockets to fit into the socket-holes on the tops of the lion-capitals.[3]

The other column, with the fragmentary duplicate copy of this inscription, No. 165 below, page 257f., stood, as is shewn by the present position of its base, about twenty yards north of the column that I have just described. When overthrown, it fell east and west, with the top towards the west. The base is rectangular, about 3′ 3″ square by 3′ 11″ high. Differing from the first column, the base here is followed by a concave circular part, about 1′ 0″ high. From this there rises a sixteen-sided shaft, each face of which is about 8″ broad where it starts from the base. But the portion of the shaft that remains attached to the base is only about 1′ 1″ long; and a row of chisel-marks all round the column here shews that it was deliberately broken by the insertion of wedges. The next piece of the column,—or rather a remnant of it, as it is broken vertically, and part of it has been lost,—lies about three yards to the north of the base, and parallel with it, but in an inverted position, with the upper end to the east. This piece is about 9′ 0″ long; and the remnant of the duplicate inscription is here, on two of the faces; the bottom line of it being about 2′ 9½″ above the square base. The next piece of the shaft is missing altogether, and is supposed to be entirely buried somewhere in this field. The remainder of the shaft, about 6′ 9″ in length, lies, almost entirely buried, a few yards to the west of the portion including the base and the commencement of the shaft. Each face here is about 7″ broad at the top; shewing that this column also tapers slightly from bottom to top. The top of this fragment is flat, with a round socket projecting from it; which shews that we have here the end of the shaft. Immediately west of this fragment, there lies the fluted bell part of the capital, about 3′ 0′ high and 3′ 3″ in diameter, similar in design to the same part of the capital of the other pillar. In the bottom of it there is a socket-hole, about 11″ in diameter, answering in size to the socket on the top of the shaft; and on the top there is a projecting socket. Immediately to the west of this there lies, upside down and partially buried, the next portion of the capital, the square upper part, measuring about 3′ 0″ high and 3′ 10″ square, with the vertical corner edges trimmed off. The bottom, and one entire side and parts of two others, are exposed; and enough is visible to show that each side consists of a bas-relief sculpture of two lions each sitting on its haunches and facing to the corner, where it merges into the corresponding corner lion on the next side,[4] with the head of a conventional *siṁha* or mythological lion in the centre, over the backs of the lions. In the bottom of this stone there is a socket-hole, about 10½″ in diameter, answering to the projecting socket on the top of the bell-shaped part that came just below it. And I dug under one of the corners of the top enough to find there a rectangular socket-hole, which justifies us in assuming that the top has one circular and eight rectangular socket holes, just as in the top of the lion-capital of the first column. As in the case of the first column, I cannot feel sure of having found the statue or statues which must have stood on the top of it.

About fifty yards away to the west of these two inscribed columns, in the next field, I turned up the lower part of another sandstone column. The base is rectangular, about 3′ 6″ high by 3′ 4″ square. The shaft, of which only a length of about 2′ 0″ remains attached to the base, is circular, about 3′ 4″ in diameter; and, instead of being plain like the two inscribed columns, it is carved all

[3] There are some similar bas-relief slabs set up in a group under some palm-trees in another field, about fifty yards away to the east from where the inscribed columns lie: but these, again, do not appear to belong to the columns.

[4] Compare the lions on the upper part of the square portion of the capital of the Eran pillar.

over with cross-lines into diamond-shaped knobs. I had the field excavated all round this column, but could find no traces of the rest of the shaft, or of the other parts of it. From its different pattern it can have no connection with the other two columns.

The two inscribed columns were evidently intended as a pair, though the full measure of the second cannot be taken. From the distance between them; from the difference in the detailed measures; and from the analogous instance of the Êraṇ pillar, as shewing the way in which they must have been finished off at the top,—they can hardly have been connected by a beam, after the fashion of a *tôraṇa* or arched gateway; and there are no traces of any temple with which they can have been connected. They are evidently an actual instance of two *raṇastambhas* or "columns of victory in war," such as the Miraj plates[5] of Jayasiṁha III. of Śaka-Saṁvat 946 speak of, as having been set up by the Râshṭrakûṭa king Karkara or Kakka III., and as having then been cut asunder in battle by the Western Châlukya king Taila II.

To return to the inscription on the first column,—the writing, which covers a space of about 3′ 2½″ broad by 1′ 2½″ high, has suffered a good deal from the weather, and, owing to the difficulty of obtaining lights and shades, partly in consequence of the letters being rather shallow, and partly because of the natural light colour of the stone, it is rather difficult to read on the original column; but, in the ink-impression and the lithograph it can easily be read with certainty throughout.—The size of the letters varies from ¼″ to ⅜″. As in the case of the Mandasôr inscription of Yaśôdharman and Vishṇuvardhana, No. 163 above, page 222 ff., the characters belong to the North India class of alphabets. The rather rare lingual *ḍh* occurs in *upagûḍhân*, line 4; and the separate form of the lingual *ḍ*, as distinct from the dental *d*, in *samrâḍ=iti*, line 3, and *chûḍâ*, lines 5 and 6. In *vîrya*, line 4, and *sâmantair=yasya*, line 5, we have the optional method, according to the northern alphabets, of writing *r* in conjunction with a following *y* in this period.—The language is Sanskṛit; and, except for the two words at the end, recording the engraver's name, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the *upadhmânîya* in *śikhariṇaḥ=paśchimâd*, line 5; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś*, in *aṅśu*, line 5, and *vaṅśa*, line 8; and before *s*, in *têjâṅsi*, line 1, and *pâṅsu*, line 3; (3) the doubling of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *âkkrânti*, line 4; *chakkra*, line 7; *mâttra* and *yattra*, line 3; *anyattra*, line 6; and *nâyitô=ttra*, line 7; but not in *kriyantê*, line 5, and *śatru*, line 1; and (4) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *addhyâsinî*, line 4.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of a powerful king named Y a ś ô dh a r m a n,[6] who is evidently identical with the Yaśôdharman of the Mandasôr inscription of Mâlava-Saṁvat 589, No. 163 above, page 222 ff., and whose dominions are here described as including the whole of the northern part of India, from the river Lauhitya, or the Brahmaputra, to the Western Ocean, and from the Himâlayas to the mountain Mahêndra.[7] We have an important allusion in the statement that he possessed countries which not even the G u p t a s and the H û ṇ a s could subdue; and a still more important record, in connection with the general history of the period, to the effect that homage was done to him by even the famous king M i h i r a k u l a. It is not dated. But Yaśôdharman's date is now known from the Mandasôr inscription of Mâlava-Saṁvat 589 (A.D. 532-33) expired, No. 163 above, which

[5] *ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 16.

[6] Having regard to the frequency with which, in the period of this inscription, *varman* occurs as the termination of proper names, and to the rarity of *dharman*,—there might be some temptation to suggest that Yaśôdharman should be corrected into Yaśôvarman. But the *dh* is very distinct here, and again in the same name in line 8 below, and in the corresponding place in line 8 of the remnant of the original duplicate copy of this inscription. No. 165 below; and again in the same name in line 4 of the inscription of the Mâlava year 589, No. 163 above, page 224.—The form *dharman* is not of frequent occurrence. But we do meet with it in other proper names; *e.g.* Kṛitadharman, Kshattradharman, Kshêmadharman, and Jayadharman. And it also occurs in ordinary composition; *e.g.* in *Manv-âdi-praṇîta-vidhi-vidhâna-dharmmâ*, in line 5 of the Mâliyâ plates of Dharasêna II. of the year 252 (*ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 161); and in *têjôbhir=âditya-samâna-dharmmô*, in line 29 of a Kauthêṁ grant of Vikramâditya V. of Śaka-Saṁvat 930 (unpublished).

[7] It is doubtful whether this denotes here the famous Mahêndragiri or Mahêndrâchala in the Gañjâm District, among the Eastern Ghauts: or another mountain of the same name, not so well known, which appears to be mentioned also in line 2 of an earlier Nâsik inscription of the nineteenth year of Siri-Puḷumâyi (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. No. 14. pp. 108. 109), and must be located somewhere in the Western Ghauts.

mentions him and Vishṇuvardhana; and the present inscription, having been engraved by the same person, Gôvinda, must fall within a few years on either side of that date. The object of it is to record the erection of the column for the purpose of reciting the glory and power of Yaśôdharman; and,—since the present tense is used almost throughout, and also verses 7 and 8 speak of the column as being set up by Yaśôdharman himself,—the inscription must be one of his own time, not posthumous.

TEXT.[8]

1 Vêpantê[9] yasya bhîma-stanita-bhaya-samudbhrânta-daityâ digantâḥ śriṅg-âghâtaiḥ Sumêrôr=vvighatita-ḍrishadaḥ kandarâ yaḥ karôti । ukshâṇaṁ taṁ dadhânaḥ kshitidharatanayâ-datta-pañch-âṅgul-âṅkaṁ drâghishṭhaḥ Śûlapâṇêḥ kshapayatu bhavatâṁ śatru-têjâṁsi kêtuḥ ॥

2 Avi[illegible]bhût-âvalêpair=avinaya-paṭubhir=llaṅghit-âchâra-mârggair=mmôhâd=aidaṁyugînair=apa-śubha-ratibhiḥ pîḍyamânâ narêndraiḥ । yasya kshmâ Śârṅgapâṇêr=iva kaṭhina-dhanur-jyâ-kiṇ-âṅka-prakôshṭhaṁ bâhuṁ lôk-ôpakâra-vrata-saphala-pari-spanda-dhîraṁ prapannâ ॥

3 Nindy-âchârêshu yô=smin=vinaya-mushi yugê kalpanâ-mâttra-vṛit[t*]yâ râjasv=anyêshu pâṁsushv=iva kusuma-balir=nn=âbabhâsê prayuktaḥ । sa śrêyô-dhâmni samrâḍ=iti Manu-Bharat-Âlarkka-Mândhâtṛi-kalpê kalyâṇê hêmni bhâsvân=maṇir=iva sutarâṁ bhrâjatê yattra śabdaḥ ॥

4 Yê bhuktâ Gupta-nâthair=nna sakala-vasudh-âkkrânti-drishṭa-pratâpair=nn=âjñâ Hûṇ-âdhipânâṁ kshitipati-mukuṭ-âddhyâsinî yân=pravishṭâ । dêśâṁs=tân=dhanva-śaila-[illegible]-ga(ga)hana-sarid-vîrabâh-ûpagûḍhân=vîry-âvaskanna-râjñaḥ sva-gṛiha-pari-[illegible]-âvajñayâ yô bhunakti ॥

5 [illegible] Lauhity-ôpakaṇṭhât=tala-vana-gahan-ôpatyakâd=â Mahêndrâd=â Gaṅg-âślishṭa-sânôs=tuhinaśikhariṇaḥ=paśchimad=â payôdhêḥ । sâmantair=yasya bâhu-draviṇa-hṛita-madaiḥ pâdayôr=ânamadbhiś=chûḍâratn-âṁśu-râji-vyatikara-śabalâ bhûmi-bhâgâḥ kriyantê ॥

6 [illegible]=ânyatra yêna praṇati-kṛipaṇatâṁ prâpitaṁ n=ôttamâṅgaṁ yasy=âślishṭô [illegible] vahati himagirir=durgga-śabd-âbhimânam । uchchais=tên=âpi yasya [illegible]-bhuja-bal-âvarjjana-klishṭa-mûrddhnâ chûḍâ-pushp-ôpahârair=Mmihirakula-[illegible]-rchchitam pâda-yugmam ॥

7 [illegible]=âdalaṁ [illegible] vigaṇayitum=iva jyôtishâṁ chakkravâlaṁ nirddêsh-[illegible]gam=uchchair-dd[illegible]iva iva sukṛit-ôpârjjitâyâḥ sva-kîrttêḥ । tên=â-[illegible]-âvadhir=avanibhujâ śrî-Yaśôdharmmaṇ[11]=âyaṁ stambhaḥ stambh-[illegible]-sthira-bhuja-parighêṇ=ôchchhritiṁ nâyitô=ttra ॥

8 [illegible] charitam=agha-haraṁ dṛiśyatê kântam=asmin=dhar-[illegible]=âyaṁ [illegible]=châlati niyamitaṁ n=âmunâ lôka-vṛittam [1*] ity=[illegible] likhitum=iva Yaśôdharmmaṇaś=chandra-bimbê râg[illegible]= [illegible] uchchair-bhuja iva ruchimân=yaḥ pṛithivyâ vibhâti ॥

9 [illegible] tasya nṛipatêḥ puṇya-karmmaṇaḥ । Vâsulên=ôparachitâḥ ślôkâḥ K[illegible] Utkîrṇṇâ Gôvindêna ॥

TRANSLATION.

[illegible] long banner of (the god) [illegible] the glory of your enemies:— [illegible]) which bears (the marks of) [illegible] marked by the five fingers ([illegible] then) placed on him by (Pârvatî) the daughter of the mountain (Himâlaya), who causes the distant regions, in which the demons are driven wild with fear by (his) terrible bellowings, to shake; (and) who makes the glens of (the mountain) Sumêru to have their rocks split open by the blows of his horns!

(L. 2.)—He, to whose arm, as if to (the

[8] From the ink-impression
[9] Metre Sragdharâ; and in the next seven verses.
[10] See page 255 above, note 6.
[11] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).
[12] Nandi or Nandin, the vehicle of Śiva

Mandasor Pillar Inscription of Yasodharman.

J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

SCALE .40

W. GRIGGS. PHOTO-LITH

arm) of (the god) Śâriṅgapâṇi,—the fore-arm of which is marked with callous parts caused by the hard string of (*his*) bow, (*and*) which is steadfast in the successful carrying out of vows for the benefit of mankind,—the earth betook itself (*for succour*), when it was afflicted by kings of the present age, who manifested pride; who were cruel through want of proper training; who, from delusion, transgressed the path of good conduct; (*and*) who were destitute of virtuous delights :—

(L. 3.)—He who, in this age which is the ravisher of good behaviour, through the action simply of (*his good*) intentions shone gloriously, not associating with other kings who adopted a reprehensible course of conduct,—just as an offering of flowers (*is beautiful when it is not laid down*) in the dust;—he in whom, possessed of a wealth of virtue (*and so*) falling but little short of Manu and Bharata and Alarka and Mândhâtṛi, the title of "universal sovereign" shines more (*than in any other*), like a resplendent jewel (*set*) in good gold :—

(L. 4.)—He who, spurning (*the confinement of*) the boundaries of his own house, enjoys those countries,—thickly covered over with deserts and mountains and trees and thickets and rivers and strong-armed heroes, (*and*) having (*their*) kings assaulted by (*his*) prowess,—which were not enjoyed (*even*) by the lords of the G u p t a s, whose prowess was displayed by invading the whole earth, (*and*) which the command of the chiefs of the H û ṇ a s, that established itself on the tiaras of (*many*) kings, failed to penetrate :—

(L. 5.)—He before whose feet chieftains, having (*their*) arrogance removed by the strength of (*his*) arm, bow down, from the neighbourhood of the (river) Lauhitya up to (the mountain) Mahêndra,[13] the lands at the foot of which are impenetrable through the groves of palmyra-trees, (*and*) from (Himâlaya) the mountain of snow, the table-lands of which are embraced by the (river) Gaṅgâ, up to the Western Ocean,—by which act (*all*) the divisions of the earth are made of various hues through the intermingling of the rays of the jewels in the hair on the tops of (*their*) heads :—

(L. 6.)—He by whom (*his*) head has never been brought into the humility of obeisance to any other save (the god) Sthâṇu;—he, through the embraces of whose arms, (Himâlaya) the mountain of snow carries no longer[14] the pride of the title of being a place that is difficult of access;—he to whose two feet respect was paid, with complimentary presents of the flowers from the hair on the top of (*his*) head, by even that (*famous*) king M i h i r a k u l a, whose forehead was pained through being bent low down by the strength of (*his*) arm in (*the act of compelling*) obeisance :—

(L 7.)—By him, the king, the glorious Y a ś ô d h a r m a n, the firm beams of whose arms are as charming as pillars, this column, which shall endure to the time of the destruction of the world, has been erected here,—as if to measure out the earth; as if to enumerate on high the multitude of the heavenly lights; (*and*) as if to point out the path to the skies above of his own fame, acquired by (*his*) good actions;—(this column) which shines refulgent, as if it were a lofty arm of the earth, raised up in joy to write upon the surface of the moon the excellence of the virtues of Y a ś ô d h a r m a n, to the effect that—"His birth (*is*) in a lineage that is worthy to be eulogised; there is seen in him a charming behaviour that is destructive of sin; he is the abode of religion; (*and*) the (*good*) customs of mankind continue current, unimpeded (*in any way*) by him."

(L. 9.)—From a desire thus to praise this king, of meritorious actions, (*these*) verses have been composed by Vâsula, the son of Kakka. (*This eulogy has been*) engraved by Gôvinda.

No. 165.—MANDASOR DUPLICATE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF YASODHARMAN.

This is the remnant, mentioned above, of the original duplicate copy of the inscription of Yaśôdharman on the second inscribed column at M a n d a s ô r, described at page 254 above.

The writing, which covers a space of about 1′ 1″ broad by 1′ 2″ high, is in some respects in a state of rather better preservation than the entire copy; but nearly three-quarters of the full inscription is lost here, through the column having cracked vertically and part of it being now not forthcoming.—The size of the letters varies from $\frac{1}{4}$″ to $\frac{3}{8}$″.—This

[13] See page 255 above, note 7.

[14] To complete the sense, we must apparently supply, in connection with *vahati*, the negative particle *na* from the first *pâda* of the verse.

inscription appears to have been in all essential details an exact reproduction of the copy that has been preserved entire, No. 164 above. In respect of palæography and orthography, we have to notice, as far as the record goes, just the same points as in that inscription; and also the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *śattru*, line 1, where it is not doubled in the preceding inscription.

The names of Mihirakula and Yaśôdharman are very legible in lines 6 and 7: but the passage mentioning the Guptas and the Hûṇas has been lost in this copy; and also that which gives the boundaries of Yaśôdharman's dominions. A translation of the fragment is not given, as the contents of it are fully explained by the translation of the entire copy above.

TEXT.[15]

1 . . . . [da]tta[16]-pañch-âṅgul-âṅkaṁ drâghishṭhaḥ Śûlapâṇêḥ kshapayatu bhavatâṁ śattru-têjâṁsi kêtuḥ ||
2 . . . . jy[â]-kiṇ-âṅka-prakôshṭhaṁ bâhuṁ lôk-ôpakâra-vrata-saphala-parispanda-dhîraṁ prapannâ ||
3 . . . . [Â]larkka-Mândhâtṛi-kalpê kalyâṇê hêmni bhâsvân=maṇir=iva sutarâṁ bhrâjatê yattra śabdaḥ ||
4 . . . . [vî]ra-bâh-ûpagûḍhân=vîry-âvaskanna-râjñaḥ sva-gṛiha-parisar-âvajñayâ yô bhunakti ||
5 . . . . pâdayôr=ânamadbhiś=chûḍâratn-âṅśu-râji-vyatikara-śabalâ bhûmi-bhâgâḥ kriyantê ||
6 . . . . [âvar]jjana-klishṭa-mûrddhnâ chûḍâ-pushp-ôpahârair=Mmihirakula-nṛipêṇ=ârchchitaṁ pâda-yugmaṁ ||
7 . . . . [śrî]-Yaśôdharmmaṇ[17]=âyaṁ stambhaḥ stambh-âbhirâma-sthira-bhuja-parighêṇ=ôchchhritiṁ nâyitô=ttra ||
8 . . . . [Yaśôdha]rmmaṇaś=chandra-bimbê râgâd=utkshipta uchchair-bhuja iva ruchimân=yaḥ pṛithivyâ vibhâti ||
9 . . . . [Ka]kkasya[18] sûnunâ || Utkîrṇṇâ Gôvindêna ||

DISCURSIVE CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ASIATIC SYMBOLISM.

BY H. G. M. MURRAY-AYNSLEY.

VII.

Snake Worship.

Snake-worship is still to be found in India throughout the length and breadth of the land, from Nâgakovil (Temple of the Snake) in the extreme south to the frontiers of Central Asia;[1]—in fact, almost wherever there is a Hindu population, either its actual presence, or its former existence may be seen or traced.

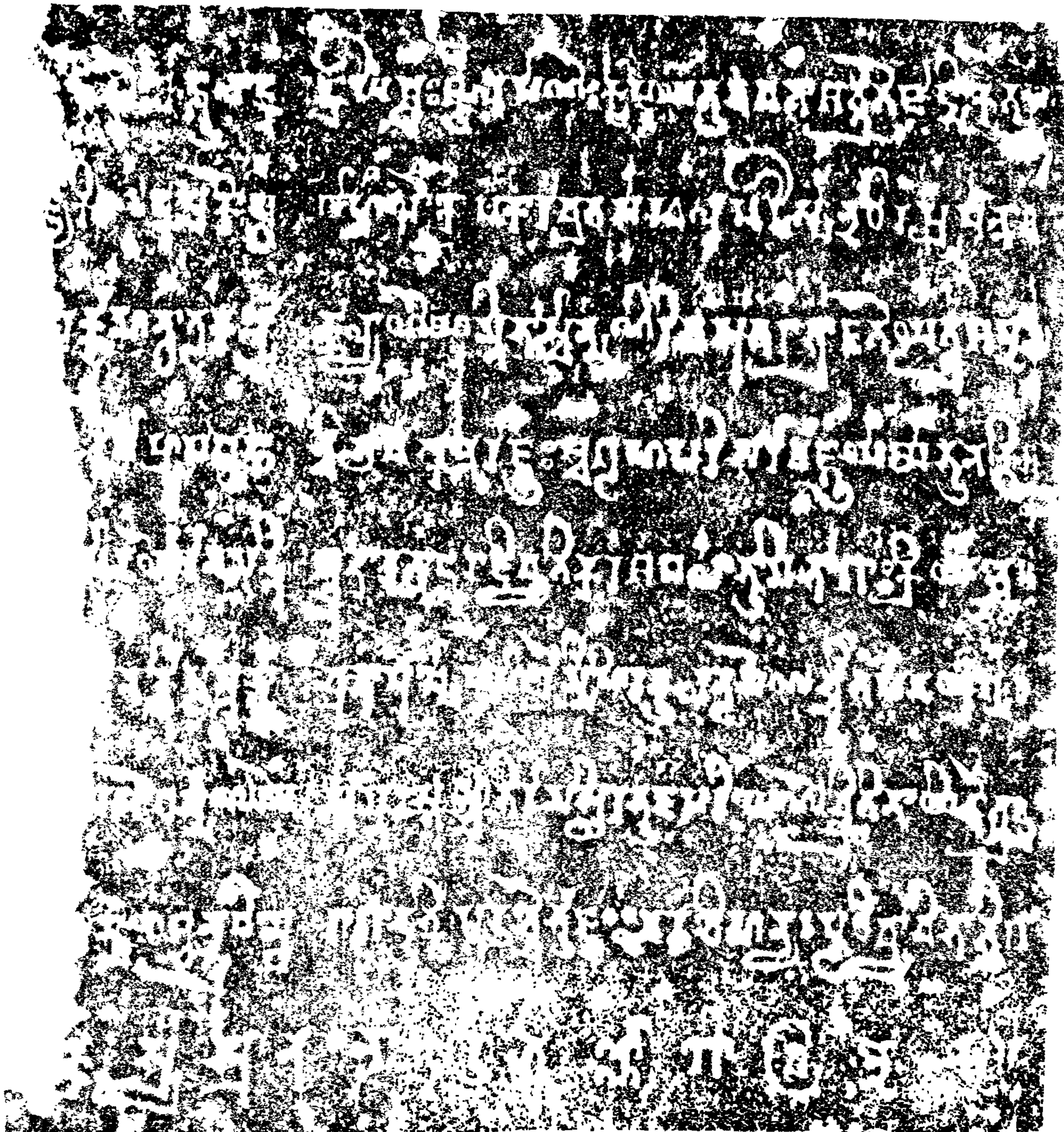
Commencing at the extreme north we find that the earliest form of religion in Kaśmîr is supposed to have been Nâga- or Snake-worship, since when Buddhism, Hinduism, and then again Nâga-worship are said to have prevailed in the Valley. At the time of its conquest by Akbar in 1558 A.D., Abu'l-fazl relates that there were no less than 700 different places there, where images of snakes were worshipped by the inhabitants, against 134 temples dedicated to Śiva, 64 to Vishṇu, 22 to Durgâ, and 3 to Brahma; a statement which is borne out by the character of the architecture of the valley as we now see it: for, with very few exceptions, all the most ancient temples have been devoted to Serpent-worship.[2]

It seems highly probable that the *parâk* or head-dress worn by the women in Ladâk (who

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[15] From the ink-impression.
[16] Metre, Sragdharâ; and in the next seven verses.
[17] See page 255 above, note 6.
[18] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).
[1] The word for snake abides in the names of many places in the Himâlayas; *e.g.* Nâg-marg (Snake Alp or Pasture) near Śrînagar, and Nâg-kanda (Shoulder of the Snake) a hill summit about 40 miles north of Simlâ.
[2] Some of them stand in courts capable of being flooded, and were entered by means of stone causeways, but the drains have become choked up: they cannot now be approached except by wading. The temple at Pandrathan near Śrînagar is a case in point. Mr. Fergusson is of opinion that the temple at Mârtand also belonged to the sect of the Nâgas or Snake-worshippers, though others have thought that it was dedicated to the Sun.

Mandasor Duplicate Pillar Inscription of Yasodharman.



J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S. SCALE .50 W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

are Buddhists) should be by rights held to be a remnant of Serpent-worship in the Himâlayas. This ornament has precisely the form of a cobra, the extremity of the tail being fastened to the hair on the forehead and the broad flat head of the snake descending behind to the waist of the wearer. It is usually made of leather, covered with rough pierced turquoises and brooches of gold or silver, according to the wealth or social position of the wearer; but every woman, however poor, possesses a *parâk* of some kind.

Passing on southward we find that a special feast is held for one day in the year at Benares in honour of the Serpent-god near the Bakariyâ Kuṇḍ in a suburb of that city, and some of the forms in which the Serpent is there sculptured are given in Plate XVI. figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5. Fig. 6 is placed beside them for the sake of comparison; the type is the same, but it was found on a stone in the interior of a dolmen within a tumulus on Gavr Innis, an island off the South Coast of Brittany.

In Southern India proper we find that in Coorg, the cobra is still regarded with much fear, and the spots (*națás*) on which a cobra is believed to have died,[3] are carefully walled round, under the impression that were any one unwittingly to tread on such a spot he would be a doomed man.

As regards the neighbouring State of Maisûr, Nâga or Snake-worship appears to be now on the increase. It is believed to have existed there in very ancient times,—and to have then died out to arise again of late years, as in Kaśmîr. This theory is supported by the facts that no traces of it are to be found amongst the rich sculptures, which adorn the old temples at Bêlûr and Haḷêbîḍ in that State, and that all the Nâga sculptures appear to be comparatively modern work. The only signs of Snake-worship in the temple at Bêlûr, which belongs to the Vaishṇavas, and has no snake emblems upon it, are two Serpents of very inferior modern work, carved upon a stone in the courtyard. At Haḷêbîḍ the Snake is only found in subordinate positions on the twin-temples, which belonged to the Śaiva sect, *viz.*, on the stylobate of a porch where the gods are represented churning the sea with a huge snake as the rope in order to obtain *amṛita*,[4] and on one of the bands of carving on the exterior where Śiva is seen holding a Nâga Mûdamma[5] on his left arm.

In Bangalore and other places in the Maisûr State, this Nâga Mûdamma seems to be regarded as a sort of tutelary saint, and at the entrances to villages there may commonly be seen by the road-side a kind of pedestal, on which are fixed three large upright slabs of gneiss (see Plate XV. figs. 3, 4, and 5). On the centre one is Nâga Mûdamma, and on one of the slabs on either side is a representation of the Five-headed or the Seven-headed Nâga: on the other are two serpents entwined as in the well-known *caduceus* of (Hermês) Mercury. General Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, Preface, identifies this last with the oldest form of Buddhism, and says it is but a symbol of *dharma*, or nature deified. Again, some of the sculptures from the Buddhist remains at Amarâvatî now in the British Museum consist of topes in miniature carved upon small slabs. They are covered with bas-reliefs and the principal object on many of them is the Five-headed Serpent. The centre head is the hooded cobra in full face, and on either side are two snakes' heads and necks in profile, which seem to be regarding (or adoring?) the cobra. The whole five heads terminate in one body knotted into graceful folds. However, from the style of the carving, it has been thought that none of the statues of Nâga Mûdamma are more than a century old, and it is well-known that it is only within this period that the people of the Maisûr State have openly returned to their old forms of the Tree and Serpent-worship suppressed for many centuries by Brahmanical influence.

As specimens of forms similar to Nâga Mûdamma from other parts of Asia I have added Plate XV. fig. 1, which is the representation of a Tâtâr goddess holding a conical object on the palm of her right hand: and fig. 2, which is a Nâga goddess from Kanauj in Oudh (Awadh).

To show that such symbolism of the Snake-woman is by no means confined to Asia, on Plate XVI. fig. 7 I have figured a talisman

[3] Revealed for a consideration to the owner of the ground by a certain class of men who are wizards by profession.

[4] [This, of course, is a reference to the well-known classical Hindu tale.—ED.]

[5] A figure with a woman's bust and the lower extremities of a serpent.

called "La Sirena," in use amongst the lower classes in Naples at the present day. I submit that a strong and decided family resemblance exists between the Tàtâr goddess, the Nâgâ lady from Oudh, the Nàga Mûdamma of Maisûr, and the Sirena of Naples, and that beyond a doubt they all had a common origin in the remote past. Again, there formerly existed in the ancient church at Laruns, in the Vallée D'Ossau, in the Pyrenees, a holy-water vessel of white marble, which has since been removed into a modern edifice, as the old church is now a ruin. Within this vessel is sculptured in alto-relievo a siren which in form and character resembles the Nàga Mûdamma, holding a fish in her right hand and her own tail in her left; there is also a centaur and two fishes. On the exterior is carved "the sacred monogram" in Gothic letters, with an interlaced ornamentation on either side of it; all evidently XVth Century work. It is very probable that the vessel originally came from Bielle, a place in the same valley, where there is said to be a superb mosaic and the remains of a Roman Villa; and tradition says that it was appropriated and put to a religious use during the middle ages, when most likely the Christian symbol on the exterior was added.

In Scandinavia remains of a Serpent-worship of a somewhat different signification are numerous, and besides the Sun-symbols which have been described (p. 66 above) as belonging to the Earlier Bronze Age there are certain other forms which the late Kamer Herr Worsaee says represent the Sun-snake. Such are the simple S, the double S or 𝕾, and the two-headed snake beneath a wheel (the wheel of the Sun ?) figured in Plate I. fig 11 (p. 66 above). With reference to the origin of these symbols in his *Danish Art*, Prof. Worsaee says, "The snake, as is well-known, played an important part in the Asiatic and in the ancient Egyptian symbolism, partly because they thought the sun's path through the heavens formed a curve like a snake, and partly because lightning, or the fertilizing fire, flashed upon the earth in a snake-like zig-zag,"[6]—and on this he concludes that "the *triskele* ⅁ also (see Plate I. fig. 12, p. 66 above) was but an outcome or variety of the *svastika*." A reference to fig. 15 Plate V. which, as explained above, p. 92, is a sketch of a bronze fibula found a few years ago on excavating the Roman Camp on the Saalburg, not far from Frankfort-am-Main, would appear to show that Prof. Worsaee's[7] surmise as to the connection between the *triskele* and the Serpent is correct, for the former is here present, and each limb of it has a Serpent's head.

On the whole, traces of Snake-worship are not numerous in Europe, and the cult does not appear to have taken much hold upon the minds of the people there; the reason probably being that Snake-worship, essentially a worship of fear, would naturally die out where the alarming kinds of venomous snakes did not exist. But as instances of it may be noticed a singular festival still held once a year in Italy, in a little mountain village in the Abruzzi, where on a certain day the peasants walk in procession, carrying round their arms, waists, and necks, all the snakes they can find.[8] They observe this custom in the belief that they will thus be secured from poison and from sudden death, and further that it will bring them good fortune, especially in love. Also a good many of the legends of the Basque Provinces in the South of France turn upon a Seven-headed Serpent. Thus the "Heren Suge" is always described as being seven-headed, and in the myth of the "Serpent D'Isabit," the oldest version of the numerous tales of this nature, this serpent lies with its head resting on the summit of the Pic du Midi de Bigorre, its neck stretched down towards Barèges, whilst its body fills the valley of Luz and its tail lies coiled in a hollow below the Cirque de Gavarnie.[9] And lastly, at Carnac in Brittany, is a small hostelry which bears the sign of "Le Serpent Vert."

[6] Dr. Schwartz of Berlin also affirms from deep research into Greek and Roman mythology, that the paramount germinal idea in this wide-spread Serpent emblem is the lightning, and Dr. Brinton also gives the same opinion at some length.

[7] The ink which wrote this sentence was scarcely dry when the news arrived of the sudden death of this distinguished professor. Archæological science in Denmark and indeed archæology in general could hardly have sustained a greater loss. He was ever in the foremost rank of the discoverers of pre-historic remains in his own country, and as in the case above cited, seemed endowed with a power of grasping a subject and of arriving at conclusions which were not apparent to others.

[8] Brinton's *Myths*, p. 112.

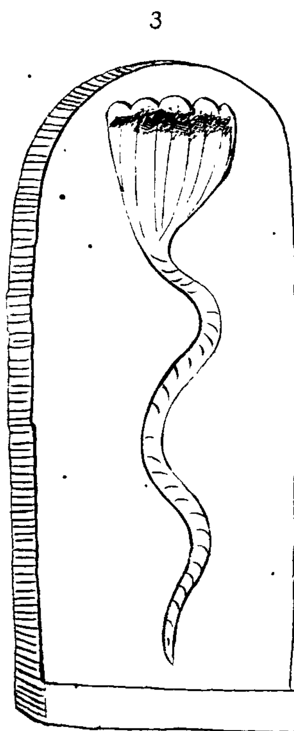
[9] [Compare the Sub-Himâlayan legends about the demon Jalandhara, the various parts of whose body occupy the country from Jâlandhar to Kângâr, a distance of 110 miles.—ED.]



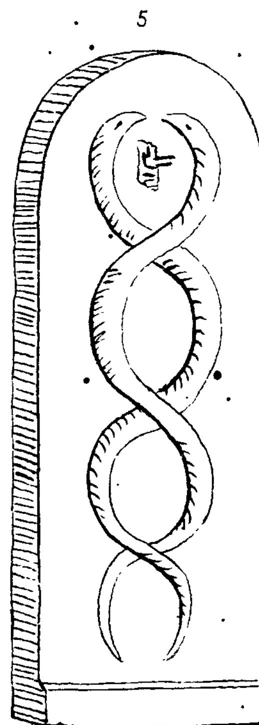
TÂTÂR IDOL.



FROM KANAUJ.

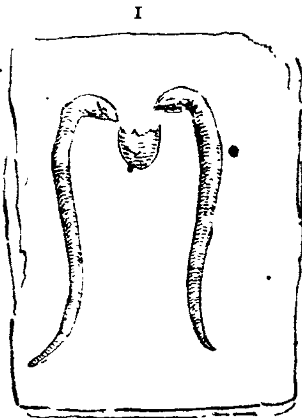




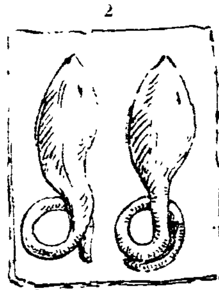


3, 4, 5. FROM MAISÛR.

1



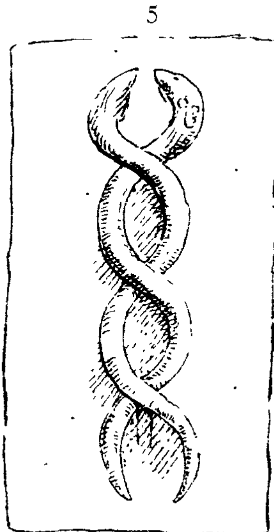
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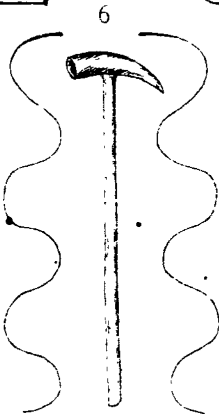
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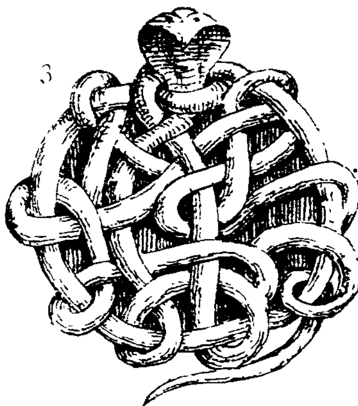
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6



3



7

LA SIRENA.

THE LAST YEARS OF SHAH SHUJA'A, WITH AN APPENDIX ON THE AFFAIRS OF HIRAT.

Translated from the Târîkh Sulṭânî of Sulṭân Muḥammad Khân Bârukzâi.

BY E. REHATSEK.

(*Continued from p.* 170.)

At the time Shâhzâdah Tîmûr was appointed to the Governorship of Qandahâr, Niẓâmu'ddaulah sent his own son 'Abbâs Khân with him, and obtained, without the permission of the Pâdshâh, a letter from Mr. Macnaghten to the address of Major Lawrence, entrusting to his son ['Abbâs Khân] the entire administration of Qandahâr, so that the Shâhzâdah had no other business there than to draw his monthly salary of three thousand rupees. Accordingly when Shâh Shuja'a had learnt the state of the case, he wrote a letter to Mr. Macnaghten to the effect that as the Shâhzâdah had no influence whatever in the Government of Qandahâr, his sojourn there was useless. Mr. Macnaghten, who wished to keep on good terms with Niẓâmu'ddaulah, gave some valueless explanations, and when the latter perceived that Mr. Macnaghten wished to please him, he said to him one day :—"The Khâns of this country are receiving thousands of rupees for nothing, and it would be advantageous for the public welfare to curtail their allowances.[1]" Macnaghten, who was not well acquainted with the circumstances of the country, lent a willing ear to the suggestions of Niẓâmu'ddaulah, and knew not that :—

"He wishes you ill, and is a bloodsucker of the people,
Who seeks your profit by oppressing the people."

Accordingly, first of all, Niẓâmu'ddaulah claimed the sum of forty thousand rupees from the Ghiljâis, which they annually retained out of their own agricultural produce, in return for keeping up *thânahs* [police-stations] and performing other duties. They replied that the said allowances had been granted to them by former Pâdshâhs for guarding the roads, and for making good the losses merchants sustained by thefts, but Niẓâmu'ddaulah would not listen to any arguments, and insisted upon the confiscation. This transaction became an occasion of injury to both the allied Governments, because as soon as the Ghiljâis obtained a true notion of the intentions of Niẓâmu'ddaulah they left Kâbul by night, and prepared for rebellion in their own territories; so that when the English forces under the command of George Macgregor, which were marching to Jallâlâbâd, reached the station of Khûrd Kâbul, nine *karahs* distant from the city, the Ghiljâi tribe blocked the road and a severe fight ensued. It was, however, at last compelled to leave the English forces, and to allow them to pass, and they marched on to Jallâlâbâd.

The irregular regulator of the kingdom [Niẓâmu'ddaulah] moreover, having removed the Ḥâkim of the Ghiljâis from his post, appointed to it his own son, who was a boy not more than seven years old, a step that augmented their discontent.

About this time Niẓâmu'ddaulah brought of his own accord a paper to the Shâh, in company with Macnaghten, the contents of which were as follows :—"Five of the Durrânî Khâns, who are the origin of the increase of turbulence, *viz.* Ghulâm Aḥmad Khân, son of Sher Muḥammad Khân Bâmîzâi, surnamed Mukhtâru'ddaulah, and 'Abdu'llah Khân Achakzâi and Muḥammad 'Atâ Khân, son of Sardâr Samandar Khân Bâmîzâi, and Sardâr Sikandâr Khân, his uncle, and Sardâr 'Abdu's-salâm Khân, son of Muḥammad Ikram Khân Aminu'l-mulk, must leave the city of Kâbul, to go wherever they please." As the Pâdshâh only knew of these Khâns from their readiness to serve him, and from their approved loyalty, he was confounded; but as he had the goodwill of the English officers much at heart, he was obliged to agree to their exile. The Khâns were exceedingly distressed, and represented to the Pâdshâh that each of them had extensive connections, property, and a family in Kâbul, and knew not where to go after abandoning them: but he, being desirous to please the English, paid no attention to their objections and made no reply.

[1] Among the measures of economy which were now resorted to, was that of curtailing the stipends of the Ghiljâi chiefs. *Cal. Rev.* Vol. II. No. iii. 1844. p. 249.

Then a fresh *firmân* of Lord [*sic*] Macnaghten was promulgated, ordering that the departure of the Khâns from the city must not be delayed beyond three days, and saying that they would be called to account if it was; they were moreover to go to Peshâwar and to no other place. On this the Khâns naturally surmised that they were to be transported to India as prisoners, and entirely despairing of the protection of Shâh Shuja'a, who had no authority whatever, and fearing to lose their lives, women, and children, they were induced to hold a secret consultation for devising means of escape from the impending calamity. It happened also that during the same night a man went about the city, and threw a paper into the house of each of the Khâns. In the morning when they saw the papers, they found the following words written on each of them :—"Pay attention to your case, because to-morrow you will be made prisoners with great suffering and distress, and will be sent to India." As papers of the same kind had been thrown also into the *ḥarams* of Mir Hâjî, and of Hâfiz Jâi, the sons of Mîr Wâ'iẓ, and into that of Amînu'llah Khân Lahukurdî, they endeavoured after perusing the contents to discover the bearer, but the more they sought, the less they found him. It seemed as if a *jinn* had done the business : but no—I am mistaken,—rather an angel of the Almighty had brought this affair to light from the secrecy of non-existence. In the course of the day the Khâns, whom their distress had made impatient, held a consultation, and determined to rise in arms next day against their foes, in order to see what would come forth from the curtain of futurity. They bound each other by a strong covenant, and said :—

"If successful, we shall place our feet on the top of the celestial sphere,
Else we shall have sacrificed our lives like men for the end we had in view."

On the morning of the seventeenth of the blessed month Ramaẓân, in the year 1258 [22nd October 1841][2] they rose in arms, attacked, captured and slew every one they met. Verily they committed abundant excesses. Shâh Shuja'a, whom this catastrophe had made uneasy, despatched *nasáqchís* and *járchís* with orders to quench the flames of the insurrection, which however spread so extensively that his efforts proved futile. Then he summoned to his presence the Khâns who had revolted, but they refused to obey : whilst some sent a reply that they could no longer bear the haughtiness and independence of Niẓâmu'ddaulah and that the time for negotiation was now passed. The Pâdshâh, therefore, sent some Tilangah (Native Indian) troops, together with his mounted bodyguard under the command of the Shâhzâdah Fatḥ Jang, and several pieces of artillery for the purpose of dispersing the company of the *ghâzîs*, and delivering Mr. Alexander Burnes : to whom he also sent a message that he should, in any case, leave the city and betake himself to the Bâlâ Hiṣâr, or to his own *Chhâunî* [Cantonment]. But as his death, decreed by fate, was imminent, he paid no attention to it. The Tilangah and Hindustânî troops, who had marched out under the command of the Shâhzâdah, were attacked by the *ghâzîs*, who killed and wounded nearly seven hundred of them, and put the rest to flight, so that they hastened with the Shâhzâdah into the Bâlâ Hiṣâr. Shâh Shuja'a also despatched Mirzâ Ibrâhîm Khân Munshî, to the *Chhâunî* of Mr. Macnaghten with the information that as this was but the first eruption of a rebellion, and as it had not yet developed itself, he ought to order all his troops to enter the city on all sides to disperse the crowd of insurgents. Mr. Macnaghten, who was intoxicated with the sleep of carelessness[3] despatched one [Tilangah] regiment with eight pieces of artillery to the Bâlâ Hiṣâr for the security of the Pâdshâh ; but the latter sent word that he was perfectly safe, and anxious only to see the confusion in the city put down, according to the saying :—

"The fountain head should be stopped with a spade,
Because, when full, it cannot be crossed on an elephant"

Macnaghten then sent a reply that affairs would yet turn out well.

[2] Had the copyist written the 27th instead of the 17th, he would have been nearer the truth. In an official report on the transactions of Kâbul, which was found after his death, Sir William Macnaghten writes.—"On the morning of the 2nd *ult* [November] I was informed that the town of Kabul was in a state of commotion, &c." *Calc. Rev.* Vol. XV. 1851, No. xxx. p 433 Also Kaye gives in Vol. II. p. 19, the same statement, and afterwards the whole document, which is long, but had not been completed by its writer.

[3] "Macnaghten heard the intelligence with composure There was nothing in it, he thought, to startle or dismay a man with sound nerves and clear understanding." Kaye, Vol. II. p. 6

Meanwhile, however, the *ghâzîs* had girded up the loins of courage and shouting the blessed verse, "Verily Allah loveth those who fight for his religion in battle array, as if they were a well compacted building,"[4] hastily assailed the house of Alexander Burnes, which was in the city, looted his property, and capturing him whilst he was in the act of fleeing, cut him to pieces with their merciless swords. After plundering his house they set it on fire, and likewise robbed, in the twinkling of an eye, the Government treasury, which was near it, and in charge of the Farangî [European] Johnson; which acquisition caused the poor and the destitute to lift up the banner of mendicancy.

On the other hand, it occurred to some of the upright and united Khâns, *viz.* 'Abdu'llah Khân Achâkzâi, Amînu'llah Lahukurdî, Sardâr 'Abdu's-salâm Khân Bâmîzâi, Sikandar Khân Bâmîzâi, &c, that after having embarked in so dangerous an undertaking, they could not impart stability to a Government without a Pâdshâh. Therefore they unanimously elected Muḥammad Zamân Khân to be Pâdshâh, and resorted to more violence in order to realize their hopes. Accordingly after slaying Alexander Burnes and plundering the treasury under Johnson, they attacked the fort of Nishân Khân, situated between Deh-i-Afghân and Bâgh-i-Shâh [Garden of the Shâh]. As the European officers had purchased the *gûdâm*[5] of the fort, and adorned it for habitation, they showed fight When, however, the *ghâzîs* impetuously rushed upon them they could no longer resist, and most of them were slain. Those who escaped the sword, fled by the aid of some friends the Chandâul Maḥallah to the first *Chhâunî*, whereon all the corn and stores, laid up in the fort for the winter, fell into the possession of the *ghâzîs*.

When Mr. Trevor, who had on the first day taken up a position in the tower of Fatḥ Khân, knew that Burnes had been killed, and the treasury plundered, he made the Jânbâz Shâhî Sawârs, whom he commanded, his own body-guard, and asked Mr. Macnaghten to send him a regiment for protection. But this did not arrive, and the *ghâzîs* came in numbers and almost captured him. Meanwhile the inhabitants of the Andarâni Maḥallah reduced him to great straits for want of water.

On Thursday the twenty-first of the said month [26th October 1841][6] the valiant *ghâzîs*, who were under the command of the Nâib Amînu'llah Khân Lahukurdî and 'Abdu'llah Achakzâi, considered that, as the English had no stores (*gûdâm*) in the Cantonment, but had transferred all [their stores] to the forts of J'afir Khân and Sharîf Khân, they must, if the stores be destroyed, perish partly by hunger, and partly by bullets. The conclusion was accordingly arrived at that these two forts must be taken, and the stores,—that is to say, the provisions,—plundered. Accordingly, therefore, they so ravaged them that in a moment it was as if they had never existed.[7] They also set fire to the fort [of J'afir Khân] and attacked the fort of Sharîf Khân, which was near the Cantonment. The English Ensign Warren,[8] who was with one hundred fifty men of the Fifth Regiment in charge of the fort [of J'afir Khân], felt himself unable to resist the *ghâzîs*, and was ready to agree to leave it, and thus to save his life. Meanwhile Captain[9] Swayne, who had with two hundred men of the Forty-fourth Regiment been marching from the Cantonment to relieve him, became on reaching the Bâgh-i-Shâh a target for the bullets of the *ghâzîs*, and lost an eye: and most of the other officers having been killed, as many of the rest of the force as escaped the sword, trod the way of flight. About the time of mid-day prayers, Ensign Kârn [*sic*], intending to aid Ensign Warren, marched from the Cantonment with one regiment of the [East India] Company, and one division of the Niẓâmî Cavalry [regulars]; but before he had yet approached near, the *ghâzîs* discharged a shower of bullets upon his advancing force, of which they killed eight and wounded fifteen, causing it to retreat to the Cantonment. They then continued their operations around the fort, pushing a mine to the base of it like mice. Captain

[4] *Qurân*, Ch. lxi. v. 4.

[5] From the Portuguese *gudâo* meaning cotton, and the place where it is stored; hence anglicized into *godown*, and designating any kind of store-house [See *Panjab Notes and Queries*, Vol. I. Note 963, Vol. II. Note 754.]

[6] This is again a mistake in date, as the events described took place more than a week later.

[7] [This hyperbolical expression is not borne out by what follows.—ED.]

[8] "Lieutenant." *e.g.* "Lieutenant Warren and his party had abandoned the fort, and returned to the Cantonments, leaving all our supplies in the hands of the enemy, and inspiring them with fresh confidence and courage.' Kaye, Vol. II. p. 33.

[9] "Major," p. 28 *ibid.*

Boyd then went to the commander of the army, namely Mr. Macnaghten, shouting that the surrender of the fort to the enemy would entail the loss of one *lâkh* of rupees, and what was worse, the *sangar*[10] in it contained not more than twelve days' provisions, nor was there any force at hand strong enough to collect provisions elsewhere, and convey them to the fort. Macnaghten also was now perplexed, and sent word to hold the fort till night-fall, when succour would arrive. Ensign Warren replied that the *ghâzîs* were undermining one of the towers, and also that his men had become so cowed, that from fear for their lives most of them were leaping down from the rampart and taking refuge in the *sangar*, and that therefore if no succour arrived in the evening, all would be lost. After six o'clock in the evening, Macnaghten held a council of war with his officers, and a decision was arrived at not to send a reinforcement to the fort of Sharîf Khân till the next morning to prevent the loss of the *gûdâm*, because the Afghâns were not in the habit of sacrificing their night's rest, and would not be watching the fort, nor harrassing the besieged. As a measure of precaution, however, Captain Johnson was sent as a spy to bring information about the Afghâns, and he returned after a while with the report that they were assembling, and preparing for an assault. Nevertheless, the English officers delayed sending reinforcements till the morning dawned, by which time the impetuous *ghâzîs* had taken the fort by storm, and set the gate on fire, so that Ensign Warren had to escape with the troops by a way he had prepared for flight.[11] As the conquerors had taken possession of abundant provisions, and the want of them in the winter season would cause great hardship to the English troops, the English officers, when they saw the Afghâns engaged in carrying off the corn, impelled partly by apprehensions of impending distress, and partly by feelings of honour, purposed to adopt Lieutenant Eyre's suggestion to attack the fort of Muḥammad Sharîf forthwith. His senior officers, however, would not agree to let him command, and unanimously selected Major Swayne to take charge of an assault with the Sixth Regiment of Indian Infantry, in the hope of obtaining possession of the remnants of the corn; but this officer, instead of preceding his men, according to the usual custom, preferred to walk in the shelter of an adjoining wall. When the commander of the troops saw this, he knew that such a coward would effect nothing, and ordered them to retrace their steps.

Next day Ensign[12] Bird was sent with one hundred men of the Forty-fourth Regiment of the Shâhî [Royal] Infantry, Mr. Delin with as many of the Fifth Indian Infantry and Mr. Sturt with the same number of the Thirty-seventh Indian Infantry to assault the fort, [Major] Griffiths being appointed commander over these officers. They directed their artillery against the fort of Muḥammad Sharîf, levelled its walls and then took it by storm.[13] Then they advanced until they got possession of nearly one half of the Bâgh-i-Shâh. On the other hand the Afghân *sawârs*, led by 'Abdu'llah Khân Achakzâi, invaded the Bâgh-i-Shâh and expelled Captain Thackeray with the *jazâirchîs* therefrom, killing great numbers. The Qizlbâshes of the *muḥallah*, who had up to this time remained neutral, succoured the Afghâns when they saw them pressed, and renewing the attack, retook the Bâgh-i-Shâh with the fort of Sharîf, and having driven the English into the *sangar* besieged them.

On Tuesday the twenty-seventh of the month Ramaẓân in the same year[14] when the provisions of the English troops had been altogether consumed, the plenipotentiary *wazîr* Macnaghten sent an officer to Brigadier Shelton who was in the Balâ Hiṣâr, to ask for

[10] This word does not occur in any Persian Dictionary, but is in Sanskṛit *saṁgraha*, "collection," hence "a place where a collection of stores is kept." It has passed into Marâthî unchanged and also into other Indian languages, and is on the way of becoming an English word like *bhatta*, *bangalah*, *chitṭhî*, &c., and is already being used in print. A correspondent of *The Bombay Gazette*, writing from Suakim, meant by it a small circular fort, and in our text it appears to designate a magazine or store-house like *gûdâm* above.

[11] "Early on the morning of the 5th the commissariat fort was abandoned by its garrison, the enemy having attempted to fire the gate and escalade. The garrison came out by a hole made from the interior—*tools* having been sent over night, with a view to the introduction of reinforcements and the withdrawal of supplies from the store."—*Report of General Elphinstone.*

[12] Lieutenant.

[13] A party under Major Griffiths of the 37th Native Infantry was sent out against Muḥammad Sharîf's fort. A practicable breach was effected, and the storming party entered with an irresistible impetuosity worthy of British troops. Kaye, Vol. II. p. 37. This took place on the 6th November 1841.

[14] This gives the 1st November, which is about a week too early.

some grain, if he had any, whereon the General, having obtained some flour and corn, brought it with an artillery waggon, a battalion of the Forty-fourth Royal English Regiment and the whole of the Sixth Regiment of Shâh Shuja'a-u'l-Mulk to the *sangar*. When he arrived at the Cantonment the soldiers became frightened, because he said that the English troops would be unable to encounter and to fight the furious Afghâns; more especially now, as the winter was setting in and the scarcity of food would become such that not one man of the English army would be able to return alive, wherefore the opportunity of leaving Kâbul, and marching to Jallâlâbâd, ought to be at once embraced. But Macnaghten and the officers of the army replied that, in the opinion of intelligent men, such a proposal smacked of madness itself; because they had taken infinite trouble in the construction of the *sangar* for their own safety. To abandon it therefore and to lift up the banner of retreat in another direction full of enemies, would be tantamount to feeding a fire with more wood, or to throwing one's goods into a rushing torrent; and for this reason the best thing to do was to remain in their stronghold till the commencement of the spring. When the soldiers heard the depressing words and contradictory proposals of their officers, they became sore afraid in their hearts, preferring death to life; and the more so, as they knew that the provisions in the Cantonment would not last longer than two days more.

Now the Afghâns stormed and took the fort of Rikâ Bâshî, situated at the distance of an arrow shot from the Cantonment, on which they fired a rain of bullets. The plenipotentiary *wazîr* [Sir W. Macnaghten] having ordered the fort of Rikâ Bâshî to be stormed,[15] Colonel Mackrell went with the 44th Regiment, in company of Lieutenant Bird with the 6th Regiment, and a number of other European as well as Indian soldiers, and made their attack from one side, whilst Captain Bellew started with still more numerous troops and the same intention from another; whereon the victory-craving Afghâns, perceiving the impending danger, rushed between the two forces, and surrounding those of Captain Bellew, cut most of them to pieces. When Brigadier Shelton became aware of what was taking place, the fire of his zeal blazed, and he fell with his men upon the Afghâns, who repelled them twice, and at the same time continued to fire upon the troops of Lieutenant Bird, which they had surrounded. In the third attack the Afghâns incited each other and, becoming more furious, reached the enemy, committing such slaughter that all of them were killed, except Lieutenant Bird and one of his valiant soldiers. It is moreover said that these two men fought so bravely, that they caused thirty Afghâns to attain the dignity of martyrdom.[16] Of the English two hundred men were killed, but in this give-and-take, the forts of Rikâ Bâshî[17] and Żu'lfiqâr and another, fell into the possession of the English, together with some grain they contained. One-half of this they succeeded in transferring to the *sangar* by the evening: but when the *shâhanshâh* with the golden diadem, namely the sun, had thrown the veil of obscurity over his face, ("By night when it covereth all things with darkness,")[18] the brave Afghâns blew up the walls of the two forts by mines, and thus wreaked their vengeance, which greatly augmented the dismay of the English.

Another contest took place at the *Pattah-Bîmâ-rû*, originally called *Pattah-i-Bîbî-mâh-rû*.[19] On the twenty-fourth of the blessed month Ramaẓân in the same year [8th November][20] the English cavalry rode about the vicinity of the Cantonment, whereon the Afghân *sawârs* rushed upon them and occupied the top of the hill which dominated their Cantonment, whence a *risâlah* of regulars was immediately sent to dislodge them, and the Afghâns, unable to cope with them, retreated. Afterwards some of the Kôhistânî Infantry preparing for another fight, constructed a *sangar* on the top of the Bîmârû hill, and when next day a crowd of *ghâzîs* ascended it, with the intention of fighting, the English troops likewise marched out from the Cantonment and stood ready for battle, whilst a *risâlah*

[15] But it was only on the urgent representation of the Envoy, that an expedition against the Rikâ Bâshî fort was undertaken at last.—Kaye, Vol. II. p. 50.

[16] "Lieutenant Bird, with two sepoys of the 37th N. I. sought refuge in a stable, which they barricaded and defended with a resolution that deserved and secured a crown of success. When the fort was carried by the British troops, they were found with exhausted ammunition, but alive and uninjured. Thirty of the enemy had been shot down by the gallant three."—Kaye, Vol. II. p. 53.

[17] Fort Rikâ Bâshî was taken on the 10th of November.

[18] *Qurân*, Ch. xcii. v. 1.

[19] Meaning the Hill of the Moon-faced Lady.

[20] "On the 13th November the enemy occupied in great strength the Bî-mâ-rû hills. They had planted two guns in a commanding position, and were cannonading the British Cantonment."—Kaye, Vol. II. p 59.

of regulars with two pieces of artillery on wheels, under the command of Lieutenant Walker, was sent up the hill, the top of which they reached with extreme difficulty. When the fighting began, the Kôhistânî foot-men succeeded in gradually withdrawing from the range of the cannons, so that the balls could not strike them, whilst their own bullets laid low all the artillerists.[21] On this occasion[22] 'Abdu'llah Khân Achakzâi, who was a lion in the field of valour, and who had in his morning prayers asked God to grant him martyrdom, rushed forth in the company of a number of braves with the war cry:—"Assistance from Allah, and a speedy victory,"[23] and overturning the cannons made an attack upon the *sawârs* of the English *risâlah*. But alas, whilst doing so, the valiant 'Abdu'llah Khân, having tasted the sherbet of martyrdom, was received into the Almighty's proximity of mercy and repose. All the Musalmâns, especially the Afghâns, tore the collar of grief for his loss, and it was confidently thought, that had not the Khân been overtaken by the decree of fate, the Cantonment of the English would on that day have fallen into the possession of the *ghâzîs*.[24]

After that the English, having evidently no more power and strength to fight outside, were besieged in their Cantonments, and began to negotiate for peace with the Afghâns. On the sixteenth of the month Shawal [1st December 1841] Wazîr Muḥammad Akbar Khân, son of the Amîr Dôst Muḥammad Khân, who had escaped from Bokhârâ and had been living in Tashqurghân, and had come to Kâbul when he heard of the rebellion—as will be narrated in the *Memoirs* of the adherents of the Amîr Dôst Muḥammad Khân, if it pleaseth Allah the Most High,—was with Shah Shuja'a in the Balà Ḥiṣâr, when the English in the Cantonments had begun negotiations with the Afghâns, and messengers were going forwards and backwards between them.

When Macnaghten had obtained a substitute and desired to return to Hindustân, he wrote to Shâh Shuja'a that the further stay of the latter in Kabul would be unsuitable for him, and that if he were to go with him to India, the [East India] Company would grant him a pension of four *lâkhs* of rupees *per annum*. The Pâdshâh replied, that if his hands had not been tied by a feeling of honour and by his family he would have done so, but could not, according to the saying:—

"O ye that are encumbered by a family
Must no longer hope for tranquillity."

He also advised Macnaghten that it would be better to be on his guard, and likewise to take refuge in the Bâlâ Ḥiṣâr, and when he heard that Macnaghten had been killed, he was very sorry.[25] Then the English army marched in command of Mr. Pottinger—whom they had made Lord [Commander] after the murder of Macnaghten, on account of the scarcity of provisions, in the direction of Jallalabad,[26] but all perished during their march from the extreme cold and in consequence of the attacks of the *ghâzîs*,[27]—as will be narrated in the

[21] Emboldened by impunity, the Afghân cavalry charged down upon the British bayonets with irresistible force. No dispositions were made to receive them. For a while all was panic and confusion.—Kaye, Vol. II. pp. 60-61.

[22] This was, according to Kaye, Vol. II. p. 83-88, another action, but in the same locality, fought on the 23rd November, which was one of the most disastrous:—"On that day a battle was fought which ended in the disgraceful and calamitous defeat of the British troops." Kaye also mentions the death of the chief alluded to above in our text.

[23] *Qurân*, ch. lxi. v. 13.

[24] "At this moment, when the enemy were in flight, and our guns had been recaptured, Shelton might have brought back his force with credit to Cantonments. But the opportunity was lost . . . . The rout of the British force was complete. In one confused mass of Infantry and Cavalry—of European and native soldiers—they fled to the Cantonment walls."—Kaye, Vol. II. pp. 89-90.

[25] On the 23rd December 1841 the Envoy summoned Capts. Trevor, Lawrence and Mackenzie to accompany him to a meeting with some Afghan chiefs:—"After the conference had begun, on a given signal Akbar Khan endeavoured to seize Sir William, and meeting resistance, shot him dead with the pistols which he had a day or two before received as a present from him. *Calc. Rev.* 1844, Vol. II. No. iii. p. 260.

[26] The army left Kabul on the sixth January 1842 but commanded by General Elphinstone and not by Pottinger, as stated above in our text.

[27] The arrival of the army from Kâbul was anxiously expected in Jallalabâd:—"At last on the 13th of January, when the garrison were busy on the works toiling with axe and shovel, with their arms piled and accoutrements laid out close at hand, a sentry, on the ramparts, looking out towards the Kâbul road, saw a solitary white-faced horseman struggling on towards the fort . . . . . A shudder ran through the garrison. That solitary horseman looked like the messenger of death. Few doubted that he was the bearer of intelligence that would fill their souls with horror and dismay. Their worst forebodings seemed confirmed. There was the one man who was to tell the story of the massacre of a great army. A party of cavalry were sent out to succour him. They brought him in wounded, exhausted, half-dead. The messenger was Dr Brydon, and he now reported his belief that he was the sole survivor of an army of sixteen thousand men."—Kaye, Vol II p. 217.—The detailed account of this disastrous march, terminating with the extermination of the whole army, occurs *ibid* Book VI. Ch. II. from p. 218 to p. 250. Readers, however, who expect a chronological sequence of the facts narrated, will be a little surprised that it is not always observed in this work; and that the tragic arrival of Dr. Brydon at Jallâlâbâd has been narrated before, and not after the account of the extermination of army is given.

Memoirs of the Amîr Dôst Muḥammad Khân and of Akbar Khân.

The population of Kàbul crowded against the Bâlâ Ḥiṣâr,[28] until they got it into their possession like the Cantonments of the English; whereon Shâh Shuja'a, perceiving that the tyrannical English Government was destroyed, was under the necessity of acting according to the maxim, "if the times do not suit you, suit them," and of courting the friendship of Amînu'llah Khân Lahukurdî, to whose house he sent his own son the Shàhzâdah Shâhpûr for the purpose of allaying the excitement of the insurgents, most of whom considered him [the Pàdshàh] to be altogether English in his sentiments. Amînu'llah, being pleased with the promises made to him, of gold, of robes of honour, of position and of high dignity, brought over a number of Durrânîs and Farsîs to the side of the Pàdshâh: who also pledged himself, while the negotiations proceeded, to bestow a gift of two *lâkhs* of *pukhtah* rupees upon [the Shàhzàdah] Muḥammad Zamàn Khân. But the latter at first refused, saying, "I am a *Khalîfah*, and not a receiver of bribes;" to which Amînu'llah Khân replied, "As now a Pàdshàh of Islàm has been found, the Khalifate is abolished and the Wazirate is also a high position and most valuable dignity, which I am able to procure for you," and then Muḥammad Zamân Khân necessarily consented. On the 7th Ẓu'lhijjah A.H. 1257 [27th January 1842] the Shàhzàdah Shâhpûr proceeded with Nàib Amînu'llah Khân and Nawàb Muḥammad Zamân Khân, and all the Ghiljài, Kôhistànî, and Qizlbâsh Khâns to the Bàlà Ḥiṣâr for the purpose of saluting the Shâh, and having been presented with beautiful robes of honour they paid him their respects every day.[29]

Wazîr Muḥammad Akbar Khân, who was on this occasion at Jallàlàbàd, felt much aggrieved on being informed that the Khâns had made peace with Shâh Shuja'a, and wrote secretly to the chiefs of Kâbul, that if the Shâh was sincere in his desire to strengthen Islàm and to destroy the infidels, they must incite him to extirpate the remainder of the English who were still in Jallàlàbàd. With this object people were daily sent round bearing the noble *Qurân* [*Ḥaẓrat Furqân*] on their heads shouting the *Takbîr* [the words *Allâhu akbar*] and proclaiming that the Pâdshàh of Islàm ought certainly to go to Jallâlàbàd to remove the remaining Englishmen from Afghânistàn. As gratitude to the English impeded the Pàdshàh from consenting to ruin their government, he adopted the policy of procrastination, and declared that in case Muḥammad Akbar Khàn should be unable to conquer Jallàlàbàd, he would himself induce the English to depart from Afghânistàn by diplomacy, and in case of their failing to comply, he would force them to do so by war. As the Musalmàns were displeased with the return of Muḥammad Akbar Khàn, they were of opinion that it would be better to send a letter to the English officers. Accordingly, to please them, Shâh Shuja'a despatched one by Sardâr 'Inâyatu'llah Khân Bàmîzài, and another by Dîn Muḥammad Khân, his private chamberlain. These were to act apparently as his agents, but in reality to favour the English, whom they openly told to depart from Jallàlabàd, but secretly put on their guard against the treachery of the Bàrukzài tribes, and more particularly against that of Muḥammad Akbar Khàn, lest they should be deceived by his duplicity, and perish like Macnaghten, from trusting him.[30] It is alleged that the Shâh's object in this correspondence, which was protracted during two lunar months, was no other than to gain time for the arrival of another army from Hindûstàn. This conjecture is supported by the writings of Mr. Macgregor, the Ḥâkim of Jallâlàbâd.

(*To be continued.*)

[28] "The Bâlâ Ḥiṣâr was evacuated by the British troops on the 13th December."—Kaye, Vol. II. p. 131.

[29] "Ever since the departure of the British army, Shâh Shujâ'a had reigned at Kabul. He had reigned at Kabul, but he had not ruled. His power was merely nominal. The chiefs wanted a puppet; and in the unhappy Shâh they found the only one who was ever likely to stand between them and the vengeance of the British nation. Day after day they made their salaam to him in the Bâlâ Hisâr, but so imperfect was their outward recognition of his regal dignity, that money was still coined in the name of the Nawâb Zamân Khân."—Kaye, Vol. II. pp. 353-4.

[30] The Shâh himself talked openly in the Darbâr about standing forth as the defender of the faith and declaring a religious war against the Kâfirs, but he privately assured Conolly that he was heart and soul with the British, and he wrote long letters to the Governor-General, Clerk, Macgregor, and others, declaring his inviolable fidelity, and eagerly clamouring for money."—Kaye, Vol. II. p. 255.

ANCIENT TENURES OF LAND IN THE MARATHA COUNTRY.

BY SIR WALTER ELLIOT, K.C.S.I., F.R.S.

The Marâṭhâs constitute a well-defined section of the Hindu population. They occupy a considerable portion of the table-land of the Dakhan; or, to define its limits more exactly, the western boundary may be described as following the line of coast from Damân to Goa, the northern being marked by the Sâtpurâ range as far as Nâgpur, whence the eastern border follows the course of the Waingaṅgâ, and other tributaries of the Gôdâvarî, as far as Bidar, thence an irregular line passing through Kâgal, Kurandwâḍ, Hukêrî, Belgaum and Dhârwâḍ to Sadâśiwgaḍ, divides them from the Karnâṭaka and Kanarese-speaking people.

Of the origin of the people who have inhabited this tract from the earliest times we have no certain knowledge. We first become acquainted with them on the decay of the Ândhra empire. At that time two powerful indigenous races occupied the southern portion of the Ândhra dominions in the Dakhan, the Pallavas to the east, and the Raṭṭas to the west, the aspirations of both of which were kept in check by the growing power of the Châlukya dynasty. The language of the Raṭṭas has a Turanian foundation, but it has great similarity to the grammar and structure of Hindî. It is expressed in characters of two forms, one identical with Dêvanâgarî, the other cursive, the running hand used on all ordinary occasions called Môḍ or Môḍî. With a not inconsiderable literature of its own, it has received large additions from Sanskrit, principally by translation. Hence also the national designation it effects for its people and country of Râshṭrakûṭa and Mahârâshṭra, by which it has sought to overshadow the indigenous names of Raṭṭa and Mahâraṭṭa.[1]

The Marâṭhâs have always been distinguished for their courage and love of independence, which they maintained despite the superior power of the Châlukyas. Advancing from their seat on the Bhîmâ they even overthrew for a while that kingdom between the 8th and 10th centuries,[2] and afterwards, amid the growing power of the Muhammadans, they still maintained their independence, until, in the days of Aurangzeb, in the 17th and 18th centuries, they emerged from their mountain fastnesses under Sivajî, and swept away the wide-spread Mughal empire, penetrating even to its threshold in the city of Dehlî itself.

The great body of the Raṭṭas is composed of the agricultural classes or *kuṇbîs*, distinguished for their skill and industry as cultivators, and for their readiness and aptitude for war, being equally prepared at all times to exchange the plough for the saddle and the spear. Below them are the servile classes, *mahârs* or *mhârs*, who have been suggested by some as the ancestors of the Marâṭhâ nation,[3] but they belong without doubt to that numerous body of serfs, hereditary bondmen, *adscripti glebæ*, the *holiyars* of the Kanarese, the *mâlas* of the Telugus, and the *pariahs* of the Tamils. The *mahârs* imbibed the martial instincts of their masters, and served with credit as *bârgîrs* in the *pâgâs*, or stable horse of local chiefs, when they were called *hûlsawârs*. But the most important class is that of the Brâhmaṇs. Astute and able as the twice-born caste is throughout India, the Marâṭhâ Brâhmaṇ is pre-eminently distinguished among all his confraternity for ability and force of character. The particular term, by which they are known from the Niyôgîs or Telugu Brâhmaṇs on the one hand, and the Śêṇwîs of the west coast on the other, is that of Dêśastha or "national," which marks them as first *par excellence*, and the highest rank is always conceded to them. They took an active share in all the public transactions of the Dakhan, both civil and military, from the period of Muhammadan rule down to recent times. Ferishta states that Burhân Nizâm Shâh made a Brâhmaṇ his *dîwân* or minister, with the title of Pêshwâ about A.D. 1592,[4] a practice which became general as applied to the Brâhmaṇ ministers of the different chiefs, and was even adopted by Sivajî himself in favour

[1] Burnell, *South-Indian Palæography*, 2nd ed., Introd. p. x. note 2.

[2] Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 32. 33, 40, 41.

[3] Molesworth's *Marâṭhî Dictionary*, p. xxiii.

[4] Briggs' *Ferishta*, Vol. III. p. 220.

of his own minister Śâm Râj Pant, whose successors ultimately displaced the descendants of his royal master.

The preference shown by the Muhammadan princes to the Dêśasthas and the skill and ability displayed by the latter in the revenue administration, gradually led to the substitution of Marâṭhî for Persian as the language of account under Brâhmaṇ scribes, which greatly added to their influence.[5] This influence they have never lost. Every ruler, of whatever race or creed, finds the assistance of a Brâhmaṇ *díwân* or *daftardâr* indispensable to the success of his administration, and hence the Marâṭhî system of accounts, though much modified, has not become obsolete even to the present day.

Before noticing the system of assessment introduced by the Marâṭhâs it will be useful to give a short sketch of the governments that preceded them. The earliest that exercised any influence now perceptible on the assessment was that of Ânêgundî or Bîjnagar, which prevailed over their extensive dominions from the beginning of the 15th to the middle of the 16th century. This gave place to the 'Âdil Shâh dynasty of Bîjapur in 1553 A.D., which was succeeded in 1686 A.D. by that of the Dehlî or Mughalâi *Sarkâr* on the conquest of the Dakhan by Aurangzeb. When the Marâṭhî rule was restored under the Poona Government the revenues were ably administered for some time under various Brâhmaṇ *sarsúbahs* (provincial governors) on the *châlî* system inherited from Bijàpur. But by degrees abuses crept in under the weak and improvident rule of the Pêshwà Bâjî Rào. The collection of the revenue was farmed to the highest bidder, and new offers were accepted at Poona for districts already rented, the new-comer sometimes having to expel his predecessor by force. Then, aware of the precarious nature of his tenure he was obliged to exact to the utmost. The abuses arising out of such a system were augmented by internal disorders, insurrectionary movements, and plundering raids, so that when the Southern Marâṭhà country came into the possession of the British Government in 1817 a general state of disorder was found to prevail.

Out of this chaos the first step of the new Government was to ascertain as far as possible the principles, if any, on which the original assessment rested. It was found by a careful examination of the oldest accounts procurable that the system of assessment in force under the Bijâpur and early Marâṭhà Governments was derived from the times of the Anagundî or Bîjnagar kings. According to tradition, Krishṇa Râya, the greatest prince of that line, made a regular survey of the whole area on which assessment was due. This was the *râya-rêkhâ* or *hulmár* measurement, still referred to as the oldest authority extant. It was on it that the Bîjapur settlement was based, which stands at the head of all the old assessments under the title of *rakam-bêriz.* The dry lands only appear to have been subjected to the *râya-rêkhâ* survey, for in the *parganâs* bordering on the Malnâḍ or western districts, which are principally under wet cultivation, the village measures bear other names, and vary considerably from each other. The scale of the *râya-rêkhâ már* is cut on a post in the gateway of the Gadag fort, and measures exactly 7 ft. 9½ inches. Of these 20 make a *bîghâ* and 36 *bîghâs* a *râya-rêkhâ már.* Another in the Basavana temple at Nàwalgund gives 7 ft. 6·6 inches. A subsequent governor under Ânêgundì introduced the *viṭhal-pantí mâr*, so called from his own name, into many villages of the black soil. It is marked in the temples of Anigiri and Aminbhâvi, and on a stone at Hebḷi, still extant, measuring 10ft. 6·3 inches, 10ft. 11·8 inches, and 10ft. 6 inches respectively. It never came into general use, and is supposed to have been much larger than the standard above recorded would sanction. Instances of other measures, probably of very early date, are also found, such as *pattas*, *gûlís*, *chiggurs*, &c.[6] All these, with the *mâr*, constitute measures of the superficial area. The gardens are estimated by the space, called *sthaḷs* or *thaḷs*, occupied by a certain number of trees. But there is another measurement of the dry lands called the *kâḷrâm*, or *hin-kâḷrâm*, which seems to have originated in some very early assessment, and to have reference to

[5] Briggs' *Ferishta*, Vol. III. p. 80.

[6] These are found in different parts of the country and vary greatly in extent. The *chiggar* is a large division of land of uncertain origin and of very variable extent. See Marshall's *Statistical Report*, p. 25, Bombay 1822.

the quantity of land that yielded one *hûn* or pagoda (=Rs. 4 of cess).

The dry land was thus assessed either on a measurement of its actual extent by the *râya-rêkhâ* standard, or exceptionally by some local measure, or it was estimated by the quantity of land to which the payment of a certain sum was attached, stated in *hûns* and their fractions.

A different mode was adopted in the Malnâḍ or wet lands, which is known under the name of *bîjâwarî.* The land was estimated by the quantity of seed required to sow it, measured by *khanḍîs* and *kuḍus.* This, too, is attributed to the time of the Ânêgundî sovereigns, and is said to have been determined in the following manner :—

The revenue was taken for a given number of years in kind. The fees of village officers, and all other expenses were deducted from the grain on the threshing-floor, the residue was divided into two equal portions and the *ra'iyat* allowed to take his choice. The average proceeds of the other half, or *Sarkâr* share, was then recorded as the assessment of the land which had produced the whole.

The *bîjâwarî* was not confined to estimating the value of wet land, but was occasionally resorted to in dry cultivation also, where the result was recorded in *kurgîs.* The *kurgî* is the name of the seed plough, and the quantity of seed which the husbandman can sow in one day with a pair of bullocks becomes the measure of the land liable to assessment. The *kurgî* is of unequal extent, varying from 5 to 10 *bîghâs.*

Whether, however. the Bijâpur State adopted these measures from the former government or not, it is certain from accounts now remaining, that they were in use under that state. In all cases, not otherwise specified, the staple measure of the Bijâpur State was the *châwar,* said to contain 120 square *bîghâs.* In all these modes of assessment, whether by the *châwar.* the *mâr*, the local measures, the *kilvêm*, or the *bîjâwarî* estimate, a similar plan came to be observed of making the quantity of land in the measure vary in extent with reference to the qualities of the soil, while the sum assessed on it was always the same, a practice which led to the uncertainty in the superficial extent of each denomination, now found to be so general. But the *bîjâwarî* lands were sometimes further divided into classes paying different rates, a usage not altogether unknown even in dry lands.

The preceding observations refer to the payment of the revenue in money, which was further modified by the *châlî* system before referred to, which will be more fully explained hereafter. But the revenue was also sometimes levied in kind (particularly when *jâgîrs* and *inâ'ams* were placed under sequestration), under the *bîjâwarî* system already adverted to; according to which a *kuḍu* (= 30 *bighâs*) of seed land was considered equal to a *pau* or the fourth part of a *châwar.* Accounts are yet extant showing this process in great detail from the *tukhm-rêzî* or seed account to the *gallâ* account or share at the harvest.

The land tax, as has always happened under a Muhammadan government, becoming very high, was remodelled, under the later princes of the 'Âdil Shâhî family, and the result, known as the *tankhâ,* is referred to as the *aṣal* of 1080 A.H. (1669 A.D.) in all subsequent accounts of the Mughlâî or Dehlî rule, as a standard or foundation. The *tankhâ* is considerably less in its sum total than the previous *raḳam,* though the rates were higher. It seems to have formed the limit of the collections of the Bijâpur State when it was adopted as the basis of the Mughlâî assessment. To this every subsequent increase of revenue attained under the imperial government was added with the name of *iṣâfa-taufîr* (=additional increase), after which it remained a fixed and permanent item, even though the source from which it was derived had ceased to exist. The *taufîr* and the *tankhâ* together constitute the *kamâl-bêriz,* or full demand of the Mughlâî Government, but this *kamâl* was never realized in any instance that has been met with, on the contrary a certain portion was deducted every year, as loss *(âfat),* and the remainder only *(tatimma)* was considered to be the *jamâ* or demand. Thus the *kamâl* is of no value as a standard of comparison, because it was never in actual operation.

We have said before that the administration of the land revenue, under all the various tenures already enumerated, was regulated by what has been called the *châlî* system. Originating under the Bijâpur government, it was perfected and brought to its high state of

efficiency by the Marâthâs. The principle on which it was founded was that of the municipal character of the Indian village, according to which the principal inhabitants conduct all the affairs of the community, and manage their transactions with the officers of government. All the assessable lands in the village are entered in the accounts as liable to the *áinâtî* or standard tax, and are divided into four classes. 1st, the *châlî*, consisting of the best and most fertile fields, and those nearest the village; 2nd, the *katguta*, paying a slight addition to the *áinâtî*; 3rd, *makhtá* or *khaṇḍ makhtá*, which never pays more; and 4th, *horsut* or *kaul*, which only pays the *áinâtî* when brought into cultivation under favourable circumstances, to which may be added *payakârî*, or lands held by foreign cultivators, not members of the village community. The lands of the first class are occupied exclusively by the principal inhabitants, who are therefore called *châlîdârs*. When, at the annual settlement of the revenue the officers of government in fixing the assessment made an estimate formed from past collections and other sources, of what a suitable demand ought to be, the difference between the original *áinâtî* and the sum so fixed, was, with the consent and concurrence of the *châli râ'iyats*, imposed on their lands exclusively. This, under the name of *paṭṭî*, was sub-divided by them among themselves, but no addition was made to the demand on the other lands. This done, the *châlîdârs* became liable for the realization of the whole village assessment, and had to make good any balance that remained outstanding. They were, therefore, careful to provide against the occurrence of such a contingency. They kept up the cultivation by preventing *râ'iyats* from absconding, and by procuring new settlers; they assisted the poor with seed, bullocks, and labour at the sowing season; gave them temporary remissions to bring their fields into full tilth, and took care that they performed their engagements accordingly. When by these means the condition of any of the inferior holders was sufficiently improved to admit of his sharing in the burdens and privileges of a *châlî râ'iyats*, he was brought into that body. But when, on the other hand, a *châlîdâr* was unable from losses or misfortune to contribute his share, he was only assessed at *katguta* or *makhta* rates to allow him to recover his reduced circumstances.

The onerous conditions of the *châlî* tenure were counterbalanced by advantages which not only enabled the holder to discharge its conditions with ease, but made it an object of ambition with every *râ'iyat* to become one. In the first place, the *châlî râ'iyat* held the best lands in the township, and occupied the best houses in the village. These were attached to particular fields, and could only be possessed by the person cultivating such fields. Secondly, *kauls* for breaking up waste (*nâṅgar*[7] or great plough *kauls*) were only given to those paying *châlî*, and never to any other *râ'iyats*, but the latter could hold *hariyali* and *istâwâ kauls*.[8] Thirdly, the right of cultivating for *inâ'amdârs*, who always let their lands for much less than the *sarkâr* or government rates, was restricted to the *châlîdârs*, who also could alone employ *pâyakârî* or alien sub-tenants from other villages. These, with some other special benefits, varying in different places, and the influence they enjoyed over the village community and its concerns, and a degree of consideration with which they were treated by government and its officers, form some of the principal privileges attached to the *châlî* tenure.

The term *châlî* is, therefore, applicable rather to persons than to lands, but as the best lands were always held by the former, the expression *châlî* fields is not uncommon.

A portion only of the lands of a *châlî râ'iyat* were subjected to the imposition of the *paṭṭî*, or to the *châlî* tenure, the rest was *katguta*, *makhtâ*, and *kaul*. It was sometimes, therefore, impossible to point out the particular field considered as *châlî*, though at other times this was specified in the accounts.

[7] *nâṅgar kaul* was that given for breaking up old waste, overrun in the black soil by *nath* or *nathu* grass, the matted, deep-seated roots of which could only be broken up by the great plough drawn by five or six yoke of bullocks, and entitled the holder to exemption from all demand for eight or ten years. See Dr. Wight's description of the *nath* grass, *Ischæmum pilosum*, Wight. *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, Vol. II. p. 133.

[8] *Istâwâ* and *hariyali kauls* open to the other *râ'iyats* were only temporary exemptions to clear superficial weeds. The *istâwâ* on an exemption annually increasing to the full amount for a short period, and *hariyali* in like manner to extirpate the surface herbage of *Agrostis linearis*.

The *paṭṭí*, or extra assessment, is nominally, and was originally variable, but came in time to be considered as a fixed and customary rate, under the name of *mámúl* or fair *paṭṭí*, in contradistinction to the *jâstî paṭṭí*, or excessive addition of later times. It was nevertheless always omitted in the cultivation accounts. I have scarcely seen a single *lavaṇî-patrak* or *chiṭâ*, or schedule of land under cultivation, antecedent to the Maisûr conquest that contains more than the *áinâit*.[9] It was usual for the Marâṭhâ *kamâvisdârs* to make remissions for bad years, misfortunes, &c., by deducting a part of the *paṭṭi*, a half, quarter, two *ânâs*, or any definite proportion, and to impose an equal additional proportion in the following year, which was never objected to by the *ra'iyats*, and, I believe, is practised in some of the *jâgîr* villages to this day.

The *châlí* prevailing in the districts between the Krishṇâ and the Bhîmâ differs considerably from that above described. There the *pâṭîl* and his *bhâîband* (collateral relatives) are almost the only *châlîdârs*. They pay no *juḍi* or official quit-rent, but hold a certain quantity of *sarv-inâ'am* or *mirâsî* land free of all rent, the proportion of which is regulated by the quantity of *châlî* they may have undertaken. If by any accident a *châlîdâr* is forced to give up all, or a portion of his *châlî* holding, he must at the same time relinquish his *sarv-inâ'am* or free land, or an equivalent portion of it.

These two kinds of *châlí* recall to mind the descriptions of village economy still subsisting in other parts of India.

The first, or Southern, bears a strong resemblance to those communities in the Karnâṭak where the concerns of the village are regulated by the body of the inhabitants or *mirâsdârs*, collectively, while the *châlîdârs* of Indî and Muddebihâḷ (districts of the Bhîmtaḍi or valley of the Bhîmâ) have a slight connection with the *bhâgdâr* or co-partnership *pâṭils* of Gujarât. Indeed, I recollect two or three villages in Muddebihâḷ where the *pâṭîls* had divided the village into shares, each managed exclusively by one of their body, for the revenue of which he was responsible. A tenure still more closely resembling the *châlî* formerly prevailed in Baḷḷâri and Kadapa (Cuddapah), under the name of *appanam*, and probably still subsists in the Telugu portion of the Nizâm's dominions, for I found it lingering as far north as Gañjâm under the same name.

These are probably remains of a state of society that at one period seems to have been general throughout India, in which the concerns of the village were administered by the chief inhabitants in a body.

THE MEANING OF BAPPA AND BAVA.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

In order to facilitate the discussion of some points of importance in connection with the Rulers of Valabhî, I publish herewith a complete genealogy of the family as I interpret it from the inscriptions, with the official titles of the members of it, and their dates as far as I have been able to verify them.

The point to which I would draw attention in the present note, is the meaning of the two words *bappa* and *bâva*, which occur in the compounds *bappa-pâd-ânudhyâta*, "meditating on the feet of *bappa*," and *bâva-pâd-ânudhyâta*, "meditating on the feet of *bâva*," and of which no satisfactory explanation has as yet been offered.

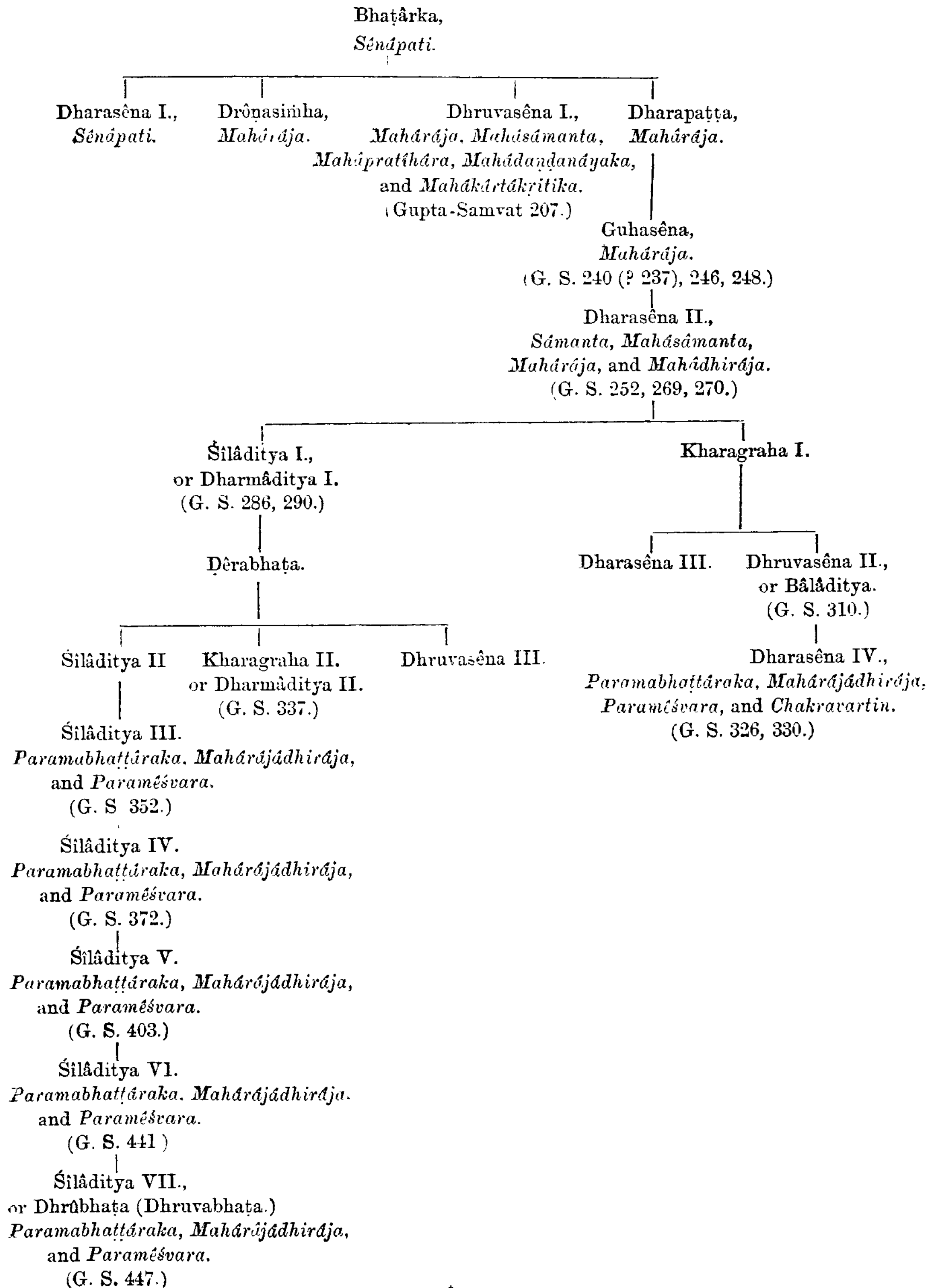
The second expression, with paramount titles qualifying *bâva*, occurs in *paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-bâva-pâd-ânudhyâta*, an epithet that is applied—(1) to only the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara* Śîlâditya III., a most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara (Śiva), in line 46 of the grant[1] of his son Śîlâditya IV. of the year 372, and in lines 45 and 46 respectively of the two grants[2] of Śîlâditya V. of the year 403. No other instance of the use of *bâva* is known to me.

[9] Superficial observers, however, not aware of this, were liable to suppose that the best, or *châlí* lands, were exorbitantly rack-rented. It is related that an inexperienced *kamâvisdâr* (revenue officer) under the Peshwâ's Government, proceeded to remodel the assessment under his charge on what he considered to be more equitable terms. Nânâ Phaḍnavis, the able minister of the Peshwâ Nârâyan Râo, and his successors, no sooner heard of it than he repaired to the district in person, replaced the assessment on its former footing, and removed his over-zealous dependant. This celebrated *diwân* was not a pure Deśastha, but belonged to the subdivision of that body known as Koṅkaṇasthâs or Chittapâwans, of which the Purâ Peshwâs were also members.

[1] *ante*, Vol. V. p. 212; and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 99.

[2] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 343.

GENEALOGY OF THE RULERS OF VALABHI.



The first expression, which was of very general use, occurs, among the Valabhî grants, with the paramount titles qualifying *bappa*, in *paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrî-bappa-pâd-ânudhyâta*, an epithet that is applied—(2), in lines 53, 54-55, 57-58, and 63 of the grant[3] of Śîlâditya VII. of the year 447, and in other grants as far as they go, to Śîlâditya IV. V. VI. and VII., each of whom came in direct succession after his father, and each of whom had the paramount titles of *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, and was also a most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara.

Among the inscriptions of other families, the same expression, *bappa-pâd-ânudhyâta*, without any qualifying titles of *bappa*, is used as an epithet—(3) of the *Bhaṭṭâraka* and *Mahârâja* Śivadêva I. of Nêpâl, in line 1-2 of his inscription[4] of Gupta-Saṁvat 318;—(4) of the *Mahâsâmanta* Aṁśuvarman of Nêpâl, who was also favoured by the feet of the god Paśupati (Śiva), in line 2 of his inscription[5] of Harsha-Saṁvat 34, and in line 4-5 of his inscription[6] of Harsha-Saṁvat 39;—(5) of Jishṇugupta of Nêpâl, who again was also favoured by the feet of the god Paśupati, in line 4 of his inscription[7] of Harsha-Saṁvat 48, and in line 6-7 of another of his inscriptions[8];—and (6) of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka* and *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Śivadêva II. of Nêpâl, who again was also favoured by the feet of the [illegible] Paśupati, and was a most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara, in line 2 of [illegible] of his inscriptions[9] of Harsha-Saṁvat 119 and 143 (?)

The same expression, *bappa-pâd-[illegible]*, with the feudatory titles of *[illegible]* and *Bhaṭṭâraka* qualifying *bappa*, occurs in *[illegible]-bappa-bhaṭṭâraka-[illegible]-pâd-[illegible]*, an epithet—(7) of the *Bhaṭṭâraka* and *Mahârâja* Vasantasêna of Nêpâl, in line 1-2 of his inscription[10] of Gupta-Saṁvat 435.

And finally, a compound of [illegible] identical import, viz. *bappa-pâda-bhakta*, "devoted to the feet of *bappa*," occurs, with the title *Bhaṭṭâraka* qualifying *bappa*, in the epithet *bappa-bhaṭṭâraka-pâda-bhakta*, which is applied—(8) to the Pallava *Mahârâja* Siṁhavarman II., who was a most devout worshipper of the Holy One (Bhagavat: *i.e.* Vishṇu), in line 13 of his grant;[11]—(9) to the Vêṅgi *Mahârâja* Vijayanandivarman, also a most devout worshipper of the Holy One (Bhagavat), in line 1 of his grant;[12]—and (10) to the Pallava *Mahârâja* Nandivarman, again a most devout worshipper of the Holy One (Bhagavat), in line 14-15 of his grant,[13] possibly spurious;—and, with the further qualifying title of *Mahârâja*, in the epithet *bappa-bhaṭṭâraka-mahârâja-pâda-bhakta*, which is applied—(11) to the Pallava *Yuvamahârâja* Vishṇugôpavarman, again a most devout worshipper of the Holy One (Bhagavat), in line 14 of his grant.[14]

In publishing the two grants of Śîlâditya V. of the year 403, Mr. V. N. Mandlik[15] treated the words *bappa* and *bâva*, quite unnecessarily, as identical, and considered that they denoted "some great teacher of the Śaiva faith, or some remarkable great king of that name; but more probably the former, from the adjectives used:" or, again, some "sage, venerated equally in all parts of Hindustân." So, also, Dr Bhagwanlal Indraji[16] has recorded his opinion that *bappa* is "a general title used by chief priests." And I myself[17] have suggested that the name is that of "some king or pontiff of very early times, whose authority was recognised universally in his own day, and was afterwards preserved in the tradition of several distinct regal families."

These suggested explanations, however, cannot be upheld.

In the first place, the epithet in which *bappa* occurs belongs undoubtedly to persons of the Śaiva faith in instances Nos. 1 to 6 above. But Nos. 8 to 11 shew that it was applicable just as much to followers of the Vaishṇava faith.

In the second place, as pointed out by Dr. Bühler,[18] the feudatory title *Mahârâja* which qualifies *bappa* in Nos. 7 and 11 above, and

[3] [illegible] Vol. VII. p. 84 [illegible] and [illegible] Vol. III. No. 39, Plate xxv.

[4] *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 98.

[5] *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 169, No. 6.

[6] *Id.* p. 170, No. 7.

[7] *Id.* p. 171, No. 9.

[8] *Id.* p. 173, No. 10.

[9] *Id.* p. 174, No. 12, and p. 17[illegible], No. 13.

[10] *Id.* p. 167, No. [illegible]

[11] *ante*, Vol. V. p. [illegible]

[12] *Id.* p. 17[illegible]

[13] [illegible] Vol. V. p. [illegible]

[14] [illegible] Vol. VIII. p. 163.

[15] *Jour.* [illegible] Vol. XI. p. [illegible], note *.

[16] [illegible] Vol. I[illegible] p. 1[illegible] note 17.

[17] [illegible] Vol. X. p. [illegible] note 4.

[18] [illegible] Vol. [illegible] p. [illegible]

still more, the paramount sovereign titles of *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, which qualify it in the instances grouped under No. 2, shew that the word must refer to some one of noble or regal birth, and cannot denote a priest, no matter how high his rank in the hierarchy might be.

As regards the question of *bappa* being a proper name, the word does occur in this way —as the name of an official, the *Balâdhikṛita* and *Bhôgika* Bappa, in line 59 of the grant[19] of Śilâditya IV. of the year 372;—as the name of some one after whom was named the *Bappapâdîya-vihâra*, or "Buddhist monastery of the feet of Bappa," at Valabhi, mentioned in line 19 of the grant[20] of the *Mahârâja* Dharasêna II. of the year 269;—in Bappasvâmin, one of the grantees in line 11 of the Khôh grant[21] of the Parivrâjaka *Mahârâja* Hastin, of the year 163;—in Bappârya, one of the grantees in line 53 of the Chammak grant[22] of the Vâkâṭaka *Mahârâja* Pravarasêna II.;—and in Bappabhatti, a Jain teacher,[23] allotted to Vikrama-Saṁvat 800 to 895. The same word is also probably a component of Bappûra, the name of the family to which, as recorded in an unpublished inscription of Maṅgaliśa, Durlabhâdêvî, the wife of the early Chalukya king Pulikêśin I., belonged.[24] A similar word *bâppa*, probably derived from it, occurs in Bâppadêva, the name of a *Sênâpati* in line 35 of the Siwanî grant of Pravarasêna II.[25] And, finally, Bappa, or Bappa Râvula, has been preserved by tradition in Mêwâḍ, as the more familiar appellation of an early Gôhila chief, who is said to have established the power of that tribe on the overthrow of the Bhillas or Bhils.[26]

But the idea that, in the technical expression under discussion, *bappa* denotes some particular priest, whether of the Śaiva or Vaishṇava faith, whose memory had been preserved in different parts of India from very early times, has been disposed of above. And, this being so, it remains difficult, on the supposition that the word is a proper name, to imagine how it should have cropped up again from time to time, under precisely similar circumstances, in such different parts of the country and such varying periods as are indicated by instances Nos. 2 to 11 above.

The true explanation of the word, in this technical expression, first occurred to me from noticing the way in which the titles that qualify *bappa* vary in accordance with the titles of the persons to whom the epithet *bappa-pâdânudhyâta* is applied; and it is fully borne out by the epithet *śrî-ajjaka-pâd-ânudhyâta*, which is applied only to Dharasêna IV. in line 38 of his complete grant[27] of the year 326, and in his grant of the same year of which only the translation of the second plate has been published.[28] This expression, which, if it had not been so completely overlooked, would probably have made the matter clear long ere now, dropped out in all the subsequent Valabhî grants, even in those of Dharasêna IV. himself of the year 330; probably

[19] *ante*, Vol. V. p. 212; and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind* Vol III. p. 90.

[20] *ante*, Vol. VI p. 12.

[21] *Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. No. 22, Plate xiii.

[22] *id.* No. 55, Plate xxxiv; and *ante*, Vol XII. p. 245.

[23] *ante*, Vol XI. p. 253.

[24] See *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 19, 22.

[25] *Corp. Inscr Indic* Vol. III. No. 56. Plate xxxv.

[26] Tod's *Annals of Râjasthân*, Chapter II. (Calcutta Reprint, Vol. I. p. 238ff, see also pp. 121, 253, 258f.) He adds a note (*id.* p. 240) that "Bappa is not a proper name: it signifies 'a child' He is frequently styled *Syeel* and in inscriptions *Syeel Adhes*, 'the mountain lord.'" If this is correct, the real name would be Saila or Sailâdhîśa.—This tradition is rather a peculiar one. It says that, of Bappa's numerous progeny, some returned to their ancient seats in Saurâshtra, and, as a matter of fact, Walâ, the modern representative of the ancient Valabhi, belongs to Gohilas, and is in the division of Kâthiâwâḍ that is called the Gôhilwâḍ Prânt Another curious point in it is, that it gives Vikrama-Saṁvat 191 (A.D. 134-35) for the birth of Bappa. Tod shewed that this date is wrongly referred to the Vikrama era, but went wrong himself in arriving at A. D. 728 for the real period of Bappa's power. In connection with this subject, he mentioned a Jain record to the effect that, in Gupta-Saṁvat 205, Saurâshtra was invaded by barbarians from the north, and the town of Valabhi was sacked Now, the accompanying genealogical table shews that the *Sênâpati* Bhaṭârka, the founder of the Valabhi family, must have been alive in or shortly before Gupta-Saṁvat 191, though his birth must be placed some twenty-five years earlier. And there can be little doubt that the Mewâḍ tradition is based on a confused reminiscence of the rise of the Valabhi family. The Jain date of Gupta-Saṁvat 205 probably refers to a historical event; that event, however, would be, not the sacking of Valabhi by barbarians from the north, but the reverse of this, the building of Valabhi after the overthrow of these invaders, the Maitrakas, by Bhaṭârka.—Tod (*id.* p. 846f.) gives an abstract of an inscription, dated Vikrama-Samvat 1034, from 'Aitpur,' which mentions 'Syeela,' in the fifth generation, but not Bappa.—There is a later inscription of the same family, dated Vikrama-Saṁvat 1342, at a *Maṭh* near the temple of Achalêśvara at the Achalgaḍh Hill Fort on Mount Abû, which takes the genealogy back a step further, and mentions Bappa, or Bappa Râvula (under the name of Bapâ, if the translation is correct) as the first of the family; see Kaviraj Shyamal Das' translation in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LV. Part I. pp 32ff, 57ff., and p 19.

[27] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 79; and *ante*, Vol. I. p 16.

[28] *ante*, Vol I. p. 45.

on account of something in the official relations between Śîlâditya I. and Kharagraha I. which remains to be cleared up. But it occurs in these two instances; and, in accordance with Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's rendering,[29] it undoubtedly means "meditating on the feet of (his) illustrious grandfather." *Ajja* in Kanarese, and *ajá* and *ájá* in Marâṭhî, are the ordinary words for 'a grandfather' in the present day. And it is evident that *ajjaka* is the older Prâkṛit word, from which these have been derived.

On this analogy, *bappa* suggests itself at once as the old Prâkṛit form of the modern *báp*, 'a father.' And now it becomes clear why the word is qualified by the paramount titles in its connection with the paramount sovereign Śîlâditya IV. and his successors,[30] the reason being that the father of each of them was himself a paramount sovereign; and, on the other hand, why, in its connection with feudatories, it has either no qualificatory title at all, or only the feudatory titles *Mahárája* and *Bhaṭṭáraka*, as in the case of Vasantasêna, Siṁhavarman, Vijayanandivarman, Nandivarman, and Vishṇugôpavarman.[31] The rule thus disclosed also shews why, in the case of Śivadêva II.,[32] himself a paramount sovereign, *bappa* has no qualifying term; for, the way in which he is introduced in lines 11-12 of the Nêpâl inscription[33] No. 15, shews that he brought in a new branch of the Ṭhâkurî family, and that his father Narêndradêva, even if he held the rank of *Mahárája*, was at least not a paramount sovereign. And the same rule explains why, in connection with the paramount sovereign Dharasêna IV., *ajjaka* is qualified by nothing more than the ordinary title *śrî*; for, he himself was the first paramount sovereign in the family; and his grandfather, Kharagraha I., was at the best only a *Mahárája*.

The analogy of *ajjaka* and *bappa* now suffices fully to clear up the meaning of the word *báva*. It suggests at once that it is nothing but the older Prâkṛit word from which have been derived, with somewhat differing significations, in Marâṭhî, *bábá*, 'a term of respectful mention for a father or an elderly person;' *báwá*, 'a term of respectful mention for a Gôsâvî, Guru, father, or elderly person,' and *bháwá*, 'a husband's brother, especially an elder brother;' and in Kanarese, *báva*, 'the son of a mother's brother, or father's sister, a man or woman's brother-in-law (in every case, if older than one's self),' and *bháva*, a husband or wife's elder brother, a maternal uncle's son (similarly, in every case, if older than one's self).' Looking for its application in connection with Śîlâditya III., we note, in the first place, that the grants shew very clearly that his father Śîlâditya II. did not reign at all, which explains why the epithet *bappa-pád-ánudhyáta* is not used in respect of him; and, in the second place, that the only paramount sovereign before him was his father's distant cousin Dharasêna IV., who, so far as paramount sovereignty is concerned, was his immediate predecessor. This shews us that *báva* was used, here at least, to denote 'a male relative, of the same generation with a father,' or roughly 'an uncle'; and explains why *báva* is qualified here with the paramount titles. And the fact that, after the first adoption of this technical expression, the Valabhî succession was in each instance direct from father to son, explains why the expression *báva-pád-ánudhyáta* does not occur again.

In Kanarese, *bappa* appears in the form of *boppa*,[34] in *boppana-siṅga*, 'the lion of (his) father,' an epithet applied to the Raṭṭa chieftain Lakshmidêva II., the son and successor of Kârtavîrya IV., in line 63-64 of his inscription[35] of Śaka-Saṁvat 1151. In confirmation of this I may quote—*ayyana-siṅga*, 'the lion of (his) father,' a title of the Śilâhâra chieftain Gaṇḍarâditya of Kôlâpur, in line 21 of his grant[36] of Śaka-Saṁvat 1032, and also of his son Vijayâditya;[37]—*mávana-siṅga*, 'the lion of (his) father-in-law', applied to the *Daṇḍanáyaka* Kêsavâdityadêva, in lines 17-18 of the Kâdarôḷḷi inscription[38] of Śaka-Saṁvat 997;—*aṇṇana-gandhaváraṇa*, 'the choice elephant of (his) elder brother,' applied to the *Daṇḍanáyaka* Sômêśvarabhaṭṭa in lines 11-12 of the same inscription;—*aṇṇan-aṅkakáṛa* 'the warrior

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29 *ante*, Vol. I. p. 16.
30 Instance No. 2 above.
31 Nos. 7 to 11 above.
32 No. 6 above.
33 *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 178; see also Vol. XIV. p. 348.
34 In Sanderson's edition of Reeves' *Kanarese Dictionary*, this word is marked as one common to most Indian languages.
35 *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 263; and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 113.
36 *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XIII. p. 3.
37 *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 105.
38 *ante*, Vol. I. p. 141; and *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 106.

or champion of (his) elder brother,' applied to the Sinda chieftain Âchugi II. in line 9 of his inscription[39] of Śaka-Saṁvat 1042; and—*bhâvan-aṅkakâṟa*, 'the warrior or champion of (his) uncle or other relation of the same generation with his father,' applied to a Śilâhâra chieftain named Goṅkidêva in line 46 of the Têrdâḷ inscription[40] of Śaka-Saṁvat 1042, etc. Other similar titles, which help to explain the preceding, through the introduction of proper names instead of words of relationship, are—*Sênana-siṅga*, 'the lion of Sêna,' applied to the Raṭṭa chieftain Kârtavîrya II., the son and successor of Sêna I., in line 7 of his Saundatti inscription;[41] —*Tailana-siṅga*, 'the lion of Taila,' applied to the Kâdamba chieftain Kîrttivarman II. of Banawâsi, the son and successor of Taila I.;[42]—*Tailaman-aṅkakâṟa*, 'the warrior or champion of Tailama,' applied to Kâmadêva of the same family, the son and successor of Tailama;[43]—and *Goṅkan-aṅkakâṟa*, 'the warrior or champion of Goṅka,' and *Gûhêyana-siṅga*, 'the lion of Gûhêya,' applied to the Śilâhâra chieftain Mârasiṁha, the son and successor of Goṅka, and the nephew of Gûhala or Gûvala I., in line 28 of his grant[44] of Śaka-Saṁvat 980.

AN ENGLISH-GIPSY INDEX.

COMPILED BY MRS. GRIERSON, WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY G. A. GRIERSON, B.C.S.

(*Continued from p.* 239).

RED WAISTCOATS,—Lolle bengres, (Eng.)
REDEEM, to,—Kinâva aley, (Eng.)
REDNESS,—Lolipê, (Tch.)
REED,—Vûzia, (Tch.)
REIN,—Salavâr, (M.)
REJOICE, to,—Loshâniovâva, (Tch., Psp. M.); bukurisard'ovâva, mĕngĕiâva, (M.)
RELATIONS,—Fînu, nâmur, (M.)
RELEASE, to,—Izbĕvisarâva, (M.)
RELIGIOUS,—Sherrafo, (Eng.)
REMAIN, to,—Achâva, têrghiovava, (Tch.); beshâva, ashâva, (M.); achâva, (M. 7)
REMEMBER, to,—Rigâva in zi, (Eng.); sherâva man, (Tch.)
REMEMBER, to cause to,—Sheravâvâ man, (Tch.)
REMOVE, to,—Duryovâva, t'idâva, (M.)
RENEW, to,—Nev kerâva, (Tch.)
RENT, to,—Usharâva, (Tch.)
RENTED,—Ushardicanô, (Tch.)
REPAY, to,—Pesâva apopli, (Eng.)
REPENT, to,—Pokutuyiâva, pĕkĕtuiâva, (M.)
REPORT,—Rapôrto, vêste, (M.)
REPOSE,—Lutherum, (Eng.)
REST, to,—Achâva, (Tch., Psp. M.); hodiniâva, hodinisarâva, hodinisard'ovâva, popasĕsarâva, (M.)
REVILE,—Kushâva, (Tch., Psp. M.)
RIB,—Pashavrô, (Tch.)
RICE,—Rîzos, (Tch.)
RICH,—Bovalo, (Eng.); baravalo, (Psp, M., M. 7); baravalô, barvalô, (Tch.); barvalô, barvalû, (M.)
RICH, he who is,—Baravalicanô, manghinêskôro, (Tch.)
RICHES,—Baravalipê, manghîn, (Tch.); mândin. (M.); mangin, (M. 8)
RID, to get, of,—Skĕpiâva, (M.)
RIDE, to,—Kisturâva, (Eng.); prastâva, (M.)
RIDE ROUND, to,—Enkunzhurisarâva, (M.)
RIDER,—Kistri-mengro, kistro-mengro, (Eng.); kalarêca, porizĕn, (M.)
RIDICULE, to,—Ḳhoḳhavâva, (Tch., M. 7); prasâva, (Tch., Psp. M.)
RIDICULE,—Prasaibê, (Tch.)
RIDICULOUS,—Kesindîa, (Tch.)
RIGHT, (subst.)—Chechipî, chechipî, kanônu, tryâba. (M.)
RIGHT, (adj.),—Orta, (M. 8)
RING,—Vangustri, wangustri, (Eng.); angrustî, angustrî, engusterî, (Tch.); angrusti, ĕngrustî, (M.); angushtri, (M. 7); angrusti, angustri, (Psp. M.)
RINGS, pretended gold,—Fashono wangustis. (Eng.)
RINGING THE CHANGES,—Hukni, (Eng.)
RIOT, to,—Korâva, (Eng.)
RIOTER,—Kora-mengro, (Eng.)
RIOTING,—Koring, (Eng.)
RIP THE SEAMS, to,—Putrâva, (Tch.); phutrâva, (M. 8)
RIPE,—Mulanô, (Tch., Psp. M.)
RIPEN, to,—Mulanô kerâva, (Tch., Psp. M.)
RIPPED, to be,—Putêrghiovava, putêrdovava, (Tch.)
RISE, to,—Ukhkiâva, ufkiâva, uftiâva, ufchiâva, (Tch.); khut'âva, rĕpĕzĕsard'ovâva, (M.) Cf. to STEP.
RIVER,—Len, (dim.) lenorî, (Tch.); shat, sat, (As. Tch.); len, (Psp. M., M. 8)

[39] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 247.
[40] *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 16.
[41] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 213.
[42] *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 85
[43] *id.* p. 86.
[44] No. 10 of the separate publications of the Archæological Survey of Western India, p. 103.

ROAD,—Drom, tobbar, (Eng); drom, (dim.) dromorô, (Tch); pathon, (As. Tch.); khotâr, (M.); drom, (Psp. M.)

ROAD, of or belonging to,—Dromêskoro, (Tch)

ROAST, to,—Pekâva, (M.)

ROASTED, to be,—Pekyovâva, (M.)

ROASTED,—Pek'd, pekt, (Eng.); peko, (Span. Gip.) pekô, (M)

ROB, to,—khutilâva, khotilâva, rĕbuiâva, (M)

ROBBER,—Haydamâk, haydamâkho, rĕzbôyniko, rĕzbòyniku, voynîko, voynîku, (M)

ROBBER-CHIEF,—Gilĕu, (M.)

ROBBERY,—Fakement, luripen, (Eng); choribê, (Tch.)

ROBBERY, highway,—Drom-luring, (Eng.)

ROCK, to,—Legĕniâva, (M.)

ROD,—Ran, (pl.) ranior, (Eng); vîcha, (Tch, M. 8); gĕnzhu, prĕzhĕna, rovli, roûli, (M); rubli, (Psp. M.)

ROLL, to,—Chord'ovâva, sord'ovâva, tĕvĕliâva, (M)

ROLLER,—Fĕkĕlĕcu, (M)

ROOM,—Komorrus, (Eng.); khĕr, (dim.) khĕrorô, stância, stâncie, (M.)

ROOT,—Korinî, korîn, (Tch); rĕdĕchîna, (M.); korin, (Psp. M)

ROOT up, to,—Hunavâva, (M.)

ROPE,—Shello, (Eng); jele, (Span Gip); shelô, sholô, (Tch.); shĕlô, sholô, shĕllô, (M.); shelo, (Psp. M., M. 8)

ROPE-DANCER,—Shello-hokta-mengro, (Eng)

ROPE-MAKER,—Shelĕngoro, (Tch.)

ROTTEN,—Kernô, (Tch M. 7)

ROUGE,—Lolipê, (Tch.)

ROW, (line)—Rĕnd, rĕndu, (M)

ROYAL,—Dakaranô, dakaricanô, dakarêskoro, dakarûtno, (Tch.)

RUB, to,—Murâva, morâva, (Tch); licharâva, murâva, (M. 8)

RUBBED, to be,—Môrghiovava, (Tch)

RUBY,—Chenî, (Tch)

RUDDER,—Boldinô, (Tch.)

RUDENESS,—Pukibê, pukaibê, (Tch)

RUFF,—Kurlo-mengri, (Eng.)

RUINED,—Propĕdimî, (M)

RUIN, to go to,—Propĕdisard'ovâva, (M)

RUM,—Tarô, tarî, (Tch.)

MISCELLANEA.

A NOTE ON THE ORIGIN OF THE GUPTA ERA.

In my paper on "the Epoch of the Gupta Era," at page 189ff, above,[1] I did not include any remarks on the origin of the era, for the reason that this is a question which is still the subject of speculation only, and as to which but little that is certain can as yet be said. I will, however, here put together a few notes on this point.

I have remarked, on two or three previous occasions, that, though it is convenient to continue the custom of speaking of the era as the Gupta era, still there is nothing in the inscriptions to shew that it was invented by the Early Guptas themselves. And the contrary supposition is the more probable one. The first two members of the family, Gupta and his son Ghaṭôtkacha, held only the feudatory rank of *Mahârâja*, and had not the authority to establish an era. The first paramount sovereign was Ghaṭôtkacha's son, Chandragupta I., who was succeeded by his son Samudragupta, and grandson Chandragupta II. The inscriptions give no dates for Chandragupta I. and Samudragupta; but they shew that Chandragupta II. was reigning up to at any rate the year 93 of the era. Now, the era, if established by a Gupta king at all, can hardly have been established later than in the reign of Chandragupta I.; and, if he was the founder of it, he would have dated it from the commencement of his own reign, just as Harshavardhana of Kanauj, in founding the new Harsha era, dated it from his own installation, neglecting even the reigns of his elder brother Râjyavardhana II. and father Prabhâkaravardhana, both of them paramount sovereigns, and much more, as a matter of course, two preceding generations of *Mahârâjas*, beginning with Râjyavardhana I. The result is an average of at least thirty-one years for the three reigns of Chandragupta I., Samudragupta, and Chandragupta II This, in itself, is not impossible, though it is improbable. But, when we regard the fact that Kumâragupta, the son of Chandragupta II., reigned for at least thirty-four years, from the year 96 to the year 129, the result, an average of thirty-two years for four successive reigns of fathers and sons, is, I submit, sufficient to shew that the era dates from before the commencement of the reign of Chandragupta I., and probably, by a mere coincidence, from just about the time to which the *Mahârâja* Gupta, the founder of the family, must be referred; and that, consequently, it was not established by a Gupta king at all.

[1] I omitted to quote there an alternative rendering of the crucial passage in Albîrûnî's statement, suggested by Mr. Thomas in his edition of *Prinsep's Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 271, note; *viz.*—"Again, the Kûbat Kâl (Gupta era), that was, as is said, a wicked and powerful family; when it ceased, it was dated from, and as it were (it would seem that) *Balab was the last of them*, for the first of their era also is 241 years after the Saka Kâl."—Albîrûnî's expression and meaning will, it is hoped, be made fully clear in Prof. E. Sachau's approaching edition and translation of his work.

By whom it was founded is the point that still remains to be determined; and, if the era was devised in India itself, this point can only be settled by ascertaining who were the paramount sovereigns to whom the *Mahârâjas* Gupta and Ghaṭôtkacha were feudatory. Mr. Fergusson's opinion[2] on this point, was in the direction of the era having been established by the Andhra king Gautamîputra-Śâtakarṇi, whom he placed between A.D. 312 and 333. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, however,[3] places this king between A.D. 133 and 154; and, according to his view of the history of the period, we should have to refer the establishment of the Gupta era to some event connected with either the downfall of the Satraps of Saurâshṭra, or the history of the Râshṭrakûṭas of the Dekkan.

Our knowledge of the early history is not yet such as to enable us to work out this point fully; and I refer to it chiefly in order to shew the direction in which researches might be made.

But I would add here that, though I have treated the era as having been invented in India itself, and as having been introduced into Nêpâl by the Early Guptas, still it is equally possible that the era was obtained by them from Nêpâl, and is in reality the Lichchhavi era, founded by the Lichchhavi kings, at a time, perhaps, when their republican or tribal constitution was abolished in favour of a monarchy. The writings of Fa-hian and Hiuen Tsiang[4] prove the great antiquity of the Lichchhavi clan in the direction of Nêpâl. And, as regards their epigraphical records, I have shewn[5] that the first historical king, Jayadêva I., must, by the ordinary allowance of time for each generation, be referred to A.D. 330-355, and it needs but little adjustment to carry him back to A.D. 318, 319, or 320. This supposition would explain, perhaps better than any other, why, even after the introduction of the Harsha era into Nêpâl not later than A.D. 640-41 and its adoption by the Ṭhâkuri family of Kailâsakûṭabhavana, the Lichchhavi rulers of Mânagṛiha clung to the earlier era, and continued the use of it down to at least the year 435 or A.D. 754-55, and in all probability for a century longer.[6] And all the other facts will fit in just as well with this supposition, as with the other theory. The friendly relations between the Early Guptas and the Lichchhavis, and the pride in them felt by the former, are shewn by the intermarriage in the time of Chandragupta I., by the careful record of the name of Kumâradêvî herself and of her family on some of his coins,[7] and by the epithet of *Lichchhavi-dauhitra*, "the daughter's son of Lichchhavi, or of a Lichchhavi," that is always applied to Samudragupta in the genealogical inscriptions. And I have perhaps been wrong in speaking, on previous occasions, of a conquest of Nêpâl by Samudragupta; the exact reference, in the Allahâbâd inscription, is to *Nêpâla pratyanta-nṛipati*, which may mean either "the frontier-king of Nêpâla," or "the kings of the countries on the frontiers of Nêpâla." It is quite possible that the Early Guptas did not extend their dominions actually into Nêpâl; and that, in that direction, they and the Lichchhavis reigned in amity side by side on equal terms.

J. F. FLEET.

3rd August 1886.

THE UPANISHADS AND THEIR LATEST TRANSLATION.

Under this heading, a valuable article is contributed to the First Part of Vol. VII. of the *American Journal of Philology*, by Professor W. D. Whitney, of Yale College, an American Sanskritist and philologist of deservedly high repute. It consists, for the most part, of a critique on the first and fifteenth volumes of the *Sacred Books of the East*, its handling of which may be regarded as a sample of the "wholesome severity" which the writer advocates in interpreting the Upanishads!

Many of the criticisms of individual passages are characterized by considerable acumen and accurate scholarship, and cannot fail to be of value to students of these philosophical tracts; but the general effect is not a little marred by the sweeping condemnation of the volumes as a whole, in which the critic indulges.

Considering that the work under review is from the pen of one whom all know to be a scholar of no mean order, such comments as the following are almost unseemly:—"The whole body of them [*i. e.* of the notes] is to be condemned, as furnishing a minimum of valuable and helpful context, even when they are not altogether misleading. There is not, it is believed, a single instance where a really difficult passage is seriously and competently discussed." Again:—"If there were in any part of these two volumes a passage of a different character from those we have been reviewing—a passage showing signs of a sound

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[2] *Jour. R. As. Soc.* F. S., Vol. IV. p. 128f.
[3] *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 27.
[4] See Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I. pp. xiii. lii. lv., and Vol. II. pp. 67 note, 70, 73, 77 note, 81.
[5] *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 350f.
[6] Page 194 above, and *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 345, Inscriptions N. and P.
[7] On the 'king and queen' type of Mr. V. A. Smith's arrangement: *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LIII. Part I. p. 171, and Plate ii. No. 2.

plan, careful and conscientious execution, penetrating insight into the difficulties of the text and successful effort to set them forth and explain them—it would be our duty and pleasure to pay it our attention. But no such passage is to be found; the work is all of one stamp; there is hardly a paragraph, much less a page, in it that does not furnish matter for serious animadversion."

Professors Whitney and Max Müller have long been before the public as writers, in a popular form, on the science of language; and it is well known that in advocating their respective theories they have come into violent antagonism.

It is deeply to be regretted that the atmosphere of linguistic study should be so fatal to calmness as it seems to be, and so generally provocative of a spirit of "envy, hatred, malice and all uncharitableness"—evidence of which, in the case of these two scholars has, unadvisedly, been preserved for posterity in one of the volumes of *Chips from a German Workshop,* and is again conspicuous in the article under notice.

The opening pages contain some sound remarks on the merits of the Upanishads generally, together with others of less value, on the demerits of the native commentaries. We do not share with the writer his extreme contempt for the interpretations of such a scholar, for example, as Śaṁkarâchârya; as we cannot but feel that a man like him, of extensive reading, of acute intellect, and living at least a thousand years nearer to the time of the composition of the Upanishads than we do, was possessed of very material advantages as an interpreter of them; and no modern scholar can afford to set him aside or deny him the most serious attention. For much that is unintelligible in the texts of our printed editions of the Upanishads, and misleading in the commentaries thereon, the editors are responsible; a glaring instance of which is to be found in the volume of minor Âtharvaṇa Upanishads, which forms one of the *Bibliotheca Indica* series. It is no exaggeration to say that neither text nor comment of that volume has the slightest critical value.

The Professor's remarks on the various possible methods of interpreting the Upanishads, are full of interest; and we reproduce one of them for the benefit of our readers:—"A third way, leading in quite another direction, would be this: to approach the text only as a philologist, bent upon making a version of it exactly as it stands, representing just what the words and phrases appear to say, without intrusion of anything that is not there in recognizable form; thus reproducing the scripture itself in Western guise, as nearly as the nature of the case admits, as a basis whereon could afterward be built such fabric of philosophic interpretation as should be called for; and also as a touchstone to which could be brought for due testing anything that claimed to be an interpretation. The maker of such a version would not need to be versed in the subtleties of the later Hindu philosophical systems; he should even carefully avoid working in the spirit of any of them. Nor need he pretend to penetrate to the hidden sense of the dark sayings that pass under his pen, to comprehend it and set it forth; for then there would inevitably mingle itself with his version much that was subjective and doubtful, and that every successor would have to do over again. Working conscientiously, as a Sanskrit scholar only, he might hope to bring out something of permanent and authoritative character, which should serve both as help and as check to those that come after him. He would carefully observe all identities and parallelisms of phraseology, since in texts like these the word is to no small extent more than the thing, the expression dominating the thought: the more the quantities are unknown, the less will it answer to change their symbols in working out an equation. Of all leading and much-used terms, in case the rendering could not be made uniform, he would maintain the identity by a liberal quotation of the word itself in parenthesis after its translation, so that the sphere of use of each could be made out in the version somewhat as in the original, by the comparison of parallel passages; and so that the student should not run the risk of having a difference of statement which might turn out important, covered from his eyes by an apparent identity of phrase—or the contrary. Nothing, as a matter of course, would be omitted, save particles whose effect on the shading of a sentence is too faint to show in the coarseness of translation into a strange tongue; nor would anything be put in without exact indication of the intrusion. The notes would be prevailingly linguistic, references to parallel passages, with exposition of correspondences and differences. Sentences grammatically difficult or apparently corrupt would be pointed out, and their knotty points discussed, perhaps with suggestions of text-amendment. But it is needless to go into further detail; every one knows the methods by which a careful scholar, liberal of his time and labour toward the due accomplishment of a task deemed by him important, will conduct such a work." There are few Sanskrit Scholars of the present day as competent to prepare a version of this description as is Professor Whitney himself; and it is to be hoped that he will ere long furnish us with an instalment of work on these lines.

Before concluding, we must correct an error occurring in the opening sentence of the article under notice. It stands thus :—"The Upanishads are to the modern Hindu that part of his sacred literature for which he cares most, if not the only one for which he cares at all." If the writer were to sojourn for a few years in this country he would find cause for modifying this view. As a matter of fact, "the modern Hindu" knows no more of the Upanishads than he does of the Mantras of the Vêda. The Paurâṇik literature, and the popular vernacular poems based thereon, are the only writings "for which he cares at all."

G. A. JACOB.

15*th June* 1886.

SAMANYACHARANA AND BRIHACHARANA.

In the June number of this Journal, p. 174 above, Mr. Rice has given a derivation and explanation of the name of *Bṛihacharaṇa* ; and I take this opportunity, as I am a Drâviḍa Brâhmaṇ of that caste, to write to you of what I have heard and read about its origin.

In the *Sthalapurâṇa* of Lâlguḍi,[1] a small town in the district of Trichinopoly, a story occurs explaining how a certain set of Brâhmaṇs came from the north and received the name of *Bṛihacharaṇas*.

There was a great dearth in the Chôḷa country; all the lakes and rivers had dried up; famine and pestilence prevailed. Brâhmaṇs, as long as they are orthodox especially, cannot live for a moment without that most necessary element of human or animal kind,—water. But, so great was the scarcity of water in the Chôḷa dominions, that even the Brâhmaṇs there had to leave off a great part of their rites.

Just at this time the king[2] of the Choḷa country found a great multitude of Brâhmaṇs coming into his dominions from the north. Wherever they halted, they found sufficient water for their bath and ablutions.[3] They were all *Âhitâgnis*, or religious men who maintained their sacred fire, with their wives. When the Chôḷa king saw them, he was struck with their *âchâra* or pious behaviour and observances, and said—*yûyam bṛihad-âcharaṇâḥ*, "you are all persons of mighty (wonderful) observances." From that time these new Brâhman settlers were called *Bṛihadâcharaṇâḥ*, which in course of time was corrupted into *Bṛihacharaṇâḥ*.

The *Sâmânyacharaṇa* of Mr. Rice's inscription may mean, I think, the other Brâhmaṇs, who must have been the previous settlers, and who must have had only ordinary observances, *sâmânya-âcharaṇa*. These may be the modern priests of temples, *Gurukkaḷs* and *Pûjâris*, who are always considered low in the scale of Brâhmaṇism, and who, especially in Southern India, are not considered fit for company at meals, and do not join in domestic and religious gatherings. In the several Chôḷa inscriptions that I have examined these *Gurukkaḷs* only sign as Brâhmaṇs, and I have found no other Brâhmaṇs. The mention of the *Sâmânyacharaṇas*, which is a name opposed to that of the *Bṛihacharaṇas*, may also go much against the genuineness of the date of the grant, Śaka 261.

As far as I can conclude, I am of opinion that the first Brâhmaṇ migration to the South began in the seventh century A.D., and that the original immigrants must be the present degenerated *Gurukkaḷs*, who seem to have once exercised great influence. The *Bṛihacharaṇas*, *Vaḍamas*, and others, must have arrived in later times.

S. M. NATESA SASTRI.

Madras, 15*th June* 1886.

CURIOSITIES OF INDIAN LITERATURE.

THE FOUR QUESTIONS.

When king Yudhishṭhira was in exile, he came to a tank inhabited by a ferocious *Grâha* or water demon. It was the habit of this beast to put the following questions to all who came to drink at the tank :—

को मोदते किमाश्चर्यं का वार्त्ता कः पथः स्मृतः ।
इति मे चतुरः प्रश्नान् पूरयित्वा जलं पिब ॥

'Who is happy? What is wonderful? What is the news? What is the path? First answer me these four questions, and then drink.' As no one was ever able to answer these questions, he used to kill and devour them. Yudhishṭhira, however, was equal to the occasion, and, when challenged, replied as follows :—

दिवसस्याष्टमे भागे शाकं पचति यो गृहे ।
अनृणी चाप्रवासी च स वारिचर मोदते ॥ १
अहन्यहनि भूतानि गच्छन्ति यममन्दिरे ।
अपरे स्थातुमिच्छन्ति किमाश्चर्यमतः परम् ॥ २
अस्मिन्महामोहमये कटाहे सूर्याग्निना रात्रिदिनेन्धनेन ।
मासर्तुदर्वीपरिघट्टनेन भूतानि कालः पचतीह वार्त्ता ॥ ३
श्रुतिर्विभिन्ना स्मृतयो विभिन्ना नैको मुनिर्यस्य मतं विभिन्नम् ।
धर्मस्य तत्त्वं निहितं गुहायां महाजनो येन गतः स पन्थाः ॥ ४

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[1] Lâlguḍi is near Trichinopoly, on the banks of the Coleroon (Koḷḷadam), and contains a fine temple dedicated to Saptarshîśvara, the Śiva who gave eternal felicity to the seven sages.—The modern name of Lâlguḍi, *i.e.* 'the red temple' [a hybrid formation, in which *lâl* is Hindustânî and *guḍi* is Drâviḍian ; J. F. F.], was given by the Nawâb of Trichinopoly to the place, because when once he visited it he found the *gôpura* of the temple coloured red.—The Drâvidian name of the place is Tiruttirai, or the sacred spot, from which the seven sages attained, after long penance, eternal felicity.

[2] The king's name is not on good authority. He is, I think, called Karikâla ; but whatever may be the name in the *Sthalapurâṇa*, we cannot take it as an historical certainty.

[3] Through the great righteous power they had in them.

'He who cooks his mess of vegetables at the eighth watch of the day, and he who is not in debt, and is not a sojourner,—he, O Water-Goblin, is happy. That, while every day created things are hastening to the hall of death, others should say, "I wish to remain,"—what is more wonderful than this? In this cauldron (*of the world*) full of illusion, time cooks created things, with the sun for fire, night and day for fuel, and months and seasons for the stirring ladle,—this is the news. The Scriptures are at variance and Holy Writ is at variance; many are the holy men, but their advice is at variance; the essence of virtue is placed in the inner recesses (*of the heart*), and that, along which the great and good have gone before,—that is the path.'

On hearing these replies the *Grâha* was mightily pleased, and, giving him all the riches he had carried off from his former victims, let him go on his journey. G. A. GRIERSON.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE ORDINANCES OF MANU.—Translated from the Sanskrit with an introduction, by the late ARTHUR COKE BURNELL, Ph.D., C.I.E., completed and edited by EDWARD W. HOPKINS, Ph.D., of Columbia College N. Y. London: Trübner and Co. 1884. 8vo, pp. xlvii. and 399.

It was known some years ago that the late Dr. Burnell held peculiar views as to the date of the book which we have been accustomed to call the laws of Manu. The matter cannot be regarded as finally settled yet; but Burnell certainly had the courage of his opinion; and the evidence on which he founded it, if not conclusive, is well deserving of consideration.

No one, of course, now believes as Sir William Jones did when he brought out his translation nearly a hundred years ago, that the code, if it may be so called, is as old as 1200 B.C. The theory generally accepted in late years is, that the book contains the customs and rules of the Mânavas, a sect of Brâhmaṇs who followed the Black *Yajurvêda*; that it is mainly a versification of the *Gṛihya* and *Sâmayâchârika Sûtras* of that sect; and that it was compiled about 500 B.C.

The grounds for fixing Manu so far back are briefly stated as follows:—The gods mentioned in Manu are chiefly the Vedic deities; the account given of the four castes and their origin is similar to that given in the *Purusha-Sûkta*; there is no allusion to the practice of Satî, or to the worship of Vishṇu and Śiva; nor is there any mention of the *Râmâyaṇa* or the *Mahâbhârata*.

Burnell, on the other hand, would put Manu quite a thousand years later. He holds it to be conclusively proved that the book was not compiled earlier than 500 A.D.; and he thinks he has good grounds for believing that the compilation was made by a Brâhmaṇ from Northern India, at the court of king Pulakêśin I., who reigned about 500 A.D., and who was the founder of the Western Chalukya dynasty. This particular dynasty is fixed upon, because it is known from inscriptions to have had the name Mânavya as well as Châlukya, the former name being supposed to imply that the Purôhitas of the kings of the Chalukya dynasty were priests of the Mânava *gôtra*.

Burnell's reasons for this opinion take up the greater part of the Introduction to this edition. That part of the book, as the Second Edition tells us, is somewhat fragmentary, having been left incomplete by Burnell at his death. Dr. Hopkins has refrained from making any additions or alterations, though signs are not wanting, in the footnotes and elsewhere, that he does not share all Burnell's views, or give the same weight as Burnell does to all the arguments by which they are supported. But, although we cannot quite easily follow all the steps of the argument as stated in the Introduction, the general drift of it is plain enough. In fact, Burnell's views on the date of Manu had been published and exposed to criticism some years before he died.

Burnell starts with the statement, which no one will be disposed to contradict, that the *dharma-śâstras* are developed from the *gṛihya-*, *sâmayâchârika-*, and *dharma-sûtras*. Different schools followed different recensions of the Vêda; those schools had different *sûtras* also. Now the *sûtra* period is the latest period of early Sanskṛit literature, and cannot, in fact, be earlier than 600-200 B.C. The earliest mention of *dharma-sûtras* specially is in the *Mahâbhâshya*. Consequently Manu cannot be earlier than 200-100 B.C.

Burnell's next argument is from the style of Manu. The form of the Ślôka in Manu is that which we find in the epic poems; the language in general is simple and modern, and the compounds are according to the forms used in modern Sanskṛit; in fact, the text of Manu closely resembles the style of the other versified *sûtras*; and Burnell says he was himself able to prove "by Thibetan documents" that the versification of the *Aśvalâyana-Gṛihya-Sûtra* was done in 700 A.D.

The next argument is from the matter of the book. The first, seventh and twelfth chapters all contain matter quite foreign to the original *sûtras*. The dialogue in the first chapter is quite in the style of the Purâṇas. The philosophical system followed in the account of the creation, etc., in the first chapter, is that modifi-

cation of the Sànkhya which we find in the Purâṇas. As neither Pâṇini nor Patañjali mention the Sâṅkhya system, we may be sure that it did not exist in their time; consequently the chapters of Manu which infer a knowledge of that system must be at least as late as the first century A.D.

Further, the work is evidently intended for kings and such persons, and not, primarily, for Brâhmaṇs. The seventh book seems to prove conclusively that it is so. Now, such a work, Burnell thinks, could only have been composed under a powerful prince, and in a peaceful time. In the first century A.D. all India was in confusion. So the date of Manu must be still farther limited to between 100 A D. and 500 A.D. So much, according to Burnell, is certain. The fact that the name Mânavya belongs to the Chalukya dynasty seems to him to give strong probability to the conjecture (for, after all, it is nothing more) that the Mânava-Dharma-Śâstra belongs to the reign of Pulakêśin I., who reigned about 500 A.D.

Up to the eighth chapter the translation is entirely Burnell's; Dr. Hopkins has made additions to the notes. From the eighth chapter to the end both translation and notes are Dr. Hopkins,' who has carefully conformed all through to Burnell's method of working. The plan of the work, so far as the text and notes are concerned, seems to us to be an admirable one. It really puts the commentaries in their proper place. These commentaries are of no literary value whatever. Their value is in the fact that they preserve various readings and traditional explanations, and that they supply parallel passages. We hear that there is at present being prepared in Bombay an edition of Manu in which several commentaries are to be printed along with the text We doubt very much the wisdom of such an undertaking. We question even whether many years of Max Müller's valuable life have not been almost wasted over his colossal edition of Sâyaṇa's commentary on the Rig-Vêda. What an incalculable boon it would be, even now, to students of Sanskrit to have an edition of the Rig-Vêda on the model of Burnell's translation of Manu!

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. Volume XXI. Parts I. and II. Reports of a Tour in Bundelkhand and Rewa in 1883-84; and of a Tour in Rewa, Bundelkhand, Malwa, and Gwalior in 1884-85. By Major-General A. CUNNINGHAM, C. S. I., C. I. E., etc., Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India. Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India; Calcutta. 1885. Royal 8vo. pp. vi. and 183; and Plates i. to xlii.

In this volume General Cunningham deals with the results of tours made in 1883-84 and 1884-85 in Bundêlkhaṇḍ, Rìwâ, and Central India. A few pages are occupied with brief notes concerning some places in the Pañjâb.

This volume compares very favourably with several of its predecessors, and contains much matter of interest and value. It is impossible within the limits of a review to notice all the interesting discoveries recorded, or to discuss at length the topics on which difference of opinion may exist; but I shall endeavour to place before the readers of this Journal some of the most interesting results attained during two unusually fruitful tours.

General Cunningham has obtained much additional information about the Chandellas of Bundêlkhaṇḍ, and the Kalachuris of Chêdî or Ḍâhala. The inscriptions of Prithî Râj Chauhân at Madanpur in the Lalitpur District, had already been published, but with a mistake in the name of the conquered province. The name is now correctly read as Jêjâkabhukti, which is thus shown to have been the original name of the region now known as Bundêlkhaṇḍ, the Jêjâhutî of Abû Rihân. The Jijhôtiya Brâhmaṇs are therefore the Brâhmaṇs of Jijhôti, or Jêjâkabhukti, just as the Saksena Brâhmaṇs are the Brâhmaṇs of Sankisa.

A brief account is given of the antiquities at Râsin in the Bânda District to which I first drew attention in 1881. The poet Chand ascribes the foundation of this town, the full name of which is Râjavâsinî, to Râhilavarman, the fourth king of the Chandella dynasty.

The capture of the fortress of Kâlañjar by Kutb-ud-dìn Aibak, which has hitherto been referred by General Cunningham and others, including myself, to the year 1202 A. D., is now shown to have occurred on the 27th April 1203 A.D.

A useful list of the Kâlañjar inscriptions is given with two plates containing lithographic facsimiles from impressions. All the important inscriptions in this volume are reduced from mechanical impressions, and the plates are thus far more valuable than those in some of the earlier volumes. But the scale of some of the reductions is inconveniently small, and it is impossible to read the text without the help of a magnifying glass; with that help, however, the text is clear. Accurate translations of a great many of the inscriptions now published are still wanting, and any palæographer with time to spare will find ample occupation in translating them.

I cannot admit that General Cunningham's revised list of the kings of the Chandella dynasty is an improvement on that made out by me five years ago on the basis of his original list.[1] In his new

[1] *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. L. Part I. p. 28.

list General Cunningham inserts Dêvavarmadêva as a reigning king distinct from Kîrttivarman I., with whom I had identified him, but gives no reason for the assertion that he was the brother of Kîrttivarman (p. 84). The inscriptions plainly imply that the two titles belong to the same person. The Mau-Chhatarpur and the Deogaṛh inscriptions agree in giving Kîrttivarman as the name of the successor of Vijayapâla; whereas the Nunaura copper-plate states that Vijayapâla was succeeded by his son Dêvavarmadêva. The other *alias* of Bhûmipâla for this king, which seems to be supplied by one of the imperfect inscriptions at Kalañjar, may be due to a misunderstanding.

General Cunningham ignores the demonstrated fact that Jayavarman, the grandson of Kirttivarman I., was also named Kîrttivarman, and repeats his old mistake of inserting a Hallakshaṇa (Sallakshaṇa) II. between Jayavarman (*alias* Kîrttivarman II.) and Prithivîvarman. The evidence of the inscriptions is unmistakable, being as follows:—

Augâsi copper-plate (S. 1190.)	Mau-Chhatarpur inscription (not dated)
Kîrttivarman (II.)	Jayavarman.
Prithivîvarman.	Prithivîvarman.
Madanavarman.	Madanavarman.

As I showed before, the language of the Mau-Chhatarpur inscription, which mentions the second Sallakshaṇa, plainly means that he was *not* a ruling king, and there is no room for his insertion in the list of sovereigns.

The catalogue of Chandella inscriptions now given is more complete than that which I was able to compile; but is marred by some misprints. The date of No. 28, the Augâsi copper-plate, is S. 1190 = A.D. 1133, and not S. 1188 = A D 1131; and the date of No. 38 is S 1215, not S. 1213.

The recent researches of General Cunningham recorded in this volume add considerably to the scanty information we previously possessed concerning the Chandella chiefs who ruled in a portion of their old territories after the Muhammadan conquest; but their history is of little intrinsic interest.

The question as to the identity of the hill chieftain, named Dalaki-wa-Malaki by the Muhammadan historian, who was defeated and slain in 1248 A. D. by Ulûgh Khân, has given rise to much discussion. General Cunningham has now found in the chronicles of Riwâ a Râjâ Dalakêśwar followed by Râjâ Malakêśwar; and this discovery leads him to identify Dalaki-wa-Malaki with these Bâghêl chiefs, and his fort with Bândhogaṛh in Riwâ. But Minhâj-us-Sirâj expressly tells us that Dalaki-wa-Malaki's fortress was "in the vicinity of the Jamnâ between Kâlañjar and Karrâ." Now Bândhogaṛh is over a hundred miles south of the Jamnâ, and is *not* between Kâlañjar and Karrâ. The description given by Minhâj-us-Sirâj can apply only to a place either in the Bânda or the Allâhâbâd District, and I would suggest the great fort of Marpha in the Bânda District as being very probably the stronghold of Dalaki and Malaki. Marpha is 12 miles N.E of Kâlañjar, and "as large and lofty as either Kâlañjar or Ajaygaṛh" (p. 18). It is absolutely the only fortress which lies between Karrâ and Kâlañjar. And its claim to be the stronghold of Dalaki-wa-Malaki is strengthened by the fact (p. 103) that it was the first place in which the Bâghêls settled It is improbable that there should have been both Dalakêśwar and Malakêśwar, as well as Dalaki and Malaki, at about the same time. On full consideration, therefore, I am disposed to think that General Cunningham is right in his identification of the personal names, through wrong as to the situation of the place. The Riwâ genealogy is only of use as showing that the names Dalakêśwar and Malakêśwar occur; and that the form Dalaki-wa-Malaki, given by the Muhammadan historian, is not far wrong.

I adhere to my opinion that Dalakêśwar and Malakêśwar were Bhar chiefs.[2] I observe that, according to Riwâ tradition (p 114), Râjâ Karṇadêva, the Kalachuri, was a Bhar; and it is quite possible that the Bâghêls may have Bhar blood in their veins. Mr. Carnegy thought that the Bais Râjputs in Oudh were of Bhar descent And I have elsewhere shown it to be probable that the Chandellas are descended from Khangârs, who are probably a branch of the Gônḍs.

A painted inscription of a *Mahârâja* Bhîmasêna, dated in Indo-Scythian style on the twelfth day of the fourth fortnight of the hot season of the year 52, was found at a hill named Ginja in Riwâ.

At Besâni between Kâlañjar and Ajaygaṛh, one of the rare inscriptions dated in an intercalary month was found General Cunningham points out that, according to his tables, the month Âshâḍha in the year 958 of the Chêdi era (1207 A. D.) ought to be intercalary, as it is stated to be in this inscription, and observes that "the mention of the intercalary month in this year is particularly valuable, as it proves that the tables of Hindu years with their intercalary months, which I have prepared for publication, are absolutely correct for the long period of nearly 700 years. But my tables of intercalation are certainly correct for even a longer period, as I find that the month of Śrâvaṇa is recorded in an inscription as having been intercalary in the Śaka year 1091 or A.D. 1169."[3] These coincidences will serve to inspire

[2] l. c. p. 37.

[3] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 23.

scholars with confidence when using the *Book of Indian Eras.*

The following observation deserves the attentive consideration of students of prehistoric archæology:—"A few miles to the north of Bargaon at Nayakhera [near the sources of the Ken River] I found a slab 5 feet long and 2¼ feet broad, covered with round 'cup-marks' from 1 inch to 3½ inches in diameter, to which the boys of the village were still adding fresh ones. I counted 136 marks. The whole of these cup-marks were said to have been made by the boys. In fact I saw a boy making one during the day, and several of them looked very fresh." (p. 166). I wonder how many of the 'cup-marks' which have excited the curiosity of the learned may be ascribed to the same cause.

10th June, 1886. V. A. SMITH.

I may add to the concluding remarks above, that I have been told that Scotch sailors are still in the habit of making 'cup-marks' on certain rocks in the islands to the West of Scotland whenever they visit them, and that the number of 'cup-marks' at these places is thus constantly increasing. I cannot give chapter and verse; but the information is worth recording here, in corroboration, and in the hope that this point may be further investigated by those in a position to do so.

23rd July, 1886. R. C. TEMPLE.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. Vol. XXII. Report of Tours in Gorakhpur, Saran, and Ghazipur, in 1877-78-79 and 80. By A. C. L. CARLLEYLE, First Assistant, Archæological Survey. Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. Calcutta 1885. Royal 8vo. pp. iv. and 122, and Plates i. to xiv.

This volume is very inferior in interest and value to volume XXI. The first thirty-five pages merely repeat, with some unimportant additional details, what has been already published in Volume XVIII. Mr. Carlleyle's restorations at Kasia (Kusinagara), the scene of Buddha's death, in the Gorakhpur District, were not very judicious; but it is only fair to acknowledge the zeal which led him to spend twelve hundred rupees of his own on the work.

Some of the great earthen tumuli at Lauriya-Navandgarh in the Champâran District were excavated, with the result that, though signs of human burial were noticed, no distinct interment could be made out, and nothing was found. General Cunningham identifies these tumuli with the *chetiyas* of the Vrijis mentioned in the Ceylonese Buddhist legends. The barrows seem to be extremely ancient, but it is impossible to assign to them any definite date.

The discovery of a new edict pillar of Asôka at Râmpûrwa in the Terai, north of Betiya, has been already published in Volume XVIII. Mr. Carlleyle notes that the edicts on this pillar are inscribed in the dialect which rejected the use of the letter *r*. The remarks on the position of Asôka's inscriptions along the main lines of ancient roads are not novel, but are worth noting. Mr. Carlleyle would expect to find another edict pillar within the Nêpâl hills. Pages 58-72, like pages 1-35, are almost a reprint of a portion of Volume XVIII. An interesting list of 101 ancient coins found at Bairânt in the Benares District, is given at page 114: and a similar list of the coins obtained at Masaon-Dih, near Saidpur-Bhitarî in the Ghâzîpur District, is given on page 103. Most of the coins found at both these places belong to the earliest Hindu and Buddhist types. Both these ancient sites also yielded a considerable number of flint and agate implements. Unfortunately no drawings of these objects are given. Mr. Carlleyle observes that he has found stone implements at Indôr in the Bulandshahr District, at Bhuila in the Basti District, near Bânda, and throughout Bundêlkhaṇḍ, in the Nâgaudh state, in the hills of Rîwâ and Mirzâpur, and in Râjputâna.

These few remarks indicate almost everything worthy of notice in this volume.

In the Preface, General Cunningham observes that he has "long held the opinion that the Hindus knew and practised the art of stone-cutting at least two centuries before the time of Asôka. Indeed, the very name of Taxila, or Takshasila Nagara, the city of cut-stone buildings, proves that the art was known and used before the time of Alexander."

He also argues that the beautifully finished letters of Asôka's inscriptions must have been preceded by a ruder alphabet, which has been lost owing to the almost, though not quite, universal use of wood in early times, and hopes that coins may yet be found bearing characters of this lost alphabet.

V. A. SMITH.

10th June, 1886.

INDISCHE STUDIEN. BEITRAGE FUR DIE KUNDE DES INDISCHEN ALTERTHUMS. Im Vereine mit mehreren Gelehrten herausgegeben von Dr. ALBRECHT WEBER. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1884.

This 17th volume of Dr. Albrecht Weber's *Indian Studies* is, as usual, full of the most interesting matter. In it the learned editor himself completes his *Analysis of the Sacred (Prâkrit) Writings of the Jainas*, by a succinct and at the same time exhaustive survey of the *Nandîsûtram*, the *Anuyôgadvârasûtram* and the four *Mûlasûtrâni*. This is followed by an attractive article

by Dr E. Leumann, on the Seven (really Eight) Schisms of the Jainas, whose curious dialectical subtleties frequently remind us of the specious reasonings of Plato's *Parmenides*. The following characteristic story is told of the origin and decay of the second of these heresies, that of Tîsagutta. His teacher Vasu had expounded the question—"Is it allowable to say that a soul-atom is a soul"? To which the answer had been, "No; as little as it is allowable to say the same of two, three or more soul-atoms, which would lead in the end to the proposition that a soul diminished by one soul-atom is a soul; for the soul is a complete totality of atoms comparable to those of the Ether." This led Tisagutta into an erroneous idea that if the atoms of a soul, by the loss of *one* of them, cease to constitute a soul, that one must itself be the soul, since the latter's designation as a soul depends on its existence A pious layman, named Mittasirî, thereupon undertook to convert him and his followers by a counter-argument very much *ad hominem*. Inviting him to a rich repast, he offered him a morsel of every dish and nothing more, until the guest exclaimed—"Why am I thus insulted?" —"How have you been insulted?" inquired the host in reply; "is it not your theory, that a whole is made up by its odd part? I have entertained you in accordance with your own teaching; not venturing to entertain you according to that of our lord Vaddhamâṇa!"

The information regarding Jaina literature, contained in the above mentioned articles, is supplemented by an Essay by Prof. Jacobi, in which he proves that the *Vaṇṇakas* or descriptive passages of the sacred writings of the Jainas, which have hitherto been considered to be written in prose, are in reality composed in a metrical form, similar to the Greek so-called *hyporchema*, and another paper by the same author explains the theory of the *Śloka*, or heroic verse of the Indians, both in its usual and in that more irregular form, which the native Prosodists call *vipulâ*.

The remainder of the volume is devoted to Sanskrit literature proper, and, excepting some *Miscellanies* from the pen of Dr. T. Aufrecht, is entirely supplied by the indefatigable Editor himself. In it the translation and explanation of the third book of the *Atharvasaṁhitâ* forms a welcome sequel to that of the first two books, given in Vol. IV. (1858) and XIII. (1873) of *Indian Studies*. This is followed by a critical and annotated edition of the text of the two *Anukramaṇî* of the Naigêya School of the *Sâmasaṁhitâ*. Two smaller *Upanishads*, the *Garuḍôpanishad*, published in the original, and the *Nirâlambôpanishad*, text and translation with explanatory remarks, are valuable additions to this branch of theosophic literature. The latter treatise in particular, which in a series of questions and answers, contains an abstract of the Vêdânta Doctrine of the Absolute (*nirâlamba* = 'without a prop or support, independent, absolute'), and in which Prof. Weber recognises indications of a certain antiquity, is remarkable by a decidedly ethico-practical tendency, which in some places seems to imply a direct protest against the system of caste. "Who is a Brâhman?" asks the last question; and the answer is "*Brahmavit sarva êva brâhmaṇa iti*; every one (*sarva*) who knows Brahmâ (the Absolute), and he only (*êva*), is a Brâhman." This clearly leads up to the conclusion that mere birth-right gives no claim to the title.

F. S.

ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW—Vol. I. edited by DEMETRIUS BOULGER. Fisher Unwin: London.

On perusal of the first two numbers, forming the first half-yearly volume of this new Quarterly, we must congratulate the Editor, Mr. Boulger, on the great success that has attended him at starting. Seldom indeed have two more powerful issues of a periodical been laid before the public, for every contributor up to date has been previously known to fame. It is needless, therefore to say that though the scope of the Journal is exceedingly wide, the various subjects are handled with that skill which ensures success.

The article that will prove perhaps the most interesting of all is that by Lady Dufferin on female medical aid for the women of India; and that, not merely on account of the position of its authoress, but for the business-like, though withal womanly, manner in which she has dealt with her subject. In perusing her pages the reader begins to perceive that it is her capacity for business which has enabled her to give so grand a start to the noble scheme of aid to the suffering and helpless of her sex that her sympathies have compelled her to initiate.—Col. Yule's Hobson-Jobsoniana is an amusing and instructive introduction to his *Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words* now published in full, of which he first printed specimens in this *Journal* some years ago, when his *collaborateur*, Mr A. C. Burnell, was still alive. Our present relations with Barma have called forth articles from the Editor and Prof. Douglas on the relations between that country and China; while Sir Lepel Griffin, to whom rumour ascribes the existence of the new Review, supplies characteristic articles on those other current topics the restitution of Gwalior Fort and the Native States. A subject, too, especially interesting at the present time is the political Geography of Asia, entrusted to the highly qualified pen of Sir Frederick Goldsmid.

Among miscellaneous matter is a readable article on the pilgrimage to Mecca, by Mr. Wollaston; but we should like to know why such an authority on things Oriental writes on page 393 "a famous doctor by name Hullage,"—under which appellation, in a paper quite correct as a rule in orthography, one hardly recognises the famous Mansûr Ḥallâj. The whole record of his life and death—real and apocryphal,—is, moreover, so well known that one cannot help being surprised at being informed that—"it is also recorded that a famous doctor, by name Hullage, was put to death for having taught certain ceremonies and prayers to supply the neglect of performing the *hajj*."

The *Asiatic Quarterly Review* is clearly intended to lead among Oriental Journals of the popular sort, and if it goes on as it has begun, there is no doubt that it will do so in the future, as it evidently does in the present.

THE EMPIRE OF THE HITTITES, by WILLIAM WRIGHT, D.D., Second Ed. London: James Nisbet & Co.

We heartily welcome this second edition of Dr. Wright's now celebrated work. It was in 1872 that he first drew attention to the existence of Hittite monuments, and for a long while his was a voice crying in the wilderness, especially as, since the Hittites had no place in classical history, it was the fashion in the critical world to throw doubts on the accuracy of the Biblical references to them. However, by dint of patience and sticking to his point, Dr. Wright has succeeded in convincing the learned Oriental world that his "Hittite inscriptions" do refer to the people so often spoken of in the Bible, thus restoring, as he says, the Empire of the Hittites to its rightful position in secular history.

So far from being alone in his efforts to elucidate the exceedingly difficult epigraphical remains of this long-lost people in this second edition of his work, Dr. Wright has the powerful aid of Prof Sayce, Sir Charles Wilson, Captain Conder, and Mr Rylands, not to mention Dr. Isaac Taylor and Mr Pinches. With such an array of authoritative *collaborateurs*, it is needless to say that the book is as good a one as the present knowledge of the subject can make it.

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS RELATING TO INDO-CHINA—Reprinted for the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. 2 Vols. London: Trübner & Co.

It is evident that we have to thank that energetic Orientalist of the Far East, Mr. W. E Maxwell, for these valuable and useful volumes. The first contains 34 descriptive papers of all kinds regarding the little-known States of the Malay Peninsula; and the second, six papers on the Natural History, Geology and Botany of those parts, three of which are by the celebrated Dr. Theodore Cantor.

The sources of this collection are Dalrymple's *Oriental Repertory*, the *Asiatic Researches*, and the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; so that it will be seen that some of the papers date many years back: indeed the first on Quedah was written as long ago as 1808, and many refer to matters long before that date.

The work of editing has been entrusted to the very capable hands of Dr Rost, who has indeed printed the various articles much as he found them, but has added footnotes and references where practicable, and has done what was possible towards rectifying inconsistences in the orthography of names in the valuable indices he has added to the volumes, *viz.* a general and a vernacular index.

Vol. I contains 6 plates of inscriptions which would be all the better for being reproduced by a mechanical process from the original, if possible, as hand drawn copies of inscriptions, however carefully prepared, are more than liable to serious errors. This is a work that the now energetic Society of Orientalists at Singapore might with advantage take up.

RUDRATA'S ÇRINGARATILAKA; and RUYYAKA'S SAHRIDAYALILA. With an Introduction and Notes. Edited by Dr R. PISCHEL, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Halle. Kiel: C. F Haeseler, 1886. London; Trübner & Co Paris; Ernest Leroux Benares: E. J. Lazarus & Co.

The two little works here edited for the first time by Professor Pischel belong to the rhetoric department of Sanskrit literature. In it the first-named work occupies a rather prominent place. It is an erotic poem, the several verses of which, either singly or in groups, are composed so as to serve as illustrations of the rules of rhetoric. The author of this work is Rudrata, or as the colophons call him, Rudrabhatta.[1] His age, Professor Pischel, in the Introduction, determines to be not later than the middle of the ninth century. Some of his examples are quoted by Pratihârêndurâja, who was a pupil of Mukula, who was a son of Kallata, who lived about 850 A.D. Accordingly Pratihârêndurâja must have lived about 950 A.D.: and, since he quotes Rudrata as a standard author, the latter must be placed about one century

[1] [Regarding the two forms of this name, see Dr. Peterson's *Second Report on Sanskrit MS.*, p. 19 and note. See also line 16 of the Saundatti inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 1151 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. pp. 262, 275; and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 225), where, with reference to a Kanarese poet of this name, it is said "Rudrabhaṭṭa, having pledged a letter of his name as security for a loan of a thousand (pieces of) gold received from people the appellation of 'Rudrata' only, as a substitute (for his full) name, until the day when he redeemed the pledge."—J. F. F.]

earlier. This argument presupposes that Rudraṭa was the composer of his own examples. A large portion of the Introduction is devoted to proving that premise: and there seems no reason to doubt that it is correct.

Contributions towards our knowledge of the Sanskṛit rhetoric literature, especially when they come from the hands of such a competent editor as Professor Pischel is, are particularly valuable. Their importance in assisting historic and lexicographic researches can hardly be exaggerated. Two striking illustrations of this fact occur in the Introduction, in which Professor Pischel incidentally proves, from data supplied by Sanskṛit rhetorical works, that the well-known rhetorician Daṇḍin was the real author of the *Mṛichchhakaṭikâ*, and that "the *Pañchatantra*, in its Northern recension, must be later than the middle of the ninth century A.D." The former of these two discoveries will, no doubt, require further verification before it is generally acquiesced in.

R. H.

A JOURNEY IN NEPAL AND NORTHERN INDIA, by CECIL BENDALL, M.A. The University Press. Cambridge. 1886 8vo. pp. xii. 100; fifteen illustrations; and two genealogical tables.

This handy and carefully got-up little volume is the outcome of a cold-weather tour in 1884-85.

Mr Bendall's primary object was the acquisition of Sanskṛit MSS. for the Cambridge University. Pp. 39 to 67 are devoted entirely to this subject, and shew, in outline, very satisfactory results, which remain to be treated in detail on a future occasion. Among the more important acquisitions are several new fragments of the *Chândravyâkaraṇa* (p. 54), a copy of the *Hitôpadêśa* written in the fourteenth century A.D. (p. 55), part of a new recension of the *Nâradasmṛiti* (p. 56) written A.D. 1407, and two new commentaries on the *Mêghadûta* (p. 59). The first of these has a special palæographical interest, in presenting a new type of character, in which the vertical strokes of the letters have triangular tops, similar to the 'nail-headed' characters of Central India, of which one or two specimens have already come to notice, but with the difference that the apex of the triangle is here uppermost, whereas in the Central India specimens the reverse is the case. Mr. Bendall found a short inscription, in the same characters, on the pedestal of a statue of Buddha in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta. Students will look forward to the separate study of this character, which he promises.

A good deal of attention was also paid to the subject of inscriptions, with the result of at least two important discoveries. One is the inscription, presumably of Aṁśuvarman, dated (Harsha)-Saṁvat 34 or A.D. 640-41 (p.74ff., and Plate ix.), which is valuable because the details of the date include an intercalation of the month Pausha. It had been supposed that the months Mârgaśîrsha, Pausha, and Mâgha, were, as now, never at any time intercalated by the Hindus. The present inscription disproves this view in respect of Pausha. And, since this discovery, a new copper-plate grant of the *Mahârâja* Dharasêna IV. of Valabhî, dated (Gupta)-Saṁvat 330, has come to notice, containing an intercalation of the month Mârgaśîrsha, which, apart from its own interest, is also of value as giving confirmative evidence in support of the correctness of Albîrûnî's statement regarding the epoch of the Gupta-Valabhî era.[1] Dr. Bühler has already published this inscription in German; and his English version of the paper will shortly be issued in this Journal.

The other discovery, of still more value, is the inscription of Śivadêva I. and Aṁśuvarman, dated[2] Gupta-Saṁvat 316 or 318, A.D. 635 to 637 (p. 72ff. and Plate viii), which was originally published by Mr. Bendall in this Journal, Vol. XIV. p. 97ff. The extreme importance of this inscription is in its furnishing for the first time the correct clue to the interpretation of the early Nêpâl dates (see my paper on "The Chronology of the Early Rulers of Nêpâl;" *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 342ff.), shewing that they have to be referred to the Gupta, not to the Vikrama era; and in the confirmative evidence that it gives of the Gupta era having really commenced A.D 319-20, or thereabouts, as stated by Albîrûnî (see my paper on "The Epoch of the Gupta era;" page 192ff. above).

Should Mr. Bendall visit India again, it is to be hoped that he will prevail on his friend, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, to allow him to assist in editing the epigraphical records and coins in that gentleman's possession, referred to on page 1. This would be a real public benefit; for, without some such co-operation, it seems that these important antiquities will see the light never at all.

Pages 1 to 38, the Archæological and General Report, contain much that will interest general readers, and include eight good representations, from photographs by Mr. Bendall, of architecture and Nêpâl scenery. It is to be hoped that the rebuke administered in the note on page 36, will come to the notice of, and may have some effect on, Mr. W. Scawen Blunt.

J. F. FLEET.

4th August 1886.

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[1] See page 189ff. above.

[2] Mr. Bendall originally read the third symbol as 8, but now points out that it is doubtful whether it is 8 or 6.

THE LAST YEARS OF SHAH SHUJA'A, WITH AN APPENDIX ON THE AFFAIRS OF HIRAT.

Translated from the Târîkh Sulṭânî of Sulṭân Muḥammad Khân Bârukzâi.

BY E. REHATSEK.

(*Concluded from p. 267.*)

WHEN the population of Kâbul found that the Pâdshâh was pursuing a policy of delay, they asserted that no faith was to be placed in his promise to go to Jallâlâbâd, as he was himself in reality a *Farangî*, and they ridiculed the legend on his coins, which was as follows:—

Coins of silver and gold, brighter than the sun and moon,
Were struck by the favourite of the age, the King Shuja'au'l-Mulk Shâh.

By changing it into the following distich:—

Coins of silver and gold were struck by Shuja'a the Armenian,
The favourite of Lord Burnes, the dust of the feet of the (East Indian) Company.

There is, however, a proverb that the gate of a town may be closed, but not the mouths of enemies; and after all, the assertions of the wicked are not deserving of credence.

The populace of Kâbul, having appointed Mîr Ḥâjî, a son of the late Wazîr Mîr Wâi'z to be their leader, followed him in crowds, waving banners and parading *Qurâns* taken from the holy shrines of pilgrimage. Multitudes of *faqîrs* and *ṣûfîs*, shouting the name of Allah, likewise departed with them in the direction of Jallâlâbâd. When Shâh Shuja'a witnessed this tumult, he concluded that if he failed to join the populace, the insurrection might become general and his own existence imperilled. He, therefore, determined to accompany the crowd to Jallâlâbâd to prosecute a *ghazâ* [crescentade] against the infidels, and despatched the Shâhzâdah Fath Jang with the vanguard, in conformity with a decision arrived at, as far as Deh Khudâdâd, where it halted. On Tuesday the second of the victorious month Ṣafar in the year 1257[1] the Pâdshâh at last marched out of the Bâlâ Ḥiṣâr with royal pomp and a great deal of baggage, and selected the *mûẓ'a* Siâh Sang as his halting-place. He really intended not to reach Jallâlâbad in less than a month, being under the impression that during that period an English army of succour would arrive from Hindûstân, as is recorded in his *Memoirs*. He had also taken this opportunity to remove his jewels, for it is said that he picked out all the best gems and most valuable rings, the price of which amounted to fifty *lâkhs* of rupees, from the treasury, and carried them off; but Allah knows best! He held a general *Darbâr* at Siâh Sang, where he summoned the Shâhzâdah Shâhpûr to his presence and appointed him Ḥâkim [Governor of Kâbul] with Naṣru'llah Khân for his Lieutenant, and gave them both leave to return to the city; whilst he himself took a palanquin about the time of evening prayer, and went on some private business to the Bâlâ Ḥiṣâr. On entering he ordered the guardians of the road to be present and watchful, because the Shâhzâdah Shâhpûr would depart from the camp towards morning. The inmates of the *ḥaram* and other confidential persons about the Shâh have revealed that he was very uneasy during the whole of that night (in the Bâlâ Ḥiṣâr), moving about, and often asking the eunuch for the time. When the morning dawned he performed the two matutinal prayer flexions of the *sunnah*, but delayed the two prayer flexions of the *farẓ* till his arrival in camp, to be performed in his tent. Then he entered the palanquin as before, and urged the bearers to make haste.

On his arrival [on the preceding day] in the Bâlâ Ḥiṣâr, some ill-starred schemer had given information to Shuja'au'ddaulah Khân, the son of Nawâb Muḥammad Zamân Khân, that the Pâdshâh was secretly spending the night in the Bâlâ Ḥiṣâr, and would return to the camp in the morning. Shuja'au'ddaulah, thereupon, with a number of followers, determined to kill him, and lay all night in ambush

[1] The above date is, according to our reckoning, the 5th April 1841, which being earlier than that of the event preceding it, must be a mistake, the date given for it having been the 20th January 1842; but if we retain the date of the month and take the year 1258 instead of 1257, we get the 26th March 1842, which is more in consonance also with Kaye's statement, Vol. II. p. 378, that on the 29th March 1842 the Shâh sent round criers to proclaim that he was about to march southward on the 31st.

outside the Bâlâ Ḥiṣâr, waiting for the opportunity:—according to the proverb:—

When fate uplifts its head above the sphere
All wise men are but blind and deaf.

In the morning when the palanquin of the Shâh reached the ambush, which was half-way between the Bâlâ Ḥiṣâr and the (British) station, Shuja'au'ddaulah and his adherents suddenly fired a volley of bullets at it [from a distance]. The illustrious Shâh, perceiving this to be an attempt on his life, became frightened, and leaving the palanquin with great precipitancy, began to run, and the bearers also took to their heels. Shuja'au'ddaulah himself, staggered by what he had done, felt unequal to the completion of the deed, and intended to return without having effected his purpose; but one of his followers, a Murâdkhânî, J'afir Khân by name, taking hold of the bridle of his horse said:—"There is no other game breathing in this desert except the wounded one; what do you mean to do? Return and finish him, and do not abandon your first intention. As the wise have said:—

When you get hold of your foe and conquer him,
Wisdom ordains to spare not his life."

Encouraged by these words, Shuja'au'd-daulah Khân hastened to the palanquin, and not finding the Shâh in it, he looked about till he perceived him by the side of a brook, prostrated on the ground from the shots he had received. The murderers now sent him with a few sword cuts to the mansion of eternity, took some jewels from his diadem as well as from other parts of his dress, and departed. A chamberlain, Shâhnawâz Khân by name, whom the firing had scared away, and who had concealed himself, came forth from his hiding place when he perceived that the field was clear, and observing that the Shâh's two pockets were full of jewels and pearls, cut them both off and started in the direction of the Bâlâ Ḥiṣâr; but his over-reaching covetousness made him conceal his booty under a wall, so that instead of benefiting him, it became the prey of others. This dreadful event took place on Wednesday the twenty-third of the above month,[2] and a chronogram of it was embodied in some verses by a *darvesh* of the name of Ghulâm Muḥammad Shâhjî Nawashâh Bâqir Shâh Faqîr.[3]

The Pâdshâh Shuja'au'l-Mulk was of a very mild but persevering character. He spent all his life in waging war, and undertook during his reign not less than thirty campaigns against his foes. Although he was, by the decree of fate, worsted in most of them, his firmness of purpose, as has been narrated, never allowed him to abandon the hope of ultimately subduing his enemies. He was possessed of good poetical talent, so that his *Dîvân* is replete with brilliant verses and figures of speech composed in easy language, and read to this day in Hindûstân, 'Irân, and Afghânistân. Most beginners improve their phraseology by a study of it. He was more than sixty-five years old at his death, and when the news of it was, on the same day, brought to the Shâhzâdah Shâhpûr, the shining daylight became as dark as night to him; but he was nevertheless compelled to look to the defence of the (Bâlâ Ḥiṣâr) fortress! When the Shâhzâdah Fatḥ Jang, who was encamped at the *mûẓ'a* Deh Khudâdâd, received the distressing news he took refuge in the fort (of Maḥmûd Khân) by the advice of Ghulâm Ḥaidar Khân, the son of Maḥmûd Khân Bayât; but the wicked nature of the latter suggested to him to deliver the Shâhzâdah in bonds to Muḥammad Zamán Khân. Meanwhile, Shâh Zamân and the Shâhzâdah Ḥaidar intended to place the Shâhzâdah Shâhpûr upon the throne, and to read the *khuṭbah* in his name. He, however, refused his consent, and replied:—"At present we stand in need of union and not of hypocrisy, and the liberation of a brother is preferable to a high position." Accordingly through the Nâib Amínu'llah Khân, and at the instance of Khwâjah Khânjî, a number of cavalry and infantry was despatched to the fort of Maḥmûd Khân, whence they delivered the Shâhzâdah Fatḥ Jang from the grasp of his foes, and conveyed him to the Bâlâ Ḥiṣâr.

Next day Amínu'llah Khân came with Mîr Ḥâjî and a number of Qizlbâsh and Durrânî Khâns to the Bâlâ Ḥiṣâr, where they took into consideration the age of Fatḥ Jang, and immediately placing him on the throne offered him

[2] The above date gives the 8th April 1842, after applying the rectification indicated in the preceding footnote; but Kaye (Vol. II. p. 379) states that Shâh Shuja'a was slain on the 5th of April.

[3] The verses, consisting of a lament, are worthless in every respect, and are here omitted.

their congratulations. A few days afterwards, he desired all the Khâns to pay him homage and to swear allegiance to him, which most of them did, except some partizans of Muḥammad Zamân Khân, who refused. He also gladdened the hearts of all who had entered into a covenant of loyalty to him, by presenting them with plenty of money, and exquisite robes of honour, thus exalting them above their peers.

Some time afterwards, Amînu'llah Khân prepared, at the instigation of the Shâhzâdah (Fatḥ Jang) and with the consent of all the Khâns, to ruin Muḥammad Zamân Khân, and the more so as their forces amounted in appearance to double the number at his disposal. On the day appointed for attack Amînu'llah Khân discovered that Mîr Ḥâjî Ṣâḥib was a well-wisher of the Nawâb [Muḥammad Zamân Khân], and kept him under close surveillance. As, however, he was intending to begin hostilities, the Kâbulî and Kohistânî men learnt that Mîr Ḥâjî was under surveillance, and abandoned their intention of attacking Muḥammad Zamân Khân. They hastened instead to the house of the Nâib, which they pillaged and demolished in a moment. Amînu'llah Khân having thus, in the twinkling of an eye, become the vanquished instead of vanquisher, considered himself fortunate to have escaped with his life, and took refuge in the Bâlâ Ḥiṣâr.

After this event, the Nâib Amînu'llah Khân and the Shâhzâdah (Fatḥ Jang) determined to garrison the fortress, and sent the Shâhzâdah Shâhpûr with some troops and the Khâns who happened to be present, to guard the surrounding localities, and to bring in the revenue, as well as corn and all other necessaries. Accordingly the Shâhzâdah, who was in the first instance to occupy and to repair the fort Bînî Ḥiṣâr, and to send corn from it when hostilities broke out, took possession of and kept the gate locked. When Muḥammad Zamân Khân heard of what had taken place he secretly marched from the city on the second day afterwards with some *sawârs*, partly of his own tribe and partly Ghilzâis, and betook himself by way of Chuhârdeh, in the rear of the mountain, to the fort Bînî Ḥiṣâr, the vicinity whereof he reached in the darkness of the night. In the morning a fierce battle raged between the parties, but as Sardâr 'Abdu's-Salâm Khân, son of Ikram Khân Bâmîzâi, joined the forces of Muḥammad Zamân Khân during the fight, the adherents of the Shâhzâdah were defeated, and the thread of their connection became severed. So they retreated again to the Bâlâ Ḥiṣâr and kept off the assailants, but ventured out from it no more, and waited for the arrival of an English army to succour the Shâhzâdah (Fatḥ Jang).

Meanwhile he continued with the help of Amînu'llah Khân to harass his opponents, until Muḥammad Akbar Khân, leaving his followers, came to Kâbul, where he was informed of the antagonism between Amînu'llah Khân and Nawâb Zamân Khân. He thereupon induced the former, with the aid of Muḥammad Shâh Ghiljâi, to get himself lowered by means of a rope and pulley from the Bâlâ Ḥiṣâr to meet him. The Shâhzâdah Fatḥ Jang was greatly dismayed at the departure of the Nâib, but Mirzâ Ibrâhîm Khân, the Chief Munshî, and Mirzâ Ḥaidar 'Alî Khân the army-writer, who had been trusty, confidential and honoured servants of Shâh Shuja'a, comforted the Shâhzâdah and told him by no means to give way to discouragement, inasmuch as all the dwellers in the Bâlâ Ḥiṣâr, the Durrânî Khâns, and the Hindûstânî troops were loyal and steadfast and would be ready to sacrifice their lives for him; whilst they themselves stood sureties for the promotion of his cause. They called Durvesh Muḥammad Khân, the son of Ḥâjî Hâshim Khân 'Arab, with all the Abyssinian officers, to bear testimony to the truth of their assertions. The Shâhzâdah, whom these promises had inspired with new courage, resisted the assaults upon the Bâlâ Ḥiṣâr for forty days, supported by the Durrânî Khâns, *viz.* Sardâr 'Inayatu'llah Khân, 'Âzim Gul Khân 'Urẓbîgî, Sikandar Khân Bâmîzâi, Ṣamad Khân Bâdûzâi, and Muḥammad 'Umar Khân Bâmîzâi, and also by the Kâbulî Khâns, *viz.* Khwâjah Khânjî, known as Shekh Mazâr, and Mîr Âftâb. There was much fighting on the tower of the two eagles, which bears likewise the name of the upper tower, and which was assaulted by the adherents of Muḥammad Zamân Khân and of Muḥammad Akbar Khân. In reality all the duties of the garrison, and negotiations with its opponents, were performed according to the directions of the above-named Mirzâs (and supporters of Fatḥ Jang), and nothing was undertaken without their approbation. They

often also sent letters to General Pollock in Jallâlâbâd, inviting him to come to Kâbul, and he replied that he would soon do so.

As the English did not move from Jallâlâbâd, and the siege was dragging out its length, the enemies became more daring in the prosecution of it.[4] The store of gunpowder in the Bâlâ Ḥiṣâr had likewise all been consumed, and when this became known to the besiegers, they issued orders, that nobody should send in a single *misqâl* of it; and they were obeyed, except by one man, a Hindû Munshî,[5] who being acquainted with Khwâjah Khânjî conveyed some gunpowder to him. When, however, the people of the city became aware of the transgression, they placed him under the merciless sword, and he only saved his life by making a profession of Islâm. After that, gunpowder became so scarce in the Bâlâ Ḥiṣâr, that one *misqâl* could not be purchased for a hundred rupees. Nevertheless Mirzâ Ibrâhîm Khân Munshî and Mirzâ Ḥaidar Khân by various stratagems succeeded in smuggling some gunpowder from the city to the fortress, through the ramparts. But at last the besiegers, by persevering vigilance, totally cut off the supply of gunpowder, and then Nawâb Shuja'a Khân, son of Nawâb Najîbu'ddaulah, who had, from being one of the Indian servants of the Shâhzâdah, risen to the position of Dîwân, undertook to manufacture gunpowder in the Bâlâ Ḥiṣâr itself and began the business by mixing sulphur with charcoal, intending to continue it afterwards in a more complete form. Meanwhile, Sardâr Muḥammad Akbar Khân with the aid of Ḥâjî 'Alî Khân the (military) miner, dug a mine beneath the principal western tower of the Bâlâ Ḥiṣâr, which was known by the name of the Bajanhû tower, and blew it up, so that it became level with the ground: whereon the Shâhzâdah Fatḥ Jang hastened with a number of Arabs and Abyssinians to the spot, and in a short time raised a wall of stone and earth (in its place). The Shâhzâdah then commenced, through Nâib Amînu'llah Khân Lahukurdî and Muḥammad Shâh Khân Ghiljâi, negotiations for peace with Sardâr Muḥammad Akbar Khân, whom he made his *wazîr*, and thereby put an end to all hostilities. He also opened the roads to the fortress and surrendered them.

A few days after Muḥammad Akbar Khân had become *wazîr* and had made the troops subservient to himself, a letter fell into his hands, which the youthful inexperience of the Shâhzâdah had indited, craving for the aid of General Pollock,[6] and which he had despatched to Jallâlâbâd. Muḥammad Akbar Khân kept the letter and threw the Shâhzâdah into prison for it:—

He who does this will be requited with that.

The property of the Shâhzâdah was looted, and all the jewellery taken that could be found; but as soon as he got an opportunity he escaped from prison with the connivance of certain persons in the Bâlâ Ḥiṣâr, and taking refuge in the Chandâul Maḥallah, remained there in concealment. Some time afterwards Sarfarâz Khân, the brother of Nâib Amînu'llah Khân Lahukurdî and Khwâjah Khânjî, surnamed Shekh Mazâr, procured through the mediation of Mîrzâ Ḥaidar 'Alî Khân, and of Mîrzâ Ibrâhîm Khân, all the travelling appliances necessary for the Shâhzâdah, and conveyed him by way of Karakchah, or some other unknown route, to Jallâlâbâd to General Pollock, and to Macgregor, who was the English Ḥâkim of that place.[7]

When the Bombay army was appointed to give assistance, it marched by way of Qandahâr to Kâbul,[8] and troops from Hindûstân despatched for the same purpose marched by way of Jallâlâbâd; from which place also General Pollock brought the Shâhzâdah

[4] This was no other than the well known Mohan Lâl, Knight of the Persian Order of the Lion and Sun.

[5] "It soon became only too probable that the Bâlâ Hisâr itself would fall before the Bârukzâis. The energy and vigour of Akbar Khân and his confederates greatly exceeded that of the wretched Prince, and his few interested supporters. Fearful of this, Fath Jang continued to write pressing letters to the British authorities at Jallâlabâd."—Kaye, Vol. II, p. 535.

[6] "Last night" wrote Fath Jang to General Pollock at the beginning of June, "they made an assault: now they have made mines in every direction. My affairs are in a very critical state. If you do not come quickly, the Bâlâ Hisar and the throne will be lost, and you will be a sufferer." Kaye, Vol. II, p. 541.—"On the 7th June the Bâlâ Hisâr fell into the hands of the Bârukzâis."—*Ibid.* p. 542.

[7] According to Kaye, the Shâhzâdah Fath Jang waited for the arrival of the British army in Kâbul, and accompanied it to India when it left, as will be seen in the last foot-note to this piece.

[8] General Nott marched from Qandahâr on the 7th August (Kaye, Vol. II, p. 594); from Ghaznin he brought away on the 8th September the famous gates of the temple of Somnâth at the express command of Lord Ellenborough (p. 607), and on the 17th he encamped at a distance of four or five miles from Kâbul (p. 609).

Fath Jang to Kâbul with him. All arrived in Kàbul[9] on the 18th Sh'abân of the Hijrî year 1258 [24th September 1842] and General Pollock with George Macgregor forthwith issued a proclamation through Mîrzâ Haidar 'Alî Khàn the army-writer, expressing a wish that a *wazîr* should be elected by the Durrânî Khâns from among themselves for the proper administration of military and political affairs. Accordingly by the consent and with the approbation of Khân Shîrîn Khân, son of Amîr Aslân Khân Jawàn Shêr, and the Qizlbâsh Khàns—who had deserted the Amîr Dôst Muhammad Khàn and had come to make their salutations—the Khâns dressed Ghulâm Muḥammad Khân, son of Mukhtâru'ddaulah Sher Muḥammad Khân Bâmîzài, an intelligent man, in an exquisite robe of honour and elected him *wazîr*.

When it had become known that the Kohistânî people had, under the leadership of Nâib Amînu'llah Khân Lahukurdî, become turbulent at Chârikâr, the English despatched several battalions and a detachment of *sawârs* in command of the Shâhzâdah Shâhpûr the son of Shuja'au'l-Mulk to subdue him. When these forces arrived they dispersed the *ghâzis*, and having set fire to Astalif, a place in Kohdâman, they wished to make the Shâhzâdah Shâhpûr Hàkim of Kôhistân. But in the meantime news arrived that the Shàhzâdah Fath Jang, having become aware of the intention of the English to return to Hindûstân, had abdicated the throne and government of Kàbul, and was about to depart to India, the Shâhzâdah Shàhpûr therefore returned from Kohistân to Kâbul. He there learnt that the Shâhzàdah Fath Jang had indeed determined to go to India, rejecting the offer of his ancestral throne and diadem, made to him by the English officers, unless they gave him the sum of five *lâkhs* of *guldâr* rupees and four battalions of regular troops, saying:—"What can I accomplish with an empty treasury and a hungry stomach? or how shall I commence a business which cannot be terminated? It is a thousand times better not to act, than to act in such a case." The English officers did not accept the proposal, and began their march to Hindûstàn, accompanied by the Shâhzâdahs and by their *harams*. However, at the last, the Shâhzâdah Shâhpûr went by the advice of some Amîrs to George Macgregor and General Pollock, and represented that his honoured father had from youth to old age waged war for the purpose of subjugating Afghànistân, and had abandoned it only with his life, and so he thought the present an unsuitable time to give up his hereditary kingdom. The English approved of his resolution, and ordered John Shakespear to instal him on the throne in the Bâlâ Hiṣâr, with Ghulâm Aḥmad Khân for Wazir, and Khân Shîrîn Khân for Amîr, which he did and then joined the camp.

The Shàhzâdah remained for some time in Kàbul, and then he heard that Wazîr Muḥammad Akbar Khân, the son of the Amîr Dôst Muhammad Khân, who had gone to Tàshqurghàn when the English arrived, was on their departure again bent on returning to Kàbul. So he despatched the Shâhzâdah Ban Shaharnân with considerable forces to the Hàkim of Bâmiân, to stop the progress of Wazîr Muhammad Akbar Khân. But the Wazîr Ghulâm Aḥmad Khân having meanwhile perceived that the prestige of the Saddozâi government was on the decline and that of the Bârukzâi monarchy in the ascendant, he interviewed several Qizlbâsh Khàns of Kâbul, *viz.* Muḥammad Riza Khân, the son of Bâqar Khân 'Alimardânî and Qurbân 'Ali Khân Bâgh 'Alimardânî, and Mirzâ Imâm, and Burdî Khân Munshî, and Mirzâ 'Abdu'r-Razzâq Khân Mustaufî, and secretly conspiring with them, despatched with their consent a letter to Wazîr Muḥammad Akbar Khân, informing him that they were all his partizans, and that he ought to make haste and come to Kàbul. Thus encouraged, the Wazîr went at once to Bâmiân, where he met the troops of the Shâhzâdah, all of which joined him; on which the latter had no choice but to take horse and whip, and hasten to Kâbul. When he arrived, most of his well-wishers represented to him that as many of his sincere friends and sympathizers had scratched their faces with the nails of discontent, and had shaved off their moustaches with the razors of ingratitude, it would be best for the rest, while they are

[9] On the 20th August General Pollock began to move from Jallâlâbâd (Kaye, Vol. II. p. 567) and on the 15th September he encamped on the Kâbul racecourse (*ibid.* p. 581, also p. 610). The actual day when he marched into the city itself is not mentioned.

yet able, to depart with their families to Lodiânâ, and gladly to accept their former pensions from the English Government. Accordingly, aided by the power of Sarfarâz Khân, brother of the Nâib, and of 'Âẓim Gul Khân Bâmîzâi 'Urzbîgî and of 'Abdu'l-majîd Khân, Mâmâi Popalzâi, they departed by way of Karakchah to Jallâlâbâd with their wives and children; but, during the journey they were robbed of their baggage by a band of the Jabâr Khel tribe, who dwelt at Asurak, and even made the Shâzâdahs prisoners. They and their *harams* were liberated only at the instance of 'Âẓim Gul Khân, who had some friends among the Ghiljâis, and persuaded them to convey the party to Jallâlâbâd to Muhammad 'Usmân Khân Niẓâmu'ddaulah, who was still the Hâkim of that place; whence they departed with his consent and that of 'Abdu'r-Raḥmân to Peshâwar, to which town 'Azîz Khân of the Jabâr Khel tribe conveyed also the ladies and children in litters with all honour. There they joined the Shâhzâdâhs and all hastened together to Lodiânâ, where the English Government assigned to them sufficient allowances, and there they lived in contentment, renouncing their aspirations to power, being convinced that their realization was impossible.[10]

A PENDIX ON THE AFFAIRS OF HIRÂT.

The remaining adventures of Shâh Maḥmûd and of the Shâhzâdah Kâmrân, who had gone to Hirât and those parts, after being defeated by the Amîr Dôst Muḥammad Khân, and governed there, not having been recorded by the pen which traces musk characters, they will be narrated in detail in this place. Our trust is in Allah:—

In the year[11] 1235 Fath 'Alî Shâh Qâjâr despatched Shuja'au's-Sulṭanat Ḥasan 'Alî Mirzâ with a powerful army to invade Khurâsân, who committed great depredations around Hirât. Shâh Maḥmûd therefore sent the Afghân 'Abdu's-Ṣamad Khân with many presents and the promise of allegiance, as ambassador to Fatḥ 'Alî Shâh, who was satisfied, and recalled Shuja'au's-Sultanat, so that Shâh Maḥmûd and his son again lived five or six years in tranquillity. But in the Hijrî year[12] 1241 dissensions arose between Shâh Maḥmûd and his son Kâmrân. The latter usurped all the power, no longer obeyed his father, and requested Shuja'au's-Sultanat who was at Khurâsân, to come to his assistance. This request was granted, and the father was removed from the throne. Shuja'au's-Sulṭanat then left his son Arghûn Mirzâ in Hirât and returned (to Khurâsân), after which Shâh Maḥmûd sat in the corner of retirement till he died a natural death in the Hijrî year[13] 1244, and his son Kâmrân carried on the government of Hirât.

Muḥammad 'Aṭâ Khân Alakzâi, brother of Sardâr 'Abdu'llah Khân the Hâkim of Kaśmîr, perished in the general epidemic which raged throughout the whole of Afghânistân in 1244, A.H. or 1828 A.D., and the Shâhzâdah Kâmrân appointed Yâr Muḥammad Khân, the son of Sardâr 'Abdu'llah Khân, late Ḥakim of Kaśmîr, who was his own cousin, to be his Amîru'l-umrâ. Yâr Muḥammad Khân was a valiant and open-handed man, and was on this account afterwards raised to an even higher station, and made *wazîr*.

In the Hijrî year[14] 1248 Shâh Shuja'a arrived (in Afghânistân) and was defeated at Qandahâr by the Amîr Dôst Muḥammad Khân. He took refuge in the forts of Lâsh and Jawain, and the Shâhzâdah Kâmrân sent the eunuch Hâjî Firûz Khân his favourite, with presents, and a message, that although Hirât was even as his own house, it would be better for him to remain for some time in comfort and pleasure in the *mauza'a* Farrah. This fact is recorded in the *Memoirs of Shâh Shuja'a*.

Next year,[15] A.H. 1249, Fath 'Alî Shâh determined to send the Nawâb, 'Abbâs Mirzâ, his heir apparent, to conquer Khurâsân, who in his turn despatched Muḥammad Shâh, at that time known by the name of Muḥammad Mirzâ, with a large army to conquer Hirât, which the latter thereon beleagered. The Shahzâdah Kâmrân, not being

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[10] It was now time that the British army should depart. Nothing remained to be done. Any longer continuance at Kâbul would only have aggravated the sufferings of the people and increased our own difficulties. So on the 11th of October orders were issued for the commencement of the march on the following day. The unhappy Prince, Fath Jang, had claimed and sought permission to accompany Pollock's camp to India, and to seek an asylum in the Company's dominions, &c. Kaye, Vol. II p. 640.

[11] Began on the 20th October 1819.

[12] Began 16th August 1825.

[13] Began 14th July 1828.

[14] Began 31st May 1832.

[15] Began 21st May 1833.

prepared to stand a siege, sent his Wazîr Yâr Muḥammad Khân to 'Abbâs Mirzâ, who was in Mashhad, to sue for peace. The latter, however, had the envoy put in chains as soon as he arrived, and demanded the surrender of Hirât. All the pleadings of this Wazîr having proved thus fruitless, Kâmrân was forced into the defence of his fortress, which he carried on with the utmost energy till 'Abbâs Mirzâ was overtaken by a dangerous malady, and was compelled to return to his capital Ṭahrân, and even to recall his son Muḥammad Mirzâ from the siege of Hirât. He accordingly abandoned it, in obedience to his father's behest, and finding Wazîr Yâr Muḥammad Khân very sick, he bestowed a robe of honour upon him, and gave him leave to depart to Hirât. Kâmrân, much pleased with the arrival of his Wazîr, spent three or four years in peace, till A.H.[16] 1252, when they both marched with an army to Sîstân, invading Sih Kohah, Khâkpûr, and other districts, and bringing back numberless prisoners and untold booty to Hirât.

Next year Shâh Kâmrân undertook a campaign with the intention of subjugating Qandahâr, and passing through Farrah, he took up a position at Kowârâ, to which place the Sardârs of Qandahâr advanced to meet him and pitched their camp on the banks of the River Hirmand [*sic*]. Bahâr Khân Peshkhidmat sallied forth with a band of valiant combatants, but Kâmrân after obtaining due information, sent Nâib Dastu'lkûzî Y'aqûb with a few thousand *sawârs* to defeat him. The Nâib marched quickly and surprising Bahâr at midday, attacked him and put him to flight, compelling him to take refuge with the Sardârs. It not having been at any time the intention of the Wazîr Yâr Muḥammad Khân to subjugate Qandahâr, he induced Kâmrân Mirzâ to be satisfied with the results already obtained, and they proceeded instead to attack Lâsh and Jowâin; but after they had besieged Silû Khân in the first named fort during a period of four months, news arrived that Muhammad Shâh, who had after the demise of his grandfather Fatḥ 'Ali become Pâdshâh of the extensive dominions of Irân, was marching with a vast army to conquer Hirât. So Kâmrân and his Wazîr abandoned the siege of Lâsh and hastened back to Hirât. The Persian army laid siege for fourteen lunar months to Hirât, but being foiled by the valour of the Afghân troops, retraced its steps towards Ṭahrân without attaining its object, beginning its retreat on the nineteenth of Jumâdu's-sânî. in the Hijri year 1254 [9th September 1838].[17]

After the departure of the Persian army Hirât remained a total ruin and Pottinger, the English *Farangî* there, did not repair it. Moreover one day he made light in anger of Sher Muḥammad Khân, the brother of the Wazîr, and insulted him. So the Wazîr addressed, in concert with Kâmrân, a letter complaining of his tyranny, to the English Ṣâḥibs in Qandahâr, and asking for a substitute in his place. The said Sâhibs recalled Pottinger from Hirât and sent Todd[18] instead of him, who began the rebuilding and repairing of Hirât. As soon as the Wazîr obtained a favourable opportunity after the arrival of Todd, he told him that when advances of money were required for Hirât he ought to make them, taking a deed that the full amount was to be repaid in the following year. Todd was an inexperienced man, gave to everybody what he asked for, and paid the money after getting the deed, and in this manner the English government lost from five to six *lâkhs* of rupees.[19]

Kâmrân gradually surrendered the whole administration into the hands of his Wazîr Yâr Muḥammad Khân, being sovereign in name only, and spending all his time in carousals and profligacy. The Wazîr then feared that the presence of the English in Hirât might induce Kâmrân to attempt to recover his power and to excite tumults: accordingly he managed with many apologies to remove Kâmrân from the city, who, however, soon got tired of his exile, and proceeding in the Hijrî year[20] 1256 with his sons and the *ghulâm khânah*[21] to the fort of Ikhtiâru'ddîn, during the Wazîr's

[16] Began on the 18th April 1836.

[17] This date agrees perfectly with that given in the proclamation or *firmân* issued when the Persian army retired from Hirat. See Kaye, Vol. I. p. 282.

[18] "I think Sir A. Burnes is disinclined to go to Hirât and Sir J. Keane is averse to his going there. It is probable I may send Todd instead." [Mr. Macnaghten to Lord Auckland. Qandhâr, April 25, 1839, *Unpublished Correspondence*]. Foot-note in Kaye, Vol. I. p. 435.

[19] "Up to this time eight *lâkhs* of rupees had been advanced to the Hirâti government. When the next year dawned upon Hirât twelve *lâkhs* had been so advanced. The utmost benefits had been conferred upon the State. The measures of our British officers had rescued "king, chief, and people from starvation." Kaye, Vol. I. p. 516-7.

[20] Began 5th March 1840.

[21] *ante*, p 170, *note*.

absence from the city in the Kartah garden, removed the planking of the bridge, and prepared for hostilities. On this the Wazîr Yâr Muḥammad Khân entered the city with numerous troops, and first sent Najû Khân Bârukzâi to negotiate with Kâmrân, but he remained obstinate, and was therefore beleaguered in the fort of Ikhtiâru'ddîn, the eastern tower of which was undermined and blown into the air, after a siege of fifty days. This event greatly disheartened Kâmrân, whose sons the Wazîr had also by this time got into his possession as hostages, so that he surrendered and was sent to Kûsân under the pretence of being presented with the place in *jâgîr*. At the instigation of the Wazîr, he was followed there by Sardâr Tâj Muḥammad Dastu'lkûzî, who despatched him in the same year to the regions of non-existence. His body is interred in the Rauẓa Bâgh.

His reign lasted twelve years. He is said to have been of short stature with a pock-marked face, of cruel temper and tyrannical humour.[22] Many instances of his injustice are on record, but we shall content ourselves with the mention of only two or three of them. One is that, whilst Ḥâkim of Qandahâr, he got up in the middle of the night, mounted his horse, and taking up a position in the Shikârpûr *bâzâr*, turned the people who were conveying a bride to her husband's house, to his own mansion; and then, after dishonouring her, sent her on. Wherefore all the people cried to heaven for vengeance against him, and the locality bears to this day the name of Kâfir Dehnah. Kâmrân spent most of his time in hunting antelopes, but chased also any other game when he roamed about the deserts. One day his runners had pursued a fox to a cave, but instead of entering it, the fox preferred to surrender and and be captured. Kâmrân, in order to ascertain the cause of this, had the mouth of the cave enlarged by his people, who succeeded after digging for an hour, in pulling out a man, who stated that he had taken refuge in the cave from fear of the *sawârs* of Kâmrân. The Pâdshâh then kept the man in close confinement, and it was discovered that he was a wealthy merchant, who had concealed himself in the lair of a wild beast to escape from the extortions of Kâmrân, and had remained there, till by the decree of fate, his presence was revealed by means of a fox. He had to pay a fine of fifty thousand rupees!

The cow escaped the butcher's grasp!
To deserts fled, unseen by human eyes;
A lion broke her with a blow.
Thus fate crowns each escape from death!

By such wicked acts as these he estranged from himself his subjects and his troops; nay, his profligacy was the cause of the extinction of the Saddozâi dynasty, which had lasted ninety-six years, for "Verily Allah will not change His grace which is in men, until they change the disposition in their souls."[23]

After him Yâr Muḥammad continued to govern Hirât for eleven years, and his son S'aid Muḥammad Khân was Ḥâkim of Hirât for four years more, until by the machinations of 'Îsa Khân Bardarânî and other Amîrs, the Shâhzâdah Muḥammad Yûsaf was raised to the governorship of Hirât. He slew S'aid[24] Muhammad Khân in the Hijrî year[25] 1271.

The detailed narrative of the events last mentioned is as follows:—When the Wazîr conducted the government of Hirât after the murder of the Shâhzâdah Kâmrân, he invited most of the Alakzâi Amîrs from Qandahâr, and conferred high appointments upon them to such a degree, that shepherds and farmers were made Baglarbêgîs and Qularaqâsîs. In the following year he marched with a strong army to punish the inhabitants of Ghûr, and having devastated the districts as far as Kurzutizlî, which is on the frontiers of Zamîndâwar, he returned to Hirât. The year afterwards he reduced Karîmdâd Khân Hazârah, who had desired to be independent; but again appointed him Ḥâkim, after he had paid the revenues which were due. As soon as the winter was over he marched with a powerful army to subjugate Maimanah, but had to return to Hirât on account of some dissensions. But in the next year he sent Hâshim Khân Alakzâi Baglarbêgî with a strong force to subjugate Maimanah, and to uproot the power of Ḥikmat Khân, who was captured, but nevertheless reappointed

[22] In the character and person of Shâh Kâmrân there was little that was estimable or attractive: there was still less in the person of his Wazîr. Kaye Vol. I. p. 208.

[23] *Qurân*, ch. xiii. v. 12.

[24] This name is afterwards spelled *Sayyid*, but I retain the first spelling throughout.

[25] Began 24th September 1854.

Ḥakim, after he had disgorged the revenues due. The son of Ḥikmat Khân was taken as a hostage to Hirât, where the Wazîr treated him well.

Sâlâr-i-Qâjâr, who was governor of Mashhad Muqaddas on behalf of the Persian Government, was displeased when it also appointed the Shâhzâdah Hamzah Mirzâ, brother of Muḥammad Shâh, to be governor of Mashhad Ṭûs, and therefore went to Marv, where he made common cause with the Turkmâns, and finding an opportunity during the winter, marched with Turkmân *sawârs* to subjugate Mashhad. After taking the town, he besieged the Shâhzâdah in the citadel, who called in the assistance of the Wazîr Yâr Muḥammad Khân, when he was pressed beyond endurance. Accordingly the Wazîr started with numerous troops in the direction of Mashhad under the pretext of reinforcing Sâlâr; but when he had arrived at a distance of two *karahs* from the town, he deflected from the proper route and proceeded to aid the Shâhzâdah, whom Sâlâr attacked as soon as he heard of this intention. The Wazîr now perceived that the affairs of the Shâhzâdah were in a desperate condition, and so he induced him to march with his troops and artillery to Hirât, where he provided all the necessary stores, and maintained them in great comfort in the localities of Kusân and Ghuriân, where he had them housed, till the winter was over. When the spring set in, reinforcements arrived from Ṭahrân, with which the Shâhzâdâh marched to reconquer Mashhad. He requited the services which the Wazîr had rendered, by presenting him with four pieces of siege artillery, and the title of Ẓâhiru'ddaulah [Support of the Monarchy] when he took leave of him.

All this confirmed the friendship between the Qâjâr dynasty and the Wazîr, and he governed Hirât during the next two or three years in peace, till Aḥmad Khân, the brother of Sâlû Khân Ishâqzâi revolted, and making common cause with the Sardârs of Qandahâr, incited them to occupy Lâsh and Jawâin, both of which were dependencies of Hirât, and even brought Sher 'Alî Khân, son of Sardâr Mohrdil Khân to Lâsh, and established him there. The Sardârs likewise marched with their troops to attack the Wazîr and arrived in Girishk, whilst the Sardâr Muḥammad Sâdiq Khân, son of Sardâr Kuhandil Khân came with a powerful army and took the fort of Khâkpûr which is a dependency of Sîstân. The Wazîr on his part also started with his ever-victorious army, but wrote during the march to the Sardârs of Qandahâr, that enmity between him and them is out of place, as both parties were enemies of the Saddozâis, and that as all this trouble had been fomented by Aḥmad Khân Lâshî-Lâsî, his punishment was necessary, and the taking of the fort of Lâsh from him a most important matter. He himself made his own arrangements for attacking the fort, and succeeded in one day in depriving Aḥmad Khân of it; and then gave Sher 'Ali Khân leave to depart to Qandahâr. On the march to Lâsh, the Wazîr had felt unwell from eating cucumbers and curds, but the distemper now became more serious. So he left the camp in charge of his son S'aid Muḥammad Khân, and made all possible haste to reach Hirât. He expired, however, on the road to it, in the *mûẓ'a* known by the name of Rabâṭ Mirhâhah. This event took place at the end of the month Sh'abân in the Hijrî year 1267 [29th June 1851]. His corpse was conveyed to Hirât and was interred by the side of the Mazâr-i-Jâmî.

He independently governed Hirât for eleven years and was a man of firm character and unbounded liberality. He was so anxious for the good opinion of his people, that once when one of his *sarbâzes* [common soldiers] died, he went in person to the heirs, and after reading the *Fâtiḥah*, presented them with robes of honour, Kaśmîr shawls, &c., and went away. It is also on record that once when a servant boy brought a robe of honour as a present from him, the recipient expressed his doubts as to whether a mistake had not been committed, and asked for what services the gift had been bestowed, as he had received a very valuable one but the day before!

After him his son S'aid Muḥammad Khân assumed the reigns of government under the regency of his mother, but he surpassed even his father in liberality, and bestowed enormous sums upon poor wretches who scarcely deserved to receive a present of two rupees. He was subject to fits of lunacy, in one of which he fell out with his mother who dwelt in the fort of Ikhtiâru'ddîn; whereon he brought cannon to bear upon it, and ordered the artillery to fire them, making wanton breaches in the wall. He, however, rejoiced and abused his mother!

May God preserve us from such aberrations of mind! It is said, too, that one day when sitting in public *darbâr*, he perceived a cat walking along the coping of a wall, which caused him to break out in a fit of horse-laughter and to exclaim :—"What would become of the wall, if this cat were changed into a cow?" The Durrânî Khâns at last all despaired of his sanity, and invited the Sardârs of Qandahâr twice or thrice to overthrow his government. They came, but effected nothing till Nâib 'Îsa Khân Durrânî secretly invited the Shâhzâdah Muhammad Yusaf, son of the Shâhzâdah Malik Qâsim, son of Ḥâjî Firûzu'ddîn, who was at Mashhad. He arrived during the night of Tuesday the third of the sacred month Muḥarram in the Hijrî year 1272 [15th September 1855], entered the city of Hirât with one hundred *sawârs* and caused the kettle-drums to be struck in his own name. The Alkûzî Khâns and Amîrs, most of whom happened to be dead-drunk with aromatic wine, were frightened when they heard the sound of the kettle-drums, and not being able to distinguish their hands from their feet, hid themselves in every corner. Although they had swallowed *lâkhs* of rupees during the government of the Wazîr, not one of them dared to offer opposition, except Ḥâjî Khairu'llah Khân, who came forward to fight and received a mortal wound, in consequence of which he departed from this perishable world. S'aid Muhammad Khân was taken and slain, whilst all the Alkûzî Amîrs were made prisoners and mulcted in silver by the *riṭl* and the *mann*.

When the Persian government was informed of what had taken place, Nâṣru'ddîn Shâh, desirous to protect the old administration, despatched his own uncle Ḥusâmu's-Sulṭanat Murâd Mirzâ, who was the Ḥâkim of Khorâsân, as commander-in-chief with a powerful army and artillery to conquer Hirât, which he invested, and besieged therein Muhammad Yûsaf and Nâib 'Îsa Khân for a long time. After the siege had been thus protracted, Nâib 'Îsa Khân Bardurânî sent envoys to Qandahâr to wait upon the unequalled Amîr, and asked him to send reinforcements, but the Amîr Ṣahib paid no attention to the request. At last Nâib 'Îsâ Khân, being much distressed by the bad behaviour of the Shâhzâdah Muhammad Yûsaf, sent him prisoner to Ḥusâmu's-Sulṭanat, who slew him in revenge for the blood of S'aid Muḥammad Khân. After the siege had lasted for a very long time, there was a scarcity of grain in the city, but still no aid arrived from any quarter. So Nâib 'Îsa Khân was under the necessity of suing for peace, and surrendering the city to the Qâjâr [Persian] government. On which the Persian army marched into the city and acted as it listed.

One day, when Nâib 'Îsa Khân Bardurânî, at the invitation of the Shâhzâdah (Murâd Mirzâ), made his appearance in the camp for the purpose of paying his respects, a man approached him on the pretext of wishing to speak to him, and shot him dead. This happened at the time when the adherents of the Amîr Dôst Muḥammad Khân arrived at Qandahâr from Kâbul, after the demise of Sardâr Kuhandil Khân, subjugated that city and expelled from it Sulṭân Aḥmad Khân, son of Sardâr Muḥammad 'Aẓim Khân, together with Muḥammad 'Ilm Khân, son of Sardâr Raḥmdil Khân, on account of some disputes they had with them. These two exiles, despairing of assistance from other quarters, sought it from the Qâjâr Government, and went to Ṭahrân to implore Naṣru'ddîn Shâh Qâjâr for it. Sardâr Sulṭân 'Ali Khân also went there with the same intention.

As the English Government was not willing that any Afghân possessions, and especially Hirât, the abode of victory, which is one of the finest of localities and possesses a strong citadel, should be at the disposal of the Qâjâr Government, it had, as has been narrated above, during the time of Kâmrân and of the Wazîr Yâr Muḥammad Khân, spent a great deal of wealth and property, through the Englishman Todd, in improving the district. It now forwarded through its plenipotentiary, at Ṭahrân, representations to Naṣru'ddîn Shah, that as the European powers had made an agreement that no other power than itself should interfere with the possessions of Afghânistân, the Persian Government, which had occupied Hirât, ought, according to the said agreement, to restore it to the Afghâns, and to cease to interfere in its affairs. But as the forefathers and ancestors of Naṣru'ddîn Shâh had lusted always for the subjugation of that strong fortress, and had hoped in their hearts for the conquest of that God-created citadel, he paid no attention to the representations of the English plenipoten-

tiary. At last the English Government recalled its ambassador from Ṭahrân, and despatched ships of war by way of the Indian Ocean to the port of Abushahr [Bushir]. In the contest which ensued, the English took two or three strong forts, and the Qâjâr Government, considering it to be unadvisable to continue the war, abandoned the conquest of Hirât, and surrendered it to Sardâr Sultân Aḥmad Khân, on condition that the Sardârs divided the district among themselves, but left the Government of the city in the hands of Sardâr Sulṭân Aḥmad Khân, whose selection for that dignity was approved of by all except Sardâr Muḥammad 'Ilm Khân, who departed to Ṭahrân. However, at a place called Bâlhâk, he was overtaken by a band of robbers and shot dead. This event took place on the seventeenth of the honoured month Shawâl 1273 [11th June 1857].

Sardâr Sulṭân Aḥmad Khân and Sardâr Sulṭân 'Alî Khân arrived in Hirât at the end of the blessed month Ramaẓân [24th May of the same year] and the Persian army departed to Mashhad, and the Sardâr Sulṭân Aḥmad Khân, taking up his residence in the city, caused money to be coined and the *khuṭbah* to be read in the name of Naṣru'ddîn Shâh. Some time afterwards he excluded Sardâr Sultân 'Alî Khân and the sons of the Wazîr Yâr Muḥammad Khân from taking part in the administration and expelled them from the city; whereon they went to Qandahâr, where they received suitable appointments.

Sardâr Sultân Aḥmad Khân obtained from the Qâjâr Government the title of Sarkâr, his son Shâh Nawâz Khân being distinguished and exalted by the title of Amîr Punjî. He governed Hirât six years with perfect dignity and independence. He then marched to Farrah, which Sardâr Muhammad Sharîf Khân, who had revolted, had taken from Saifull'ah, the *vakîl* of the son of the Amîr Dôst Muḥammad Khân. He conquered that strong fort as soon as he arrived, chiefly by the aid of his son, Sikandar Khân, which caused him to utter the sentence:—"The edifice of Farîdûn was taken by Sikandar." Being satisfied with what he had accomplished, he returned to Hirât, and bestowed the governorship of Farrah upon Amîr Afẓal Khân, the son of Sardâr Pûrdil Khân, who being aggrieved at some words the Amîr Dôst Muḥammad Khân had said to him, had come to Hirât with Sardâr Ghulâm Maḥîu'ddîn Khân, son of Sardâr Kuhandil Khân. For this the Amîr Dôst Muḥammad Khân, whose abode is now in paradise, intending to punish him, marched with a powerful army in the year[25] 1279, took Hirât, and conquered the whole of Afghânistân, as shall be narrated if it pleaseth Allah the Most High!

THE FOUR PRINCES.

A KASMIRI TALE.

BY THE REV. J. HINTON KNOWLES, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

In days long since gone by there lived a king most clever, most holy, and most wise, who was indeed a pattern king. His mind was always occupied with plans for the improvement of his country and people; his *darbâr* was open to all; his ear was ever ready to listen to the petition of the humblest subject; he afforded every facility for trade; he established hospitals for the sick, inns (*sarâ'e*) for travellers, and large schools for those who wished to learn. These and many other such-like things he did. Nothing was left undone that ought to have been done; and nothing was done that ought not to have been done. Under such a wise, just and beneficent ruler the people, of course, lived very happily. Few poor, or unenlightened, or wicked persons were to be found in the country.

But the great and good king had not a son. This was an intense sorrow to him; the one dark cloud that now and again overshadowed his otherwise happy and glorious life. Every day he prayed earnestly to Śiva to grant him an heir to sit upon the throne after him. Long and patiently he had waited for an answer, when one day Śiva visited him in the garb of a *yôgî*,[1] and was so fascinated with his good and respectful manner, that he said:

[25] Began 29th June 1862.

[1] Śiva is the great representative *yôgî* or *tapasvî*; the ideal of what can be attained by the keeping of the body in subjection and by exclusive contemplation of divine things, hence he is the *mahâyôgî*, and in this character is depicted with ash-covered body, matted locks, and in a most emaciated condition. He sometimes appears to his devotees in the disguise of an ordinary *yôgî* or *gôsâin*. Cf. *Old Deccan Days*, p. 253.

"Ask anything of me, and you shall have it."

"I am in need of nothing," replied the king. Parameśwar has given me wealth, honour, might, majesty, peace, contentment, everything—yes, everything except one thing, and that who will give me?"

"Are you afraid to ask me for this thing?" said the *yôgî*. "Do you know what you are saying, O King?"

"True, true," answered His Majesty, "I speak as one who is (religiously) mad. O holy man, forgive me, and if you have any power with the Deity, I pray you invoke him on my behalf."

"Be of good cheer," said the *yôgî*, "you shall have many sons. Take these four fruits and give them to your wife to eat on Sunday next before sunrise. Then shall your wife give birth to four sons,[2] who will be exceedingly clever and good." The king took the four fruits and thanked the *yôgî*, who then departed.

His Majesty at once went and informed the queen of his interview with the *yôgî*. She, of course, was extremely glad to hear the good news. Anxiously they both waited for the following Sunday. On the sunrise of that day the queen ate the four fruits; and according to the word of the *yôgî* she presently conceived; and at the appointed time bore four sons. Her sickness and travail, however, were too much for her. As soon as the fourth and last son was born she gave one long, piercing, shriek and gave up the ghost.

Poor woman, to have died just as her long-cherished hopes were being realised! Poor little, forlorn, helpless ones to be thus left on life's threshold! Poor king, to have his great desire for a son and heir fulfilled, but at the cost of losing his beloved and beautiful wife! Sorrow, like a great dark cloud, seemed to shroud the palace and city for many days; because the king was overwhelmed with grief and would not be comforted.

The four babes were handed over to the tender mercies of four nurses, and they grew up strong, healthy, clever, and beautiful boys. The king was exceedingly fond of them. He appointed the best masters for their instruction, and lavished the most rare and expensive gifts on them. Nothing was too good, nothing was too costly: the greatest trouble and attention were not too much for the king's four beautiful and clever boys.

Meanwhile His Majesty married again, and had other sons by his second wife. But it was a sad day when the king took to him this second wife; because she naturally became very jealous when she saw the first queen's sons growing up so beautiful and wise, for she thought within her heart that they would have the king's favour, and so interfere with her own sons' succession to the throne. Accordingly she determined to ruin their character in the estimation of her husband, or failing that, to somehow or other compass their death.

It has been said that the king was thoroughly engrossed in the desire to improve his country and people. To do this work properly, he constantly felt his extraordinary position as a king a great hindrance. Though he very much depended on his ministers and subordinate officials, knowing that for the most part they were honest and just, yet he was convinced that he himself must go in and out among the people, see things with his own eyes, and hear what the people were saying with his own ears, if he would rightly understand their state; and, therefore, he frequently visited towns and villages in different disguises and under cover of the night. In this way he thoroughly ascertained the needs of his subjects, so that they wondered at his sagacity and skill.[3]

This continued for some time, until early one morning, while returning from an excursion to a neighbouring village, it commenced to rain very hard. Not having expected this quick and heavy shower, His Majesty was quite unprepared for it; and so what with the long ride and the mud he arrived at the palace

[2] Among other extraordinary powers *faqîrs* seem to be able to grant sons to the barren. Some special fruit-eating is the general remedy. In Indian folktales some *faqîrs* have recommended mangoes: one ordered *lîchî* (*Scytalia litchi, Roxb.*), a fruit like a plum, to be eaten: one old *faqîr* gave the queen a barley-corn; and another ordered a certain drug. Cf. *Indian Fairy Tales*, pp. 91, 187: *Wideawake Stories*, pp. 47, 290; *Old Deccan Days*, p. 253; *Folktales of Bengal*, p. 117; *Dravidian Nights*, pp. 55-56. Only one instance can I find in Indian Folklore of a *faqîr* promising a barren woman a child without ordering her to take some fruit, &c. Cf. *Wideawake Stories*, p. 95: [but see *Legends of the Pañjâb*, passim.—ED.]

[3] Many native princes have disguised themselves and patrolled their cities at night. The present Mahârâja's late grandfather the Mahârâja Gulâb Singh often did so. Cf. also *Folktales of Bengal*, p. 147. Many a tale also of the adventures of the great Hârûn Ar-Rashîd in disguise is current in the East.

looking more like a porter than a king. The soldiers at the gate, even, almost allowed him to pass in without the customary royal salute.

The queen at once heard of the king's plight and when, having changed his wet and muddy garments, he went to her room she met him with a frown. "Wherefore this frown, my wife?" he said.

"I like not," she replied, "that you, my lord and king, should do these things. They do not become either your position or your age. Why don't you command your sons to do this work? They are grown-up, and are good and wise enough to perform it. Command them to do this work, I pray you. Thus shall I be saved much anxiety concerning you, while the affairs of the kingdom will not suffer in the least."

"You have spoken wisely," answered the king. "It is better that I should resign these duties to younger hands,—and who are more wise and diligent than my own sons? They, too, will be kings and rulers some day, and ought to learn experimentally now, while I am alive to direct and help them, what will be expected from them hereafter. I will immediately call them and explain my wishes."

Accordingly the four princes were at once summoned before the king; and when they appeared, His Majesty told them of his conversation with the queen, and how that he had determined to hand over this itinerating work to them. "You are younger and stronger than I am," he added. "I trust you will endeavour to fulfil your duties to my satisfaction and to the people's profit."

The four princes expressed their pleasure at this manifestation of their father's confidence in them, and assured him that he should never find that that confidence had been misplaced. Directly that day changed into night they commenced their work of secret supervision. They each had a special round, and whatever was worth notice they reported to the king. Under such a strict and regular supervision it was no wonder that the kingdom continued increasingly happy and prosperous (!)

But seeds of mischief were being sown at the palace against these princes. The queen was getting more and more jealous of them, as she saw her own sons growing into manhood. She plotted in every imaginable way against them. At first the king heeded not her lying insinuations and unkind wishes, but afterwards overcome by her skill and charms (for the queen was both very clever and very beautiful), he began to speak harshly to the four princes, and now and again he looked with suspicion on them. The princes noticed that the face of their father was being changed towards them, and that there was a marked lack of the trust and affection that had hitherto encouraged them to prosecute unflaggingly their arduous labours.

This state of affairs went on for several months. At last, worn out by unpleasantries by day and watchings by night, the four princes met together to solemnly consider what they should do. They appointed their meeting at midnight and in a most unfrequented part of the jungle. Each prince told his tale of sorrow, and each one except the eldest, on the conclusion thereof added, "And now my counsel is, dear brethren, that we fly this part of the country and go whithersoever Parameśwar may lead us. What will be, will be."

"Not so," said the eldest prince. "Stay, my brethren. What foolishness is this that you entertain in your hearts? Not so, not so, I counsel you. You know not what you are proposing. Deprived of sleep you have become deprived of your wits also. In a sane state of mind you would not speak thus. What! would the sons of the greatest and holiest king that ever sat on the *masnad*[1] disobey their father, and run away like mean, spiritless, curs before his commands? No, never;—this is not your meaning. Listen, O my brethren, I warn you not to think any more about leaving your country. Get to your beds and rest. I will watch for this night. To-morrow night another of us will watch; and the next night another; and the night after that another. Thus shall we get more and abundant rest; and the work of supervision will be regularly carried on."

Saying this, the eldest prince wished them all good-night, and started to fulfil his watch. The other princes also left, and being thoroughly impressed by their eldest brother's advice went home and soon forgot their

[1] A large cushion of velvet, silk, and precious stones doing duty for a throne.

sorrows in sleep. The next night the second prince went, while the first prince rested, and on the third night the third prince watched, and on the fourth night the youngest prince, while all the others took rest in sleep. This arrangement lasted for many months and answered well. The princes bore their father's unkindness bravely, and in every way behaved as they should do. Their piety, goodness, and attention to public affairs won praises from everybody, except the king and the queen who deluded him.

How true is the saying, "Real virtue never continues unrewarded by the gods." One night while the eldest prince was going his rounds of inspection he reached a small hut wherein a certain Brâhmaṇ resided with his wife. The prince noticed them through the open window, and as he looked the Brâhmaṇ arose, opened the door, and came out. As usual the good man looked up at the heavens; and no sooner had he done so, than he turned, and rushed indoors again, exclaiming "*Trâh, Trâh!*"[5]

"What is it?" his wife inquired somewhat timidly. "Oh," said the Brâhmaṇ. "I saw the star of our king obliterated by another star."

"What is the interpretation of this sign?" asked the wife.

"It means," the Brâhmaṇ replied, "that our king will die in seven days from this time."

"Die!" said the Brâhmaṇî almost in tears. "How will His Majesty die? By sickness, or by the hand of an enemy?"

The Brâhmaṇ replied, "On the seventh day hence, just after the first watch of the night a deadly black snake will descend from the sky, and will enter the king's bedroom by the door thereof, that opens out into the court-yard, which is on the east side of the palace. This snake will bite His Majesty's toe, so that he will die."

"But surely this must not be," said the Brâhmaṇî. The king can be delivered from this cruel death. Tell me how his deliverance may be accomplished. Of a truth it cannot be that a king so just and holy and clever as our king is should perish in this way."

"The gods prevent such a disaster!" said the Brâhmaṇ. "Get me some *ghî* and a few pieces of wood, that I may make an offering to them. For it is written in the *Śâstras* that if a man, when he knows of any misfortune about to happen to the king, will offer at that time something in the fire to the gods, then the king will be saved from the misfortune; otherwise the king will not be saved. Who knows but that our king may be spared to us?"[6] So saying he took the sticks, kindled a fire, and cast the *ghî* into the fire; and then after many prayers and invocations rose and turning to his wife said, "His Majesty will be delivered if one of his relations will attend to these instructions. The man in whose heart is the wish to do this thing must dig pits in the courtyard that is on the east side of the palace; and some of the pits he must fill with water and others he must fill with milk. He must also throw flowers in these pools, and on the intervening spaces right up to the door of the king's bedroom. This done he must be present at the doorstep at the appointed time with a sword in his hand. The snake will surely come and will swim across the water and the milk, and, after passing through these elements and over the flowers, will be rendered comparatively harmless. On the arrival of the snake at the doorstep, the man who has taken upon him to perform this work must strike at it with the sword and slay it. After killing the snake he must take some of its warm blood and going into the king's room smear it over His Majesty's toes. In this way the king will be preserved from evil;—but alas! who is there to perform these things?"

The prince, whom curiosity had drawn very near to the window of the Brâhmaṇ's hut, heard everything that was said, and he, of course was very much surprised. In the morning he communicated the matter to his three brothers. Not a hint, however, reached the ears of the king. For six nights the four princes continued going their rounds as usual, but on the seventh night the eldest prince begged to be allowed to go out of his turn, because it was in his heart to save the king.

[5] *Trâh, Trâh* (also Sanskrit), an exclamation denoting "mercy! pardon!"

[6] *Hôm*, a kind of offering by fire, which can be made by Brâhmaṇs only. It is an offering for special occasions. The method of making it is as follows:—During the utterance of prayers and invocations, according to the object of the sacrifice, five kinds of wood, together with *darbh* grass, rice, and *ghî*, are kindled and burnt. The fire is kept burning only as long as the occasion for it lasts. The *hôm* is a most efficacious offering, compelling the obedience of the gods and changing in the Fate.

Accordingly he went and dug some pits in the court on the east side of the palace, filled some of these pits with milk and some with water, and threw flowers on every side and right up to the door of the king's bedroom. Then, when everything was ready, he took a naked sword in his hand and standing on the doorstep awaited the coming of the serpent. All this had been done after the king and queen had retired to rest.

The first watch of the night had scarcely passed, when the prince, thus standing on the alert, heard a sound as though something had fallen. Presently he noticed the faint movement of some animal through the pools of milk and water; then there was a rustling through the flowers which he had scattered about the palace; and then he descried what looked like the body of a serpent wriggling towards him. Now was the time! The prince tightened his hold on the sword, and as soon as the snake reached the doorstep, he cut it in two. He quickly took some of the warm blood of the reptile, and having blindfolded himself, quietly opened the door of the bedroom and entered. He had covered his eyes because he did not like to look on his father in his private room. Carefully he felt for the toes of Their Majesties, and when he had hold, as he thought, of the toes of the king, he smeared some of them with the blood. But he could not see what he was doing, and stained some of the toes of the queen instead. This woke Her Majesty, who was a very light sleeper; and when she noticed a man leaving the room, she shrieked aloud and aroused the king.[7] Presently she noticed some blood on her toes, and imagining that a *rákshasa*[8] had visited them she became almost frantic with fright. The king also woke just in time to see the figure of his eldest son pass out of the bedroom.

"Yes, yes," exclaimed His Majesty, "it is all true, even as you said. Now I am quite assured of the wickedness and deceit of my sons. To-morrow I will order the execution of all four of them. Such wretches must not be allowed to live."

Of course the queen improved the occasion. When she had sufficiently recovered from the shock, she reiterated to the king all that she had seen and heard, with sundry additions. She also showed the king her blood-stained toes. These things, together with what His Majesty himself had witnessed, made him resolve on the speedy execution of his sons.

"Undoubtedly," he said, "when my sons found that by themselves they could not harm me during your lifetime, they compacted a league with *rákshasas*. May the gods deliver us!"

The queen's joy was now almost complete. At last she thought she had gained the end of her desires! Bright pictures of the future passed before her mental vision. She saw her own sons, great, clever, and wise, ruling in the land, all people praising them and all countries doing them honour. Impatiently she waited for the day when the only obstacles to the accomplishment of this wish would be cleared away.

Very early next morning the king went to the council-chamber, summoned his friends and advisers, and ordered his four sons, now prisoners, to be brought before him. Deprived of their princely robes, their faces and hands soiled from contact with the damp dirty walls of the dark vault wherein they had been imprisoned for the greater part of the night, they looked very wretched. Still they did not despair. Hope was written on each one of their foreheads.

Not a sound was heard when the four princes entered and walked up to the place appointed for them to wait and hear their sentence. After a few minutes' pause, the king, trembling with anger, charged them with having done what was worthy of death, an act which the gods, and therefore he, could not pardon. He accordingly ordered their immediate execution.

On the conclusion of the sentence the executioners ran forward and laid hands on the prisoners. Then some of the ministers and others present took upon themselves to ask what the crime of the four princes might be. But the king would not listen. "Remove these men," he said. "I will explain their crime afterwards."

(To be continued.)

[7] *Cf. Folk-tales of Bengal*, pp. 46. 147. 148.

[8] For other cases of human beings having been suspected of being *rákshasas and rákshasís* (ogres and ogresses) *cf. Wide-awake Stories*, p. 396.

THE BHAGALPUR PLATE OF NARAYANAPALA.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; VIENNA.

I re-edit this grant, originally obtained at B h â g a l p u r, from an estampage prepared by myself from the original plate, which is in the Library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

The *vaṁśâvali* consists of seventeen verses and mentions the names of the following princes of the so-called P â l a dynasty of Bengal.

1. Gôpâladêva.
   - 2. Dharmapâla.
   - Vâkpâla.
     - 3. Dêvapâla.
     - Jayapâla.
       - 4. Vigrahapâladêva.
         - 5. Nârâyaṇapâladêva.

G ô p â l a was married to Maitrî. D h a r m a p â l a conquered a certain Indrarâja and other enemies, and transferred their kingdom to a certain Chakrâyudha. V â k p â l a and J a y a p â l a were the generals of their respective elder brothers. On his expeditions, the latter is said to have come in contact with the kings of the Utkalas and of the Prâgjyôtishas. V i g r a h a p â l a married Lajjâ of the Haihayavaṁśa.

According to the prose portion of the inscription, the donor, N â r â y a ṇ a p â l a, resided at M u d g a g i r i (Muṅger). Although a Buddhist (Saugata), he boasts of having built a thousand temples for the lord Śiva [1] The present grant he made to the temple of Śiva at K a l a ś a p ô t a, which he himself had founded, and to the attached congregation of Pâśupata teachers. The village granted was called M a k u ṭ i k â, and was situated in the K a k s h a *vishaya*, a district of T î r a b h u k t i (Tirhut). One of the chief points of interest which the present record affords, is the unusually long list of royal officials. Among these are mentioned soldiers from Gauḍa, Mâlava, Khaśa, Hûṇa, Kulika, Karṇâṭa, and Lâṭa. The date of the grant was the 9th day of Vaiśâkha of the 17th year (of Nârâyaṇapâla's reign).

The inscription closes with two verses which contain the name of the *Dûtaka* and of the engraver. The former was the *Bhaṭṭa*, the *Gurava*[2] Puṇyakîrtti. The latter was *Maṅkha-dâsa*, a native of S a m a t a t a or Eastern Bengal.

The present grant has been previously edited and translated by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra [3] Those who will take the trouble to compare the subjoined translation with his, will concede that the grant needed to be translated afresh. In order to justify the republication of the text itself, I annex a list of 'various readings,' from which mere orthographical inaccuracies are omitted:—

Readings of Dr R Mitra's Transcript	Lines.	Readings of the original plate.
शाश्वर्नी वा * * * यशोऽधि	4	शाश्वतीम्प्राप शान्ति
लक्ष्मींजन्मनिकेतनवंस(श)मकरोद्	5	लक्ष्मीजन्मनिकेतनं समकरो
अर्थपित्रे "to the father of wealth"	8	अर्थयित्रे
उदयाद्रितुल्यमहिमा	8f	उदयाद्रि तुल्यमहिमा
स(श)ङ्कया	13	सङ्कथां
धियः, क्षौर्णा	17	श्रियः, क्षोणी
यत पुराणलैङ्गानि चतुर्व्वर्गविधीनि च	18	चेतः पुराणलेख्यानि चतुर्व्वर्ग्गनिधीनि च
यतन्थानि	..	यतस्त्यानि
स्वीकृतः सुजनमनोभिः सन्यायित सहवाहनैः स्वीयैः	19	स्वीकृतसुजनमनोभिः सत्यापितसातिवाहनः सूक्तैः
त्यागे न यो न्यधत्ताश देयं मेऽङ्क राजन् कथां	,,	त्यागेन यो व्यधत्त श्रद्धेयामङ्गराजकथां
धर्म्मः, अकुटकर्म्मा	21	धर्म्मे, अकुण्ठकर्म्मा
त्यामर्यस्य	22	त्यामे यस्य
विहित	25	निहित
सन्नत	26	सन्तत
°पादान् भर	27	°पादानभर°

[1] Similar acts of generous tolerance are recorded of king Malup... in the ... inscription of Samvat 1187 ... Vol. XIV. p. 11...

[2] On the title ... Vol. XIV. p. 140 note 4.

[3] *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLVII. Part I. p. 384.

Readings of Dr. R. Mitra's Transcript.	Lines.	Reading of the original plate.
तीरभक्तकक्षवैषयिकसुसम्वद्धा°	29	तीरभुक्तौ । कक्षवैषयिकस्वसम्वद्धा°
राजरानक	30f	राजराजनक
महादो:साधसाधनिक	32f	महादौ:साधसाधनिक
कोषपाल	34	कोट्टपाल
द्रुतपेषणिक, अभित्वमान	35	दूतप्रैषणिक, अभित्व[र]माण
गोद, हूण, कलाट	36	गौड, हूण, कर्ण्णाट
तृणप्रतिगोचर	41	तृणयूतिगोचर
सदशोपचार:	42	सदशापचार:
प्रयास्क:	43	प्रग्राह्य:
भ्रमैद्दान°	45	भूमैद्दान°
धर्म्मानुशाङ्किन:, भुक्ता	47	धर्म्मानुशाङ्किन:, दत्ता
षष्टि°	48	षष्टिं
वेदान्तैरसु°, अपीती(ति)	52	वेदान्तैरप्यसु°, अधीती
भुक्षिणानां	52f	दक्षिणानां
मद्यदासेन[4]	53	मङ्घदासेन

Text.

First Side.

1 ओं स्वस्ति । मैत्रीङ्कारुण्यरत्नप्रमुदितहृदय:
2 प्रेयसीं सन्दधान: सम्यक्सम्वोधिविद्यासरिदम-
3 लजलक्षालिताज्ञानपङ्क: । जित्वा य: काम-
4 कारिप्रभवमभिभवं शाश्वतीम्प्राप शान्तिं स श्रीमान्लोकनाथो जय-
5 ति दशवलोऽन्यश्च गोपालदेव: ॥ [१] लक्ष्मीजन्मनिकेतनं समकरो वोढुं क्षम: क्ष्माभरं पक्षच्छेदभयादु-
6 पस्थितवतामेकाश्रयो भूभृतां । मर्यादापरिपालनैकनिरत: शौर्यालयोऽस्माद्भूदुग्धाम्भोधिविलास-
7 हासिमहिमा श्रीधर्म्मपालो नृप: ॥ [२] जित्वेन्द्रराजप्रभृतीनरातीनुपार्ज्जिता येन महोदयश्री: । दत्ता पुन:
8 सा वलिनार्थयित्रे चक्रायुधायानतिवामनाय ॥ [३] रामस्येव गृहीतसत्यतपसस्तस्यानुरूपो गुणै: सौमित्रेरुदपा-
9 दि तुल्यमहिमा वाक्पालनामानुज: । य: श्रीमान्नयविक्रमैकवसतिर्भ्रातु: स्थित: शासने शून्या: शत्रुपताकिनी-
10 भिरकरोदेकातपत्रा दिश: ॥ [४] तस्मादुपेन्द्रचरितैर्ज्जगतीम्पुनान: पुत्रो वभूव विजयी जयपालनामा । धर्म्मद्वि-
11 षां शमयिता युधि देवपाले य: पूर्व्वजे भुवनराज्यसुखान्यनैषीत् ॥ [५] यस्मिन्भ्रातुर्न्निदेशाद्बलवति परित: प्रस्थिते
12 जेतुमाशा: सीदन्नाम्नैव दूरान्निजपुरमजहादुत्कलानामधीश: । आसाञ्चक्रे चिराय प्रणयिपरिवृतो विभ्रदु-
13 च्चेन मूर्ध्ना राजा प्राग्ज्योतिषाणामुपशमितसमित्सङ्कथां यस्य चाज्ञां ॥ [६] श्रीमान् विग्रहपालस्तत्सूनु[र]जातशत्रुरि-
14 व जात: । शत्रुवनिताप्रसाधनविलोपिविमलासिजलधार: ॥ [७] रिपवो येन गुर्व्वीणां विपदामास्पदीकृता [।] पुरुषायु-
15 षदीर्घाणां सुहृद: सम्पदामपि ॥ [८] लज्जेति तस्य जलधेरिव जह्नुकन्या पत्नी वभूव कृतहैहयवंशभूषा । यस्या: शुची-
16 नि चरितानि पितुश्च वंशे पत्युश्च पावनविधि: परमो वभूव ॥ [९] दिक्पालै: क्षितिपालनाय दधतं देहे विभक्ता:
17 श्रिय: श्रीनारायणपालदेवमसृजत्तस्यां स पुण्योत्तरं । य: क्षोणीपतिभि: शिरोमणिरुचाश्लिष्टाङ्घ्रिपीठोपलं न्यायोपा-
18 त्तमलञ्चकार चरितै: स्वैरेव धर्म्मासनं ॥ [१०] चेत: पुराणलेख्यानि चतुर्व्वर्ग्गनिधीनि – यत-स्त्यानि चरितानि महीभृत: ॥ [११]
19 स्वीकृतसुजनमनोभि: सत्यापितसातिवाहन: सूक्तै: । त्यागेन यो व्यधत्त श्रद्धेयाम दरातिभिर्यस्य रण-

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[4] R. Mitra calls this person Mêghadâsa on p. 384, and Mudgadâsa on p. 410. The granted village is spelled Mukatika on p 384, Makutikâ (correctly) on p. 405 f., and twice Mukuṭika on p. 409 On p. 409, *sthas[illegible]* is translated by "thousands of temples". (Read "a thousand temples"); while on p. 38[illegible] acquainted with "a divinity named S[illegible] owes its origin to [illegible] same word

p. 408, we are told that [illegible] king" and on p. 395, tha[illegible] lord of Auga" in the B[illegible] the expression [illegible] Karna. *Varietio[illegible]*

[5] Read भु.

20 मूर्द्धनि विस्फुरन् । असिरिन्दीवरश्यामो ददृशे पीतलोहितः ॥ [१३] य प्रज्ञया च धनुषा च जगद्विनीय नित्यं न्यवीविशद्-

21 नाकुलमात्मधर्म्मे । यस्यार्थिनः सविधमेत्य भृशं कृतार्था नैवार्थिनां प्रति पुनर्विदधुर्म्मनीषां ॥ [१४] श्रीपति-रकृष्णकर्म्मा विद्या-

22 धरनायको महाभोगी । अनल्पसदृशोपि धाम्ना यश्चित्रन्नलसमश्चरितैः ॥ [१५] व्याप्ते यस्य त्रिजगति शरच्चन्द्र-गौरैर्यशो-

23 भिर्म्मन्ये शोभान्न खलु बिभरामास रुद्राट्टहासः । सिद्धस्त्रीणामपि शिरसि जैर्व्वार्प्पिताः केतकीनां पत्रापीडा सुचिरम-

24 भवन् भृङ्गशब्दानुमेया ॥ [१६] तयो ममास्तु राज्यन्ते द्वाभ्यामुक्तमिदं द्वयो । यस्मिन्विग्रहपालेन सगरेण भगीरथे ॥ [१७] स खलु भा-

25 गीरथीपथप्रवर्त्तमाननानाविधनौवाटसम्पादितसेतुबन्धनिहितशैलशिखरश्रेणीविभ्रमात् निरतिशयघनघनाघनघ-

26 टाश्यामायमानवासरलक्ष्मीसमारब्धसन्ततजलदसमयसन्देहात् उदीचीनानेकनरपतिप्राभृतीकृताप्रमेयहयवाहिनी-खर-

27 खुरोत्खातधूलीधूसरितदिगन्तरालात् परमेश्वरसेवासमायाताशेषजम्बुद्वीपभूपालानन्तपादातभरनमदवनेः । श्रीमु-

28 द्गगिरिसमावासितश्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात् परमसौगतो महाराजाधिराजश्रीविग्रहपालदेवपादानुध्यातः परमेश्वरः पर-

29 मभट्टारको महाराजाधिराजः श्रीमान्नारायणपालदेवः कुशली । तीरभुक्तौ । कक्षवैषयिकस्वसम्बद्धावि-च्छिन्नतलो-

Second Side.

30 पेतमकुतिकाग्रामे । समुपगताशेषराजपुरुषान् । राजराज-

31 नक । राजपुत्र । राजामात्य । महासान्धिविग्रहिक । महाक्षपटलिक । म-

32 हासामन्त । महासेनापति । महाप्रतीहार । महाकार्त्ताकृतिक । महा-

33 दौःसाधसाधनिक । महादण्डनायक । महाकुमारामात्य । राजस्थानीयोपरिक । दाशापराधिक । चौरोद्धरणिक ।

34 दाण्डिक । दाण्डपाशिक । शौल्किक । गौल्मिक । क्षेत्रप । प्रान्तपाल । कोट्टपाल । खण्डरक्ष । तदायुक्तक । विनियुक्तक । हस्त्य-

35 श्वोष्ट्रनौबलव्यापृतक । किशोर । वडवा । गोमहिष्यजाविकाध्यक्ष । दूतप्रै[10]षणिक । गमागमिक । अभि-त्वमाण[11] । विषयपति-

36 ग्रामपति । तरिक । गौड । मालव । खश । हूण । कुलिक । कर्ण्णाट । लाट । चाट । भट । सेव-कादीन् । अन्यांश्चाकीर्त्तितान् ।

37 राजपादोपजीविनः प्रतिवासिनो ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् । महत्तमोत्तमपुरोगमेदान्ध्रचण्डालपर्यन्तान् । यथार्हं मानयति ।

38 बोधयति । समादिशति च । मतमस्तु भवतां । कलशपोते । महाराजाधिराजश्रीनारायणपालदेवेन स्वयं-कारितसहस्रा-

39 यतनस्य । तत्र प्रतिष्ठापितस्य । भगवतः शिवभट्टारकस्य । पाशुपत[12]आचार्यपरिषदश्च । यथार्हं पूजाबलि-चरुसत्रनवक-

40 र्म्माद्यर्थं । शयनासनग्लानप्रत्ययभैषज्यपरिष्कारार्थं । अन्येषामपि स्वाभिमतानां । स्वपरिकल्पितविभागेन । अनवद्यभो-

41 गार्थञ्च । यथोपरिलिखितमकुतिकाग्रामः । स्वसीमातृणयूतिगोचरपर्यन्तः । सतलः । सोद्देशः । साम्रमधु-कः । सजल-

42 स्थ[illegible]गर्त्तोषरः । सोपरिकरः । सदशापचारः । सचौरोद्धरणः । परिहृतसर्व्वपीडः । अचाटभटप्रवेशः । अ-

किञ्चित्प्रग्राह्यः । समस्तभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिप्रत्यायसमेतः । भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्रार्कक्षितिसमकालं यावत्

मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये । भगवन्तं शिवभट्टारकमुद्दिश्य शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तः । ततो भवद्भिः सर्व्वैरेवानु-मन्तव्यं । भाविभिरपि भूपतिभिर्भूमेर्द्दानफलगौरवादपहरणे च महानरकपातभयाद्दानमिदमनुमोद्य पालनीयं प्र-तिवासिभिः क्षेत्रकरैश्चाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयीभूय यथाकालं समुचितभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिसर्व्वप्रत्यायोपनयः का-

[11] Read अभित्वरमाण with the Âṅgâchhâdi grant, ante, Vol. XIV. p. … line 39.

…rrected from ना.

47 र्थे इति । सम्वत् १७ वैशाखदिने ९ [॥] तथा च धर्म्मानुशङ्गिनः श्लोकाः । वहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [।]

48 यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिदः । आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव न-

49 रके वसेत् ॥ स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां । स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥ सर्व्वानेतान् भाविनः

50 पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयः प्रार्थयत्येष रामः । सामान्यो ऽयन्धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयः क्रमेण ॥ इति क-

51 मलदलाम्बुविन्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च । सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बुद्धा न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलो-

52 प्याः ॥ वेदान्तैरप्यसुगमतमं वेदिता ब्रह्मतत्त्वं[13] यः सर्व्वासु श्रुतिषु परमः सार्द्धमङ्गैरधीती । यो यज्ञानां समुदितमहाद-

53 क्षिणानां प्रणेता भट्टः श्रीमानिह स गुरवो दूतकः पुण्यकीर्त्तिः ॥ [१८] श्रीमता मङ्खदासेन शु[14]भदासस्य सू[15]नुना । इदं सा-[16]

54 श[17]नमुत्कीर्ण्णं सत्स[18]मतटजन्मना ॥ [१९]

On the Seal.

श्रीनारायणपालदेवस्य.

TRANSLATION.

Ôm ! Hail !—

(Verse 1.) —Victorious is that illustrious lord of the world, Daśabala (Buddha),—and that other (*lord of the world*), G ô p â l a d ê v a, whose heart was resplendent with the jewel of compassion; whose mistress was Maitrî;[18] whose wisdom, (*arising from*) perfect knowledge, washed off ignorance, as the pure water of a river does the mud; and who, having overcome the power of those who were acting according to their own desires,[19] attained everlasting peace ! [20]

(V. 2.)—From him sprang the brave prince Srî-D h a r m a p â l a, who possessed royal dignity by birth; who imposed just taxes (*sama-karah*); who was able to bear the burden (*of the rule*) of the earth; who was the only refuge of those kings (*bhûbhritah*), who approached him, fearing the destruction of their party (*paksha-chch...*); who was always eager to keep within the ... (*maryádá*); and whose majesty posses... ...ettish smile (*i.e.* the brilliant whit... —which (milk-ocean) ... Lakshmi: which co... *makarah*); whic... of the earth ...

mountains (*bhûbhritah*), which approached it fearing the cutting of their wings (*paksha-chchêda*); and which was always eager to keep within its coasts (*maryádá*).

(V. 3.)—This mighty one (*balin*) again gave the sovereignty, which he had acquired by defeating I n d r a r â j a and other enemies, to the begging C h a k r â y u d h a, who resembled a dwarf in bowing,—just as formerly Bali had given the sovereignty (*of the three worlds*), which he had acquired by defeating Indra and his other enemies (the gods), to the begging Chakrâyudha (Vishṇu), who had descended to earth as a dwarf.[22]

(V. 4.)— To him, who resembled Râma by his strict adherence to truth, there arose a younger brother called V â k p â l a, who equalled him by his virtues, and whose majesty was like that of Saumitri (Lakshmaṇa). Combining policy and valour in his person, and conforming to the command of his brother, this illustrious one cleared the quarters of hostile armies and subjected them to one (*royal*) parasol.

(V. 5.)—From him sprang a victorious ... who purified the earth ... Upendra.

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12 P...

as, destroying in battle the enemies of sacrifice,[23] Upêndra (Vishṇu) had procured the enjoyments of universal sovereignty for his elder brother Dêvapala (Indra).

(V. 6.)—When, by order of his brother, he started with an army in order to subdue all quarters, the lord of the Utkalas left his capital, driven to despair from afar by the mere name (*of Jayapâla*); and the king of the Prâgjyôtishas enjoyed peace at last, surrounded by friends, bearing on his lofty head (*i.e.* being much obliged for) the command of that (*prince*), which bade (*his foes*) cease to plan battles.[24]

(V. 7.)—His son, the illustrious Vigrahapâla, became like Ajâtaśatru, as the edge (*dhârâ*) of his spotless sword, just as a stream (*dhârâ*) of pure water, removed the paint of his enemies' wives.[25]

(V. 8.)—He made his foes the abode of heavy misfortune and his friends (*the abode*) of lifelong fortune.

(V. 9.)—Lajjâ, the ornament of the Haihaya race, became his wife, as the daughter of Jahnu (the river Gaṅgâ) that of the ocean. As her acts were pure (*while she belonged*) to her father's family, thus her sanctifying power was extremely great (*when she belonged to that*) of her husband.

(V. 10.)—From her he begat the virtuous Śrî-Nârâyaṇapâladêva, who possessed the majesty of the regents of the quarters, which they had imparted to his body for the protection of the earth.[26] He adorned with his deeds the inherited throne, whose foot-stool of stone was covered by (*prostrate*) princes with the lustre of their diadems.[27]

(V. 11.)—The deeds of this king,[28] which deserve to be recorded in the *Purâṇas* and which are full of the *chaturvarga*, captivate the heart.

(V. 12.)—By fine sentences, which won the hearts of good men, he confirmed (*the tradition of*) Sâtivâhana (*sic*); and by his liberality he made the story of the Aṅga king (Karṇa) credible.

(V. 13.)—When his sword, blue like a lotus, was flashing in the van of battle, it appeared to his enemies, through fear, yellow and red (*pîta-lôhita*)—since it was drinking blood.

(V. 14.)—Taming men constantly by wisdom and valour, he steadily subjected them to his rule. When beggars approached him, they became satisfied to such an extent that they never thought of begging again.

(V. 15.)—It is wonderful that he was the lord of fortune (the husband of Śrî), but did not commit black deeds (did not act like Krishṇa); that he was the chief of the learned (the king of the Vidyadharas), but rich in enjoyments (a big snake); and that he resembled fire (*anala*) in brilliancy, but Nala in conduct.

(V. 16.)—While his fame, white as the autumnal moon, was pervading the three worlds, Rudra's (*teeth beaming with*) wild laughter will, methinks, have lost their splendour, and the wreaths of *kêtaki*-petals, worn in the hair by the Siddha women, must have had to be inferred for a long time only from the humming of the bees.

(V. 17.)—"Let penance be mine, and the kingdom thine!" Thus two men have spoken to two others:—Vigrahapâla to him and Sagara to Bhagîratha.

(L. 24.)—From the illustrious camp of victory pitched at Śrî-Mudgagiri,—where the bridge which is produced by the wall of boats of various

[23] According to the Pet. Dict., *dharma* also means 'sacrifice'; the 'enemies of sacrifice' ... compare *makhadvish* in the ...

[24] The sense ... support...

f...
con...
tri...
slay...
śatru...

[25] Compare *M*

kinds proceeding on the path of the Bhâgîrathî,[29] surpasses the beauty of a chain of mountain-tops;—where the rainy season seems to prevail continually, as extremely dense troops of rutting elephants (of thick clouds) are obscuring daylight;—where the dust, that is raised by the hard hoofs of innumerable squadrons of horse presented by many northern kings, gives a grey tint to the horizon;—where the earth aches with the burden of the endless infantry of all the kings of Jambudvîpa, who have come to worship the *Paramêśvara*[30];—he, the devout follower of Sugata, the successor of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Śrî-Vigrahapâladêva, the illustrious *Paramêśvara Paramabhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja* Nârâyaṇapâladêva, being in good health, reports, announces, and issues commands respectively (*to the following persons*)—(1) to all royal officers coming into the village of Makutikâ together with its ground,—which belongs to his (the king's) domains situated in the district of Kaksha in Tîrabhukti.—*viz.* to every *râjarâjanaka*, *râjaputra*, *râjâmâtya*, *mahâsâṁdhivigrahika*, *mahâkshapaṭalika*, *mahâsâmanta*, *mahâsênâpati*, *mahâpratîhâra*, *mahâkârtâkṛitika*, *mahâdauḥsâdhasâdhanika*,[31] *mahâdaṇḍanâyaka*, *mahâkumârâmâtya*, *rajasthânîya*, *uparika*,[32] *dôśâparâdhika*, *chaurôddharaṇika*, *dâṇḍika*, *dâṇḍapâśika*, *śaulkika*, *gaulmika*, *kshêtrapa*, *prântapâla*, *koṭṭapâla*, *khaṇḍaraksha*,[33] and to those appointed or commissioned by the former ones, to those occupied with elephants, horses, and camels, or in the navy and army, to surveyors of foals, mares, cows, she-buffaloes, goats, and sheep, to every *dûta-praishaṇika*, *gamâgamika*, and *abhitvaramâṇa*, to heads of districts and heads of villages, to ferry-men, to irregular and regular troops from Gauḍa, Mâlava, Khaśa, Hûṇa, Kulika, Karṇâta, and Lâṭa, to servants, *etc.*—and (2) to the other unnamed subjects of His Majesty residing (*in Makutikâ*), Brâhmaṇs, *etc.*, from the *Mahattama* and *Uttama* down to the *Mêda*, the blind, and the *Chaṇḍâla*:—

(L. 38.)—"Be it known to you, that—(1) for the suitable (*performance of*) *pûjâ*, *bali*, *charu*, and *sattra*, for new buildings[34] and for other requirements of the divine Śiva-bhaṭṭâraka at Kalaśapôta, for whom he (Nârâyaṇapâla) himself has built a thousand temples, and whom he has put up there (at Kalaśapôta);—(2) in order to (*provide*) couches and seats, medicines for the sick, requisites,[35] etc. to the congregation of Pâśupata teachers (at Kalaśapôta);—and (3) in order to (*enable the Pâśupatas to bestow*) blameless (*i.e.* unhindered?) enjoyments, (*consisting*) of a share fixed by them, on other persons desired by them,—the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Śrî-Nârâyaṇapâladêva has given the above-named village of Makutikâ, up to its boundaries, grass, and pasture land,[36] with its ground,[37] with its places, with its mango- and *madhûka*-trees, with its water and dry land, with its pits and saline spots, with the *uparikara*, *daśâpachâra*,[38] and *chaurôddharaṇa*,[39] with exemption from all oppression,[40] not to be entered by irregular or regular troops, not to be meddled with by any body,[41] accompanied by all revenues, such as shares enjoyed, taxes, gold, etc., according to the maxim of *bhûmichchhidra*, to last as long a time

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[29] R. Mitra concludes from this passage that Nârâyaṇapâla had made a bridge of boats across the Ganges. But the two words *pravartamâna* and *nânâvidha* render this explanation inadmissible. The panegyrist merely wants to say that the broad line of boats floating on the river resembled the famous Bridge of Râma.

[30] *i.e.* king Nârâyaṇapâla, who bore this title as one of the signs of paramount sovereignty; see immediately below

[31] Compare *mahâsâdhanika*, *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 161, note 25.

[32] The Âmgâchhî grant (see note 10 above) reads *râjasthânôparika* for *râjasthânîyôparika*.

[33] The Âmgâchhî grant reads *angaraksha*.

[34] *navakarman* seems to have the same technical signification as its Pâli equivalent *navakamma*; see Rhys Davids and Oldenberg's *Vinaya Texts*, Vol. III. p. 101, note 2. Hence the monk, who had to superintend a new building, was called *navakammika*; see *id.* Vol. II. p. 359, note 2, and the Bharhut and Amarâvatî inscriptions, where we find *navakamika* and *navakamaka* (*Jour. Germ. Or. Soc.* Vol. XL.) A similar term is *kamamtika* in the Banawâsi inscription, *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 334. I avail myself of this opportunity to correct a mistake committed in my rendering of the Śuṅga inscription of the Bharhut Stûpa, *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 138. There *silâkammamto* does not mean 'the end of the stone-work,' but simply 'the stone-work', see Childers s. v. *kammanto*.

[35] Both *pratyaya* and *parishkâra* are Buddhist terms. According to Childers, the four *pachchayas* or necessaries of a Buddhist priest are *chîvara*, *piṇḍapâta*, *sênâsana* and *bhêsajja*. In the present grant, *śayanâsana* and *bhaishajya* correspond to the two last words. With *glânapratyaya* compare *gilânapachchaya*, loc. cit. On the eight *parishkâras* or requisites see the article *parikkhâro*.

[36] See *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 161, note 26.

[37] Compare the last word on the first side of the plate.

[38] In other grants we find the synonym *daśâparâdha*. A *daśâparâdhika* is mentioned among the royal officers in line 33 of the present grant.

[39] Compare *chaurôddharaṇika* in line 33.

[40] Probably forced labour (*vishṭi*) is intended.

[41] *akiñchitpragrâhya* seems to correspond to the clause *sarvarâjakîyânâm ahastaprakshêpaṇîyaḥ* occurring in other inscriptions.

as the moon, the sun, and the earth shall endure, in order to increase the spiritual merit and glory of his parents and of himself, to the divine Siva-bhaṭṭâraka by the (*present*) edict.

(L. 44.)—"Therefore, you all shall approve of this gift; and future kings shall assent to it and preserve it, out of regard for the (*heavenly*) rewards of a gift of land, and out of fear of sinking into the great hell, in case of (*its*) confiscation! And the cultivators residing (*in Makuṭikâ*) shall be obedient to (*this*) order on hearing it, and shall deliver (*to the donees*), at the proper time, all suitable revenues, such as shares enjoyed, taxes, gold, etc.!"

(L. 47.)—Saṁvat 17, on the 9th day of Vaiśâkha And the verses which praise the merit (*gained by gifts*), (*run*) thus:—[Here follow five of the customary imprecatory verses, which it is unnecessary to translate.]

(V. 18.)—The messenger for this (*grant was*) the illustrious *Bhaṭṭa*, the *Gurava* Puṇyakîrtti. He knew the meaning of the idea of Brahman, which it is very difficult to understand even with the help of the *Vêdânta* (*books*); he was extremely well read in all *śrutis* together with the *aṅgas*; and he performed sacrifices, in which great presents were made.

(V. 19.)—The illustrious Maṅghadâsa, a native of the excellent Samataṭa,[42] the son of Subhadâsa, has engraved this edict.

(*The seal*) of Śrî-Nârâyaṇapâladêva.

AN ENGLISH-GIPSY INDEX.

COMPILED BY MRS. GRIERSON, WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY G. A. GRIERSON, B.C.S.

(*Continued from p. 278*).

RUMP, of a fowl.—Katîs, (Tch.)
RUMPLED.—Chandilò, (Tch.)
RUN, to,—Plastrâva, nashâva, (Eng.); najar, (Span. Gip.); prastâva, (M.); prastâva, thavâva, (M. 8)
RUN HARD, to,—Shabâva, (Eng.); koshìa dâva, (Tch.)
RUNNER,—Nashimeskro, (Eng.)
RUSHES, a thicket of,—Trĕstiy, (M.)
RUSSIAN,—Moskòvis, (Tch., Psp. M.); moskôv, moskŏf, (As. Tch.)
RUSTY,—Ruzhinimî, (M.)

S

SABRE.—Khanrò, palàsh, sâbiya, sâbie, sâbd'iya, sâbd'ie, sâbdie, (M.); kisi, (Psp. M.)
SACK,—Gono, (Eng.): gonô, (Tch.); burdûhu, gonò, gonû, (M.)
SAD.—Tug, tugno, (Eng.)
SADDLE.—Boshta, (Eng.); zen, (Tch., M. 8, Psp. M.); zĕn, (M.)
SAFE.—Vesto, (Tch.)
SAILOR.—Pani-mengro, ber-engro, (Eng.); berêskoro, deryavâkoro, devryalâkoro, (Tch.)
SAINT,—Sfee, (M.)
SALE.—Bikhnipen, (Eng.); bit'inamâs, (M.)
SALT,—Lon, lun, (Eng.); lon, (Tch.), lohn, (As. Tch.); lon, (M., M. 8., Psp. M.)
SALT, (adj.)—Londo, (Tch.): pelonheri, (As. Tch.)
SALT, to,—Londarâva, londiarâva (Tch., Psp. M.)
SALUTATION.—Paravèn, (Tch.)
SANCTIFY, to,—Sfinciâva, (M.)
SAND.—Char, (M. 7)
SANDAL,—Chervùli, (Tch.)
SATAN,—Wafodu guero, (Eng.)
SATIATED,—Chalò, (Tch. M. 7)
SATIATE, to,—Chalarâva, (Tch.)
SATIATED, to be,—Châliovava, (Tch., Psp. M.); chel'ovâva, (M.)
SATURDAY,—Kinnipen-divvus, (Eng.): sâvato, (M.)
SAUCEPAN.—Doti kiri, dron kiri, (As. Tch.)
SAUSAGE,—Gòi, (Tch., M. 7)
SAUSAGE, of or belonging to,—Goiâkoro, (Tch.)
SAW.—Trivòni, triòni, (Tch.)
SAY, to,—Pukkerâva, penâva, (Eng.); penâva, benâva, fiyîzava, (Tch.); phenâva, (M., M. 8); motavàva, (M. 8); benâva, phenâva (Psp. M.)
SCALD-HEADED.—Khalê, sherêskoro, (Tch.)
SCALES, pair of,—Kĕntâre, (M.)
SCARCELY.—Abyê, de abyê, (M.)
SCHOOL,—Skhôale, shkola, (M.)
SCISSORS,—Katches, katsau, (Eng.), kat, (Tch., M. 7)
SCOLD, to,—Kushâva, (M.)
SCOOP, to,—Khandâva, khatâva, ghandâva, khradâva, (Tch.)
SCOOP, to cause to,—Khanliaràva, khatava, ghandâva, khradâva, (Tch.)
SCOOPED, to be,—Khânliovava, (Tch.)
SCORE.—Bishèngoro, (Tch.)
SCRAPER.—Pihtri, rondiardô, (Tch.)

[42] On Samataṭa or Eastern Bengal see Beal, *B. R. W. W.* Vol. II. p. 199f.

SCRATCH, to,—Khânjiovâva, (Tch.); kharunâva, (M.); khanjâva, kharunâva, (M. 7); khanjovâva, khandiovâva, (Psp. M.)

SCREW,—Shrûbo, shrûbu, (M.)

SCREW, to,—Shrubuiâva, shrubuisarâva, (M.)

SCYTHE,—Kôsa, kôsha, fârkya, fâlkya, (Tch., cf. Psp. M.); kalij, (As. Tch.)

SEA,—Dûriya, dûya, ebyok, (Eng.); devryâl, devruâl, darâv, mâra, (Tch.); devryal, mara, (M. 8); deryâv, mâra, (Psp. M.)

SEAM,—Siibê, (Tch.)

SEARCH, to,—Rodrâva, (Eng.); rodâva, (Tch.)

SEATED,—Veshti, vezti, (As. Tch.)

SECOND,—Duito, (Eng.); avêr, dûyto, (M.)

SECRET,—Gheravdicanô, (Tch.); choryâl, (M. Psp. M.)

SECURITY, to become,—Skriisard'ovâva, (M.)

SEE, to,—Dikâva, (Tch., Psp. M., M.), dikhâva, (Psp. M., M. 7)

SEEK, to,—Rodrâva, (Eng.); rodâva, mangâva, (Tch.); rodâva, (M., M. 8)

SEEKING, act of,—Rodipê, (Tch.)

SEEM, to,—Fâva, (M. 7)

SEEN,—Dikyov, (M.)

SEEN, to be,—Dikiovâva, (Tch.)

SEIZE, to,—Astarâva, (Tch., M. 7); astaravâva, khutilâva, khotilâva, kuprinzâva, t'idâva, (M.); khutilâva, (M. 7)

SEIZED, to be,—Astârghiovâva, (Tch.)

SELF,—Kôrkoro, korkorô. (M.)

SELL, to,—Bikhinâva, binâva, (Eng.); biknâva, (Tch.); bit'inâva, (M.); bikinâva, (Psp M., M. 7)

SOLD, to be,—Bikênghiovava, (Tch.)

SEMPSTRESS,—Siva-mengri, (Eng.)

SEND, to,—Bitchâva, (Eng.); bichavâva, (Tch., M. 7); tradâva, (M.)

SENT,—Bitched, bitcheno, (Eng.)

SEPARATED, to be,—Despĕrcisard'ovâva, (M.)

SEPARATED,—Osĕbît, de osĕbît, rig, ĕnkrîg, (M.)

SEPULCHRE,—Mulleno kêr, (Eng.)

SERPENT,—Sap, sarp, (Eng.); sapp, (Tch., Psp M.); sap, (M.)

SERPENT, of or belonging to,—Sappanò, sappêskoro, (Tch.); sapunô, (M.)

SERVANT,—Charêskoro, (Tch.); hargàt, hargâto, hargâtu, slùga, (pl.) slùhi, (fem.) slûzhnikĕ, (fem.) slûzhnika, (M.)

SERVE, to,—Sluzhiâva, slùzhisarâva, (M.)

SERVICE,—Slûzhba, (M.)

SET OUT, to,—Nashâva, radâva, (Tch.)

SEVEN,—Eft, (Eng.); eftâ, (Tch., Psp. M., M. 7)

SEVENTEEN,—Desh ta eft, (Eng.); desh-i-eftâ, (Psp. M.); desh-u-efta, (Tch.)

SEVENTY,—Eftavardèri, (Psp M.); vdomînda, (Tch.)

SEVERAL,—Azòm, (Tch., M. 7)

SEW, to,—Sivâva, (Eng., Tch., Psp M., M. 8)

SHADE,—Vuchâl, uchâl, (Tch.); ûmbra, (M.); vuchal, (M. 8)

SHAKE, to,—Klĕtisarâva, klĕtisard'ovâva, mishtiâva, skuturisârâva, (M.); chinavâva, (M. 7)

SHAMBLES,—Tĕyĕtùrĕ, (M.)

SHAME,—Patch, (Eng.); laj, lach, lajaibê, (Tch.); lazhaô, lazhâo, okârĕ, (M.); laj, (M. 8)

SHARE, to,—Ulavâva, (Tch.); ĕmpĕrcoâva, ĕmpĕrcĕsarâva, (M.)

SHARPEN, to,—Askucĕsarâvâva, (M.)

SHATTER, to,—Pharavâva, (M.)

SHAWL,—Kâlavo, (Tch.)

SHAVE, to,—Morâva, (Eng.); muntâva, muravâva, (Tch.); murinow, (Hun. Gip.); murâva, randâva, (M. 8); muntâva, (Psp. M.)

SHAVE, to cause to,—Muntavàva, (Tch.)

SHE,—Yoi, i, (Eng.); ôi, (Tch.); voy, (M.)

SHEAF,—Pûrga, pùrgha, (Tch.)

SHEAR, to,—Morâva, (Eng.); kritîzâva, (Tch.); murinow, (Hun. Gip.)

SHEEP,—Bokra, (Eng.); bakrô, (dim.) bakrorô, bakrichô, (Tch., Psp. M.); bakâra, (As. Tch.); bakrî, (M.); bakro, (M. 7)

SHEEP, of or belonging to,—Bokkeriskoe, (Eng.); bakrêskoro, (Tch.)

SHEEP-STEALING,—Bokra-choring, (Eng.)

SHEET,—Plakta, diklo, (Eng.)

SHELL,—Deryavâkere lalâska, (Tch.)

SHEPHERD,—Bas-engro, bokkar-engro, (Eng.); chobân, (M.)

SHEPHERDESS,—Bokkari-gueri, (Eng.)

SHEW, to,—Sikâva, (Tch.); sekavâva, (M.); chivâva, (M. 7); sikavâva, (M. 8)

SHEW, to cause to,—Sikavâva, (Tch.)

SHEWN, to be,—Sîkliovâva, (Tch.)

SHIFT (a garment),—Diklo, (Eng.)

SHILLING,—Tringrosh, tringurushî, tringush, (Eng.)

SHILLING, things costing a,—Tringurushengre, (Eng.)

SHILLINGS,—Kollor, (Eng.)

SHINE,—Zâre, zarî, (M.)

SHIP,—Berro, bêro, (Eng.); berô, (Tch., Psp. M.); berô, (Span. Gip.); korâbiya, korâbiye, karâbiya, (M.); bero, (M.)

SHIRT,—Gad, (Eng.); gad, gat, (dim.) gadorô, sâlavo, (Tch.); gh'aili, (As. Tch.), gâdo, gad, ròkiya, ròkiye, (M.); gad, (M. 7); salavo, (M. 8)

SHIRT, wearing a,—Gadalô, (Tch.)

SHIVER, to,—Akarâva, akerâva, acharâva, (Tch.)

SHOE,—Chok, (Eng.); triak, âlbena, urydinò, (Tch.); chìzma, khĕrê, kĕrê, (M.); triak (Psp. M., M. 8)

SHOES, to put on,—Podisarâva, podisard'ovâva, (M.)

MISCELLANEA.

THE RELIGION OF THE ARABS.[1]

It is commonly supposed that the people of Arabia are adherents of the Muslim faith, and that their hostility towards Christians is properly attributable to this circumstance. The fact is, however,—as was pointed out by Burckhardt in the early part of the present century, and as has been noted by other travellers since then,—their hostility is directed not towards Christians alone, but towards all foreigners whatsoever,—especially English foreigners, whom they regard as interlopers visiting them with ulterior views.[2] That not Christians, *quâ* Christians, are alone the objects of their aversion, is proved by the fact that, in our own times, a Jew was, on detection in Makkâ, instantly seized and put to death.[3] The sentiment is not unexampled;—a similar dislike of all interlopers marks the Afghâns and the Nepâlîs to this day, and marked, in times not very remote, the kingdom of Burma and the empire of China. But in Arabia the aversion to interlopers has undoubtedly the added element inherited by the tribes there from the days of (Isma'îl) Ishmael: for that aversion was abundantly evinced long before the birth of Muḥammad. It knows no difference of tribe, nationality, or creed; even the faithful themselves, unless they are in a position to hold their own, are not exempted from the misanthropy of these weird Children of the Desert. Their self-segregation is totally different in its genesis from the mere religious antipathy which characterizes the Muhammadan; and it is difficult to account for it, excepting on the principle that the Arabs are the sons of their father, of whom it was said, 'His hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him.'

This aversion cannot be of the nature of religious exclusiveness, for it is *not* a fact that the Arabs are adherents of the Muslim faith. This might be shewn in a variety of ways, of which, for our present purpose, we will select only one,—the attitude of these men towards the institutes of Muḥammad. Of these, one of the most distinctive was the ordinance by which the Prophet enjoined upon his followers for ever the observance of the lunar calendar. He did not, as is often erroneously supposed, give the months new names; what he did was to forbid the practice of intercalation, by which those who observed the solar method were wont to balance one year with another, in such a way that the same month always occurred at the same season of the year. This practice the Prophet found to appertain among the Jews and Christians of Syria, and he denounced it as an act of 'infidelity,' and a departure from God's original intention 'in the day when He created heaven and earth.'[4] And it is to this arrangement of his that the curious phenomenon is traceable, which all English people, who have resided in the East, have noticed,—that the months of the Muhammadans retrograde through all the seasons of the year, and in the course of a little more than three and thirty years, each month comes back to its original place; having in the meantime retrograded through all the seasons.[5] When Muḥammad authorised this change in the calendar, it was the month of December: in other words, it was the cool season, and the days were at their shortest; and it was not so difficult to keep the Fast of Ramazân. But he was 'an unlettered man,' as he tells us in the *Qurân*,[6] and little foresaw what the effect would be that would overtake his followers. But fifteen years after the establishment of this institute (when he had long been dead and gone) the month of the Fast fell in the hottest season of the year; so that then, and ever since then, the observance of this 'holy month' has led to the death of numbers of his followers (especially among the young) from the combined operation of heat and thirst in the hottest months of the year.[7] But the genuine Arabs—the descendants of Isma'îl and of his remote ancestor Qaḥṭân[8]—never fell in with this new arrangement; and to this day they observe the customs of their progenitors of the times before Muhammad—even refusing to relinquish the very *names* by which their ancestors designated the months several centuries before Muhammad was born.[9]

We have made allusion to the current opinion, that the names applied in the present day to the months by the Faithful were originated and applied by Muḥammad. This opinion would seem to have arisen out of a misunderstanding of a statement long since made by the learned Dr. Prideaux, the celebrated Dean of Norwich,—that

[1] Reprinted from the *Civil and Military Gazette* Lahore, 22nd December 1885.

[2] Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, i. 385 (edn. Lond. 1829).

[3] This poor creature—in derision for his religion, and apparently in mockery of the great crime of his ancestors—was (so Burckhardt tells us) put to death there by crucifixion

[4] *Cf. Qurân*, ch. ix. *vv.* 36, 37.

[5] Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, iii. 48-9 (Edn. Lond. 1861).

[6] *Cf. Qurân*, ch. vii. *vv.* 158-9, and ch. xxix. *v.* 47.

[7] Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, *Mussulmans of India*, I. 178—205 (Edn. Lon. 1832.)

[8] [*Cf.* I. *Chronicles*, i. 17-28.—ED.]

[9] Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábis*, ii. 361 (Edn. Lond. 1831).

under the influence of Muḥammad the old names of the months became 'totally abolished.'[10] Now, Prideaux (apart altogether from his personal characteristics as a controversialist) was, and is to this day, a very high authority in Arabian learning: yet, this statement of his is a pure *lapsus memoriæ*, and is an additional proof that even 'Homer sometimes nods': for the learned Doctor himself gives us on the same page of his imperishable work,[11] an historical account of the Arabian calendar directly subversive of his own assertion. The truth is, that the names at present in vogue for the Muhammadan months were first applied to them by Kilâb-ibn-Murra, a scion of the great tribe of the Quraish.[12] This man was father of the celebrated Quṣai, and fifth in descent from Fihr Quraish, and was (according to the calculations of M. Caussin de Perceval) born in A.D. 358,—just two centuries and twelve years before the birth of Muhammad.[13] He was the great-grandfather of Hâshim, himself the great-grand-father of Muḥammad, and was thus the Prophet's sixth ancestor.[14] There is reason to believe that this man, Kilâb, borrowed the solar or intercalary method which he established in the Hijaz, from the Jews; and it is understood by the generality of Arabicists that he did so with the view of fixing the time of the annual pilgrimage to Makka (a religious observance of the Arabs from unknown ages before the time of Muḥammad) to a convenient season of the year.[15] This is evident from the meanings of the names which he applied to the months. For prior to the time of this ancient Arab Chief, the months of the Arabs had other names than those they now bear; and the new ones, having been adopted by the tribe of the Quraish (whose influence in commercial and ecclesiastical affairs at Makka was predominant) eventually superseded the others.[16] Now, it is a curious historical phenomenon that down to the time of Muhammad, Arabia had long produced a great man once in about two centuries, the influence of whom had centred in Makka, and had extended more or less extensively over the entire continent The Amalekites, the Jurhumites, the Khuzâa'ites, had each in succession obtained ascendancy there at distances of time approximating to that figure; Fihr, Kilâb, Quṣai, Hâshim, had severally had their day: and at length, in apparent obedience to this singular law (first pointed out by a great Oriental savant of our own times, Dr. Aloys Sprenger)[17] Muhammad's turn arrived. These men and dynasties left each of them their mark upon the national history of the Arabs, in one way or another; and the part reserved for Kilâb was the reform of the calendar and the giving of new names to the months. The principle which influenced him in the change he authorized, was that he might apply to the months names expressive of customs and phenomena with which the Arabs in general were familiar: and while doing so, to mark, at the same time, the Sacred Months and the season of the national pilgrimage.[18] This he did, by giving to the 'four sacred months,' so-called (the first, the seventh, the eleventh, and the twelfth) names appropriate to the sentiments which the Arabs had come to cherish towards them, and by stamping upon the name of one of them (the twelfth) the designation of the yearly pilgrimage.[19]

Now, apart from the fact that the statement of Dr. Prideaux might very reasonably lend support to the inference that down to the time of Muhammad, the months of the Arabs bore different names to those they now bear—an inference the unsoundness of which has been shewn in the facts just stated—this learned writer further tells us that the names given by Kilâb were adopted all over Arabia 'when Mahomet had brought all the rest of the tribes, besides the Korashites, (Quraish) under his power.'[20] But it has been repeatedly proved by different writers, that the whole of the Arabs never were converted to Islâm;[21] that of those who in Muhammad's life-time professed conversion to it, the greater number apostatized as soon as the news of his decease reached them, and became forthwith the enemies of those who continued in the Faith;[22] and that to this day the Badâwis, who more than any others may be said to be the children of the soil, are the chief

[10] Prideaux, *Life of Mahomet*, p. 2 (Edn. 7th, Lond. 1718.)

[11] We use this language advisedly, for a work that went through three editions in one year in times when books were costly and readers of such weighty works as his were comparatively few; a work from which friends and foes have never ceased to borrow, and over which, after the lapse of a couple of centuries, controversialists of all shades of opinion still think it worth their while to quarrel,—such a work as that must be possessed of quite unusual vitality.

[12] Lane, *Arabic Lexicon*, p. 1254, col. 2.

[13] De Perceval, *Histoire des Arabes*, i. 231 (Edn. Paris 1847): Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, i. Introd. pp. cxcv, cxcix. and p. 13 of the Biography there. Cf. Golius *Notæ, ad Alfraganum*, p. 4.

[14] Cf. the Genealogical Lists of the Arabs in Sale, de Perceval, Muir, Sprenger and other writers.

[15] Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, i. Introd. p. ccvi. (note.)

[16] Prideaux, *Life of Mahomet*, p. 2.

[17] Sprenger, *Life of Mohammad*, 83 (Edn. Allahabad, 1851).

[18] Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, i, Introd. pp. ccvi—vii.

[19] Namely, Zu'l-Hijja,—*lit.* 'that to which the Haj' (the Pilgrimage) appertains.

[20] Prideaux, *Life of Mahomet*, p. 2.

[21] Burton, *Pilgrimage to Meccah*, ii. 109, (Edn. 2nd (Lond. 1857).

[22] In Muir's *Annals of the Early Caliphate*, Osborn's *Islam under the Arabs*, Ockley's *History of the Saracens*, and in many other works treating of the times immediately following the Prophet's decease, overwhelming evidence in corroboration of this statement will be found.

foes of those who engage in the pilgrimage to Makka.[23]

The power of these men in the Arabian continent is paramount over every other power,—even that of the Sultân himself, who is popularly supposed to be the supreme ruler of the land: and the power they wield without mercy is unique in its kind. With the single exception of the kingdom of Najd, the home of Wâhhâbiism in the Highlands of Arabia, these wild descendants of Isma'il are, for all practical purposes, masters of the whole continent through the length of it and the breadth of it. They hold such complete supremacy there, that they even exact from the representatives of the Sublime Porte itself an annual tax for the liberty of traversing the territory which their tribes severally hold in the Desert The supremacy even of the Sultân himself, the political and ecclesiastical head of the Faith, is but nominal there, for even he has to pay a tax for travelling through a continent supposed to be part of his own dominions. Since the time of the supercession of the Fâtimî emperors at Cairo by the 'Usmânlis of Constantinople, no Sultân has ever made the pilgrimage to Makka. The Mahmil, however, has for centuries past been the recognized symbol of royalty in the Syrian and Egyptian caravans, and this curious memorial is always surrounded, along the whole route, by certain high officers of state, who serve as the living representatives of the civil and ecclesiastical authority of the reigning Sultân In other words, even though the Sultân himself were present in the caravan, that would make no difference to the Badâwis. He still would have to submit to the impost. On one occasion, the Syrian caravan, which included (as it always and necessarily does) the representatives of his authority, declined to pay the tax. When the season of pilgrimage came round in the following year, a vast horde of Badâwîs (numbering forty thousand) lay in ambush among the hills of the Hijâz, and rushed without parley upon the pilgrim host, and slew the main portion of them; nor would they permit the caravan to pass until the annual tax for that and the preceding year had been fully paid [24]

Now the men who thus, for all practical purposes, are the masters of Arabia, are the hereditary and time-worn enemies of the Faithful, and no dignitary of Islâm, from the Sultân downwards, can undertake the stupendous task of traversing the continent unless he make his account with them. Their demands, however exorbitant, have to be meekly conceded by all,—without dispute, and with as little delay as possible; and their very subsistence, from century to century, is mainly derived from levies remorselessly exacted from those whose only business in their quarters is the fulfilment of the precepts of the Prophet The pilgrims, rich or poor, have no greater enemies than these natives of Arabia, —whom they describe with a cynical sneer, as *harâmî*, 'highway robbers.'[25]

The very name of these Arabians is a signal of terror to pilgrims. It is on record, that when the leaders of the ceremonies of 'Arafat are anxious to hurry the worshipping multitude away with all possible haste to the next station. Muzdalifa, no 'cry' more effectually clears the ground than the cry of the near approach of a swarm of Badâwis![26] It is a curious comment upon the often-vaunted supremacy of the Islamic religion throughout the continent of Arabia, that a Christian or a Jew quietly visiting the Shrine of the Faith, should, on detection, be instantly slain by the constituted authorities at Makka without the form of trial, while these hereditary foes of the Faithful should be at liberty to traverse even the Sacred Territory,[27] everywhere and at all times, without fear of the reigning power or any of its representatives at the 'Holy Places of the Faith;[28] and that any such thing as an appeal to the Sultân against the brutalities of these men in his own dominions—even in Makka itself—could elicit from him nothing but a confession of utter helplessness. We submit that such an anomaly as this

[23] Palgrave, *Central and Eastern Arabia*, i. 223 of (Edn. 2nd, Lond. 1865).

[24] Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Wahabys*. i. 5—8, 28, 118, 194, and ii. 3. 7, 23-4, 26, 31, 33-4, 229, 273; Niebuhr, *Travels in Arabia*, ii 25-3 (Edn. Heron, Edinb. 1792); Crichton, *History of Arabia*, i 183 (Edn. Edinb. 1834); Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i. 413; Burton, *Pilgrimage*, i. 255.

[25] This name 'Harâmî' is an honourable title among the Badâwis, especially among those of them who haunt the territory that lies between Makka and Madîna. A man slain in a foray, Burton tells us (*Pilgrimage*, ii. 101), is said to die *ghandus*, 'a brave'—to die 'game,' in fact—while the man among them who dies in his bed is called 'carrion' (*fatîs*). The mother of such a one will exclaim,—'Oh that my son had perished of a cut throat!' And her attendant crones will suggest, with deference, that such untoward event came of the will of Allah.

[26] Burton, *Pilgrimage*, ii. 324—5

[27] The term is the recognised translation of the word '*Haram*'—the designation technically applied to the portion of the country stretching away from Makka as a centre to various distances ranging severally from forty to about a hundred and forty-five miles in the different directions from the city. The designation was first applied to the locality by the confederation known as 'the Harâmi League,'—an alliance of the local tribes which was found there long before the time of the Muhammadan ascendancy.

[28] We allude, of course, to Makka and Madîna, at both of which places there are certain established officials appointed by the Turkish Government. Strictly speaking, however, the term is applied only to certain localities within the limits of the territory defined in the preceding footnote.

it would be impossible to match in the history of human government. If Christians are 'Infidels,' what are the Badâwîs? These men are not regarded by the pilgrims as converts to Islâm; and so far from its being a fact, as stated by Dr. Prideaux, that the ancient names of the months were 'totally abolished' under the influence of Muhammad's ascendancy, the names given them by Kilâb, have not, even down to this late period, been accepted by all the Arabs. This statement is fully borne out by so high an authority as Burckhardt, who gives a list of the names which these indomitable sons of the soil still give to the months.[29] Almost the only trace of the ascendancy of the Prophet among them is to be found in the fact that his name is occasionally found among them as a proper name of male persons: but for the most part, even the names they give to their children are distinctly names embodying allusion to the gods and goddesses of the pre-Islamite times.[30]

The names given by Kilâb to the months, having been (as they were) left unaltered by Muhammad, came into use, of course, wherever his pretensions were fully admitted and his institutes adopted. But it is difficult to break up and revolutionise the immemorial customs of a host of segregated and hostile races devoted to wild and wandering habits; and such difficulty must ever be enhanced by the gross ignorance of the Arabs. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that Muhammad has failed, even down to the present moment, to revolutionise such a thing as the nomenclature of the calendar in the lingo of these wild and untutored desert men. So feeble, indeed, is the hold which his religion and his authority have among the tribes, that a faithful eye-witness records that one of the tribes deliberately disregard the obligatory nature of the four sacred months,[31]—though the observance of this pre-Islamite usage was confirmed by Muhammad.[32] Notwithstanding the fact that the Prophet re-affirmed the 'sacredness' of these months,—during which, before his time, peace became a religious duty recognized by all Arabs,—the people of this tribe have allowed the observance to fall into disuse; if indeed they ever recognized it at all. This same authority asserts that the members of this tribe attack their enemies even in the 'holy month' of Ramazan,[33]—a month whose immunity is distinctly owing to the teachings of the author of the *Qurân*.[34] To call such persons Muhammadans—to assert that they are converts to the Faith of the Prophet—is but to ensure contradiction, and awaken sentiments of disgust in the mind of any intelligent Muhammadan. There is evidence in overwhelming abundance in the pages of dispassionate travellers, to shew that the chief perils of pilgrims to the Shrine of the Faith during those months which the Prophet held to be 'sacred' arise from the denizens of the country themselves alone: and the evidence shews that the Arab tribes, disregarding entirely the religion of the pilgrims, and the self-denying and most costly errand on which they travel, consider the pilgrimage season their great opportunity for plunder.[35] One of these travellers says,—'Muhammad and his followers conquered only the more civilized Badâwîs; and there is even to this day little or no religion amongst the wild people, except those on the coast or in the vicinity of cities. The Faith of the Badâwîs comes from Islâm, whose hold is weak; but his customs and institutions, the growth of his climate, his nature and his wants are still those of his ancestors, cherished ere Makka had sent forth a Prophet, and likely to survive the day when every vestige of the Ka'aba shall have disappeared. Of this nature are the Hijâzîs' pagan oaths,[36] their heathenish names,[37] their ordeal of licking red-hot iron, their *salkh* (or scarification,—proof of manliness), their blood revenge, their eating carrion (*i e.* the body of an animal killed without the usual formula[38]); and their lending their wives to

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[29] Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Wahabys*, ii. 361.

[30] Burton, *Pilgrimage*, ii. 109

[31] Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Wahabys*, i. 147, Cnf. ii. 172.

[32] *Qurân*, ch. v. *vv.* 3, 3, and ch. ix. *vv.* 1, 2, 5.

[33] Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Wahabys*, i. 148 (note.) He added:—'There are, however, in every lunar month three days during which the Aenezes never fight: the sixth, the sixteenth, and the night of the twenty-first.' Again,—'The Aenezes likewise abstain from fighting on a Wednesday, superstitiously believing that they should lose the battle.' Such abstention, however, is clearly a very different thing from yielding obedience to the command of the Prophet as to the four months' immunity.

[34] *Cf. Qurân*, ch. ii. *vv.* 185 seqq.

[35] Palgrave, *Central and Eastern Arabia*, i. 223; Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i. 129, and ii. 109, 129, 408; Keith, *Evidence of Prophecy*, 517; Burton, *Pilgrimage*, iii. 358 (Edn. 1st, Lond. 1854); Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Wahabys*, i. 71, 77, 118, 157, and ii. 9, 35, 39; Mills, *History of Muhammedanism*, 452 (Edn. 2nd, Lond. 1818) These places contain but a few samples of the evidence to which we allude.

[36] That is to say, maledictions and invocations in which are embodied the names of the deities supposed to have been demolished by Islâm.

[37] Such as 'Abdu's-Shams (servant of the Sun), 'Abdu'l-Manât, 'Abdu'l'Uzza, and many others common still among the Arabs, though they embody (as do these two) the names of the fetishes.

[38] On slaying an animal for food, the butcher recites the formula;—*B'ismi'llah, Allahu Akbar*, 'In the Name of Allah.—Allah is Supreme!' To partake wittingly of meat slain without the recital of this formula, is considered tantamount to apostasy from the Faith.

strangers.[39] All these I hold to be remnants of some old creed; nor should I despair of finding among the Badâwis bordering upon the great desert some lingering system of idolatry.'[40] This is plain language,—considering that it is from the pen of a traveller who never was suspected of a bigoted aversion to the religion of the Prophet And this dispassionate eye-witness elsewhere records[41] that there are even among the Badâwis of the Hijâz itself, young men who, as an introduction to life, risk everything in order to plunder a pilgrim. They care but little for the value of the things stolen: the glory of the exploit consists in the act of robbing a *pilgrim* !'[42]

It surely will not be pretended by any sensible man, that such persons are to be counted among the trophies of the Prophet ? He was wont to say,—'A fast of but one day in a sacred month is better than a fast of thirty days in another month, and a fast of but one day in Ramazân is more meritorious than a fast of thirty days in a sacred month.'[43] All these months, Ramazân included, are (as has been shown) disregarded by the Arabs. Yet the great importance of the whole matter of these months, in the judgment of the founder of the Faith, would, we submit, scarcely have been more forcibly taught; and placed in juxtaposition with the unconcealed contempt shewn towards them and towards the religious observances, the performance of which they were intended to secure, by the innumerable tribes who form the permanent population of the land, the tradition brings to a point the view we have sought to establish,—that the genuine sons of the soil, the men who for all intents and purposes are the real masters of Arabia and even of the Sacred Territory itself, are not Muhammadans at all

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SOME HINTS ON LOOKING FOR MEGALITHIC MONUMENTS AND STONE IMPLEMENTS IN INDIA

Before entering on their career in Asia, few Indian officials have had time or opportunity to study the stone circles, monoliths, and stone implements in England, Brittany, and the Channel Islands, and therefore, should they meet with such monuments or stones in India, they are apt to not recognize them; or, if they do so, to fail to understand the interest and importance which antiquarians in Europe would attach to any observations they might make regarding them, provided they take note of certain points to which my attention was drawn by Captain Lukis, who assisted his late father, the well-known archæologist, in making excavations in the Channel Islands and Brittany some years ago, and in studying the inscribed and cup-marked stones of the sepulchral and ceremonial structures of Brittany and Guernsey.

Stone structures may be of six kinds :—

I. Sepulchral receptacles, *i e* chambers and cists.

II. Monoliths, or stone pillars

III. Avenues of monoliths, composed of two or more rows of pillars.

IV. Monoliths in a single row

V. Circles of monoliths.

VI. Small circular enclosures of stone and earth having a small low entrance or doorway, *i.e.* hut circles, or dwellings

It is with regard to the sepulchral monuments that hints are specially necessary.

In the first place the observer should learn to distinguish between a chamber and a cist. A chamber has three sides enclosed by slabs set on end, or by a walling of dry masonry, or by a mingling of both, the fourth being open for use (? when required) Sometimes a passage or covered way is attached. A cist has all its four sides closed, and is not intended to be opened again for other interments. The former may therefore be regarded as a family vault; the latter as a grave for one individual The covering of either consists of flat slabs laid across, or forming a rude arched roof.

The orientation of both chambers and cists should be noted by a pocket compass.

It should also be stated, in any account which may be given of megalithic monuments, whether a mound of small stones or earth covered the chambers or cists, or whether any vestige of such mound be observable

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[39] The reader will find some account of this strange custom in Burckhardt, *Arabia*, ii. 378: and Pischel, *Race of Man*, 220. [See also Robertson Smith, *Kinship and marriage in Early Arabia, passim*.—ED.]

[40] Burton, *Pilgrimage*, ii. 109.

[41] *Ibid* 353

[42] It is told of the Lahoba, a sect of the 'Auf tribe near Râbigh, that a girl will refuse even her cousin, unless (in the absence of other opportunities) he has plundered some article from the pilgrim caravan in the very front of the Pasha's links. Detected fifty years ago, the delinquent would have been impaled; now he escapes with a mere rib-roasting Fear of the blood-feud, and the certainty of a shut road to future travellers, prevent the Turks from attempting to exact reprisals: and they conceal their weakness by pretending that the Sultân hesitates to wage a war of extermination with the brigands who occupy the 'Holy-land of the Faith'! The futility of such a pretence is manifest enough when we remember that no army, however well equipped,—not even the armies of the Greeks and Romans in their best days,—was ever able to conquer the Badâwis in their own Deserts.—Burton, *Pilgrimage*, ii. 101

[43] Sale, *Prel. Disc.* Sect. iv. (p. 81). Cf Morgan, *Mohometism Explained*, ii. 2-16 (Edn. Lond. 1723).

Careful search should be made for cup-markings or other sculptures on the stones of the various monuments, as well as upon rocks or exposed upright stones in their neighbourhood.

Inquiry should be made whether human remains, manufactured stone, bone, or other instruments and ornaments, or clay vessels, or bronze or iron fragments, have been found in the chambers or cists.

If cup-markings are present, it is very desirable to know on *which face* of the stone they exist, *i. e.* on the outer, or the inner surface. It is also most important in all cases of cup-markings that the arrangement should be carefully noted.

If possible, plans, elevations, and sections of the monuments drawn to scale, or approximate measures, should be given.

With regard to stone implements, it is of great interest and importance to the ethnological student to be informed whether any specimens discovered in India present any special peculiarities of form; whether they are grooved or plain, rough or polished, and whether they bear any signs of having been worked up with a metal tool or of having been simply chipped to the required shape and ground down to a smooth surface by friction; and last, but not least, of *what kind of stone they consist.* Should they consist of a kind of stone not found in the part of the country where they are discovered, then the nearest known locality of such stone should be stated. A slight knowledge of mineralogy would enable the observer to supply this information. This point, if insisted upon, might assist in determining the course of the former migrations of various races;—for instance, stone implements have been found in Brittany and in the Channel Islands made of fibrolite.[1] a stone known not to exist nearer to these places than Hungary. Others again have been discovered of jadeite, a stone coming from the east. Such implements were evidently much-prized objects. They are rare in comparison with those made of more ordinary kinds of stone, show signs of more careful workmanship, and possess a considerable degree of polish. Time was, perhaps, when they were their owners' most cherished possessions. If we knew their former history what would it not reveal to us?

H. G. M. MURRAY-AYNSLEY.

NOTES ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF PEGU: BY THE LATE SIR ARTHUR PHAYRE.

In looking over some old letters I have found two or three from Sir Arthur Phayre, whose loss we have all deplored.

The following, which I now transcribe, contains some inquiries to which I was unable to reply so fully as I could have wished at the time. They are still, however, not devoid of interest, particularly the name Su-bein-ga or Su-bein-na, which I cannot identify. I had an opportunity of noticing the general tenor of his note, and of some similar remarks subsequently received, in my contribution to the *International Numismata Orientalia*, pp. 109-10, 134-35.

I take this opportunity of recording my sincere regard for my departed friend, and my appreciation of the excellent service he has rendered to Oriental Archæology.

WALTER ELLIOT.

MY DEAR ELLIOT,

In comparing your Numismatic Gleanings with statements in the early history of Pegu, I find many points which illustrate the received accounts of settlements from Telingana on the coast of Pegu in the early Hindu times and afterwards when the Buddhists sent Missionaries. At the same time the Pegu historians sometimes evidently "make up" stories. For instance, they say Pegu city was founded by the sons of the king of Vijayanagar. Now, as Vijayanagar was not founded until the 14th century, and Pegu city was founded A.D. 573, it is evident this is a "make up." But do you think there was an ancient Vijayanagar? If so, at what period? The Pegu histories speak of people coming to Pegu from the country of Ka-ra-na-ka, and the city of Su-bein-ga, or Su-bein-na in that country. Is there such a word now in use for the North Carnatic, or what was the ancient name?

The people of Pegu call the Telinga people now in the country "Ka-lay." What can this be from? The word Chulya is frequently applied to the native seamen from Coringa, but this is more by the Mahommedans than by the Burmese or Talaings Is this word still used about Coringa and Râjamahendri?

In Burma the system of weights has originally come from Telingana, though no doubt much altered now. The *vise* in use is $3\frac{1}{2}$ pounds Avoirdupois. Does this correspond in name and weight with that still in use in any district? The *tickál*, so called by Europeans, the Burmese call *kyát*. It is about 250 grains weight. Has this word a Telugu origin? I feel I am giving you a deal of trouble. There is one more word I will ask about. European broadcloth is called

[1] Captain Lukis recently informed me that he once received a very coarse fragment of a species of fibrolite forwarded by Professor Lane from Spain, but it is not the same substance as that of which the implements found in the Channel Islands and at Carnac in Brittany were made.

thek-ka-lot, is this word explainable from any Telugu word?

Very sincerely yours,
A. P. PHAYRE.

BRAY, Co. WICKLOW, IRELAND.
23rd November 1871.

CURIOSITIES OF INDIAN LITERATURE.

LAKHIMA THAKURANI.

Lakhimâ Ṭhakurâṇî was a famous poetess of Mithilâ. I have not been able to obtain any particulars as to when she lived. Numerous stories are told of her learning. The following are samples:—When her daughter was of age to be sent to her husband, she wrote the following letter to the young Paṇḍit to whom the girl was married. The text in this is written as it was given me, but is probably corrupt:—

आक्रान्ता दशमध्वजातिघातिनात्यामूर्छिता निर्जले
तुर्यद्वादशवद्द्वितीयमतिमन्नेकादशाभस्तिनी।
सा षष्ठी नृपपञ्चमस्य नवमभ्रूः सप्तमीवर्जिता
प्राप्नोत्यष्टमवेदनां परिहरेत्तूर्णं तृतीयोद्भवः ॥

To understand the above, it is necessary to know that the numbers refer to the signs of the zodiac, which are as follows:—

1. मेष	7. तुला
2. वृष	8. वृश्चिक
3. मिथुन	9. धनुः
4. कर्क	10. मकर
5. सिंह	11. कुम्भ
6. कन्या	12. मीन

The translation is,—'Attacked with the severe onslaught of the God of Love is she. Distraught like a crab or a fish in a dry place is she. O thou bull-minded one!—the damsel, round-formed as a water jar, with arched eyebrows, (*the destined wife*) of thou who art like a lion amongst kings, and who is not (*gross*) like (*a shopkeeper's wife who plies*) the scales. She feels pain like that of a scorpion bite. Quickly let the result of married life relieve her.'

In accordance with Lakhimâ Ṭhakurâṇî's letter, the young Brâhman came, and after the usual ceremonies, went with his wife into the bridal chamber. As, however, she was very young and tender he abstained from exercising his marital rights. The bride told her mother, who remonstrated with her son-in-law as follows:—

नन्वी बाला कृशतनुरियं त्यज्यतामत्र शङ्का
काप्यद्दृष्टा भ्रमरभरतो मञ्जरी भज्यमाना ।
तस्मादेषा रहसि भवने निर्दयं पीडनीया
मन्दाक्रान्तं बहुतररसं नो ददातीक्षुदण्डः ॥

'Be not afraid that the damsel is too slender. Has a flower-stalk ever been seen to be broken by the weight of a bee? Therefore in private must she be passionately given pangs. A piece of sugarcane (*when pressed*) gives us gently much sweetness.'

The son-in-law followed her advice, and next morning the following conversation took place between mother and daughter:—

Daughter.— मातः केलिगृहं न यामि शयने
Lakhimâ.— कस्माच्च चन्द्रानने
Daughter.— जामाता तव निर्दयो निजभुजे बद्धो ऽपि मां पीडनं (sc. ददाति ॥
अङ्गारव्रणतां करोति च नखैर्दन्तैश्च खण्डीकृता
केनेयं रतिराक्षसेन रमिता शार्दूलविक्रीडिता ॥

'O Mother, I will not retire again to the bridal chamber.'

'Why not, my moon-faced one?'

'Your son-in-law passionately gives me pangs, even when bound in my arms. He burns me as it were with live coals, and I am torn to pieces with his nails and teeth; of what love-demon am I the sport, and why does he play with me like a tiger?' In the two last sets of verses मन्दाक्रान्तं and शार्दूलविक्रीडिता are puns on the names of the metres

A Paṇḍit once came to try Lakhimâ Ṭhakurâṇî's learning. She heard this, and disguising herself as a water-girl, went to meet him. The Paṇḍit addressed her as follows:—

किं मां हि पश्यसि घटेन कटिस्थितेन
वक्रेण चारु परिमीलितलोचनेन ।
अन्यं हि पश्य पुरुषं तव कार्ययोग्यं
नाहं घटाङ्कितकटीं प्रमदां स्पृशामि ॥

'Why are you gazing at me, pitcher on hips, with languid eyes? Gaze on some other man suited for you. I touch not a fair one whose hip is marked with the pitcher.'

To this piece of impertinence she replied:—

सत्यं ब्रवीमि मकरध्वजबाणमुग्ध
नाहं त्वदर्थमनसा परिचिन्तयामि ।
दासोऽद्य मे विघटितस्तव तुल्यरूपः
स त्वं भवेन्नहि भवेदिति मे वितर्कः ॥

'I'faith, I tell thee, who art smitten by the arrow of love, that I am not so minded towards thee. I could not find my slave. You are like him, and I was merely trying to find out if you were he or not?'

Then the Paṇḍit saw that she was Lakhimâ, and admitted himself conquered.

LAKHIMA THAKURANI AND THE BIKAUA.

In Mithilâ, the men of a certain high sept of Brâhmaṇs are in the habit of selling their daughters and sisters in marriage to Brâhmaṇs of lower caste, and of marrying girls of lower caste on receipt of a consideration. This sept is called from its practices the sept of the बिकौआ, or mercenary Brâhmaṇs. The practice is much reprobrated by Brâhmaṇs of other septs. Lakhimâ Ṭhakurâni once noted a marriage celebrated with great pomp. It was one of these *Bikauâs*, who had sold his sister in marriage to a man of low caste. She thereupon composed the following verse on the subject which has since been famous in Mithilâ :—

चपलं तुरगं परिणर्तयतः
पथि पौरजनान्परिमर्दयतः ।
नहि ते भुजभाग्यभवोविभवो
भगिनीभगभाग्यभवो विभवः ॥

Freely translated,—'You may make your spirited horses prance, and with them trample on the town-folk. But we all know that your wealth is not got by your own exertions but by the sale of your sister's person.' G. A. GRIERSON.

THE 'IYAR-I-DANISH.

SIR.—With reference to the remark in Vol. XIV. p. 264 *ante*, that the *'Iyâr-i-Dânish* of Abu'l-Fazl has never been edited, I would draw attention to the fact that lithographed copies of this book in Persian may be easily obtained in Bombay, Calcutta, Dehli, Lucknow, &c., as it is a very popular work, and is often preferred to its prototype the *Anvâr-i-Suhaili*, which, although more elegant, is more difficult. E. R.

PROTAP CHANDRA ROY'S MAHABHARATA.

We are glad to observe that H. H. the Râjâ of Farîdkot has granted Rs. 500 towards Bâbû Protâp Chandra Roy's excellent and colossal undertaking the translation of the *Mahâbhârata*. We trust that this by no means isolated instance of H. H.'s munificence towards Indian literature will lead others of his rank to give similar aid.

An appeal, however, issued with Part 24, shews that the publisher is still hampered by an insufficiency of funds, and is obliged to ask for further pecuniary assistance in carrying on his patriotic and laudable undertaking. We confidently hope that his appeal will not be made in vain.

Having finished the lengthy *Vana-Parva*, the publisher has now issued Parts 24, 25, and 26, carrying us through the *Virâṭa-Parva*, and as far as Section 7 of the *Udyôga-Parva*. These Parts shew an improvement in both the style of printing and the quality of the paper, and thus indicate that the publisher is neglecting nothing that may tend to attract support to his work.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE CAMELOT CLASSICS. (i) Malory's History of King Arthur, edited by ERNEST RHYS. (ii) Thoreau's Walden, edited by WILL. H. DIRCKS. London: Walter Scott.

The object of this series of little books, well printed, prettily bound in red cloth, and sold at a very cheap rate, is to make not only the more popular books of the "higher literature," but the less-known works of English prose, accessible to every purse. "It is clear," says the Editor of the series, "that there are many books of surpassing interest which are hidden away from the every-day reader, but which, by being brought again to light by sympathetic hands, having the right word spoken to put them in touch with the time, can hardly fail to gain new popular vogue." A happy choice has fallen upon the well-known and most important romance of King Arthur as a commencement.

In reproducing Sir Thomas Malory's celebrated work, the Editor has closely followed Caxton's original text, so far as is consistent with the avowedly modernized form in which it is now put before the reader. Still this has entailed a certain amount of cutting about, which the student will always have to keep in mind if he uses this edition.

In accordance with the general idea of the series, an introduction is provided explanatory of the original, and though this gives us little that is new it may generally be regarded as 'safe' and useful.

It is a far cry from King Arthur to the lucubrations which Thoreau, named after the scene of his self-chosen solitude for two years and two months, "on the shore of Walden Pond, in Concord, Massachusetts." As a work of pure literature, no doubt, the work interests those who make that the pursuit of their lives, and the introduction is as sympathetic as a reader could wish, especially if he delight in the kind of *pabulum* which Thoreau so liberally furnishes.

On the whole, Editor and Publisher are both to be congratulated on the first two volumes of their venture.

SALAMMBO, by GUSTAVE FLAUBERT: Englished by M. FRENCH SHELDON. Saxon & Co.; New York and London.

This is a translation of that very celebrated antiquarian novel, Flaubert's *Salammbô*. Though

in fact a pure novel, the work has long been noted for containing a mine of archæological lore regarding Carthage and the Carthaginians, as the result of the most laborious and painstaking researches extended over several years. The correctness of Flaubert's knowledge of details was several times assailed by French critics, but he always turned round upon them and showed that he was prepared with authority for every statement, and that he well knew what the real facts were whenever he took a liberty with history for literary effect. The story of Salammbô, daughter of Hamilcar Barca and sister of Hannibal, arises out of the struggle between the Carthaginians and the mercenaries they so ill-treated during the period separating the Second from the First Punic War. Though hardly coming within the scope of this Journal, the book is worth study as an accurate picture of life closely connected with matters Oriental. The translator may be fairly congratulated on successfully accomplishing the difficult task of rendering a work into English which has hitherto been held to be untranslatable.

MYTHS AND MYTH-MAKERS, by JOHN FISKE. Boston; Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The full title-page of this now popular book—"Myths and Myth-makers, Old tales and Superstitions interpreted by Comparative Mythology"—has an ominous sound about it, especially since the whole method of the philological school of comparative mythologists has become so much discredited of late. Nor is confidence restored by the statement in the preface:—"I have not attempted to review otherwise than incidentally the works of Grimm, Muller, Kühn, Bréal, Dasent and Tylor: nor can I pretend to have added anything of consequence, save now and then some bit of explanatory comment to the results obtained by the labour of these scholars, but it has rather been my aim to present these results in such a way as to awaken general interest in them." Now it is the writings of Professors Max Muller and Kühn, as the chief exponents of what is known as the philological theory of comparative mythology, that are so very 'unsafe;' and the ideas that the general reader will imbibe, under their guidance, regarding the genesis and life of folklore, are not likely become any 'safer' by undergoing the process of being made popular.

The 'Origin of Folklore' is the title of the first subject which the author discusses, and a glance over this will sufficiently inform us as to the line of argument he has pursued and the manner in which he proposes to trace Folklore to its source. With him 'Folklore' and 'Folktale' are apparently synonymous, and folktales are the *débris* of native myths. Everything is traceable to a myth about the sun or the moon or the elements. Mr. Fiske is in fact, a follower of Prof. Max Müller, and believes that the names of the actors and heroes in legends, myths and folktales, enclose the secret of their origin. To our mind this is an exceedingly unsafe criterion, and dependent at the best on etymologies, which are, to say the least, doubtful and far from being conclusive. To limit, in the first place, folklore to folktales forces us to treat such matters as proverbs, customs, and beliefs, as the *débris* of folktales, just as Mr. Fiske would treat folktales as the *débris* of myths, and myths as the outcome of "an unlimited capacity for believing and fancying." Now, to our thinking, folktales are only a portion of folklore, and to seek therefore a special origin for folktales apart from the rest of folklore is to treat the subject piecemeal—always a most unsafe proceeding. The rest of the theory, besides being capable of proof only by a process that is indecisive, is based on a notion that has not yet been proved to be correct, *viz.*, that the power of imagination of the ancients was unlimited. Why should the untutored man of antiquity be held to be endowed with a finer fancy than his modern cultivated descendant? The fact is, that the cultured imagination of the modern student, fascinated by the beauty that *he* puts into an ancient myth, has led him to lend his savage forefathers a mental capacity they never could have possessed. The "Max-Müllerian" theory contains indeed three fatal errors: it treats a part of the subject as the whole of it: it rests upon an uncertain and highly disputable basis; and it invests the savage with mental capacities of civilized and indeed cultivated man. If the cravings for ascertained truth, now so strong in the scientific student, are to be satisfied, some other plan for explaining folklore must be adopted, and Comparative Mythology, after a fair trial, may be looked upon as played out. Mr. Fiske says that the once fashionable theory of Euhemeros is dead beyond recovery, and he must forgive us for saying that the days of its successor are already numbered, and that before long the Philological Theory of Comparative Mythology will itself be counted as among the slain!

Having so far expressed ourselves as to the general tenor of Mr. Fiske's work, and our ideas as to the value of the theory to which he is devoted, we have nothing but admiration for the manner in which he has put it before the reader. Whether his conclusions are warrantable or not, his ideas are clearly expressed, and each portion of his book put together with a skill that has won its reward in the popularity of his series of short essays.

DISCURSIVE CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ASIATIC SYMBOLISM.

BY H. G. M. MURRAY-AYNSLEY.

VIII.

The Evil Eye and Allied Notions.

ONE of the old Hindu legends connected with Ganêśa, the elephant-headed god, the son of Śiva and his wife Pârvatî, is that as soon as he was born, his parents invited all the other gods and goddesses to come and see him, but by an unlucky accident they omitted or forgot to invite Śani, who appeared on the scene in a terrible rage, and with one glance of his eye caused the child's head to drop off. The other gods rushed out in horror and in their despair cut off the head of an elephant, which they found sleeping close by with its head towards the north. This they clapped on to the infant's body before its mother had time to see and prevent the transformation. This faith in the efficacy of the Evil Eye is fully believed in India to the present day.

It is also strong in most parts of the world, and still lingers amongst the peasantry in some counties in England, where there is a belief in 'Lucky Stones,' *i.e.* self-bored ones. A correspondent of the English *Notes and Queries* relates, how, on entering a house in a Yorkshire village, he observed a ponderous necklace of them hanging against the wall. On inquiring about them, he found the good woman of the house indisposed to give him any explanation regarding them, but he presently elicited from her that such stones had the credit of preserving the house and its inhabitants from the Evil Eye.

"Why," said he, "surely you don't believe in witches now-a-days?"

"No," she replied, "I don't say 'at I do, but certainly in former times there was wizards and hizzards, and them sort o' things."

"Well," the gentleman rejoined, "but surely you don't think there are any now?"

"No," I don't say 'at there are, but I do believe in a Yevil Eye."

Again, a peculiar race of people exists on the Island of Guernsey, who are accounted witches and are thought to have the power of casting the Evil Eye. As far as I have been hitherto able to learn nothing is positively known of their antecedents. Some have thought they might be a remnant of a Keltic population; others that they are of Spanish, or of Gipsy blood. In type, features and complexion they are totally different to the other inhabitants of the island, having very dark hair and eyes, and olive skins. They are called Pipet (plural Pipiaux).[1] The Pipiaux are all small farmers, and live chiefly in St. Saviour's parish, in the district called The Forest, and near Lihon. Some of them occasionally go round to the different gentlemen's houses to dispose of their farm produce, and such is the dread they inspire in the mind of the true Guernsey servant, that should her mistress not purchase anything, she will herself give a small coin, and throw a handful of salt after them on their departure. Till very recently, no true Guernsey man or woman would marry a Pipet, but a mixed marriage did take place a year or two ago, and the couple are living, I believe, in St. Martin's parish. This union was, at the time, spoken of as tempting Providence, but contrary to the general expectation it has turned out well. A curious anecdote of these people was related to me by a lady who belongs to one of the oldest families in the Island. Before she married she resided at her father's house, which is about two miles from the town, and at Christmas it was not unusual for some of the poorer Pipiaux to come to the door and ask for a present, which was never refused them. But one Christmas day, a family who lived near them would not give an alms to a Pipet who came, and ordered the suppliant to go away, on which he said: "You think you are going to have a very good dinner to-day, but you are much mistaken." When the dinner hour came, though the roast beef and the roast turkey had been some hours before the fire they could not be cooked, and the family in despair sent over to the house of my informant's father to beg for a dinner. The only rational solution of the mystery was, that their larder being in a cold situation,

[1] I am doubtful whether this is the name of the clan, or of certain families only. It was a point on which I could not obtain satisfactory information.

the meat had become frozen; but no doubt the servants of both families preferred to adhere to the theory that the provisions had been bewitched.

So far we have been dealing with the Evil Eye properly so called, but the modern Hindustânî word *nazar* for a mischief-glance is not quite equivalent to the English expression *The Evil Eye*, as it is much more comprehensive and implies the ill effects which may result from the gaze of *any one*, even of the most benevolent and affectionately disposed, if that gaze has induced in the mind of the gazer complete satisfaction at the object observed, whether animate or inanimate.[2] Evil intention is here left out of the question, and it is for this reason that Hindu mothers do not like any one (Europeans in particular) to admire their little ones too openly, nor to look at them when they are eating, lest they should cast the Evil Eye on them. This view of the Evil Eye is not confined to India, for in certain parts of Greece if a child is admired, it causes its mother the greatest consternation, and there mothers frequently decorate their infants' caps with coins or other bright ornaments to distract attention from the child to these objects, an idea of which more anon. An expression of approval or admiration is met with the entreaty "Don't give it the Evil Eye," and the mother immediately points with two fingers at the person or object in question, accompanying the gesture with the word for garlic, as garlic is deemed a sovereign antidote against this malign power: the origin of which notion is probably to be found in an idea prevalent both in parts of India and in Spain to a very great extent, that garlic and onions are preservatives against fever.[3]

Another development of the notion that the Evil Eye is inherent in certain people is to be found in Smyrna, where the lower classes believe it very unlucky to be looked at by a person with grey eyes.

In India the black or dark blue colours are frequently considered as protective against *nazar*. Thus in Upper Kunâwar, in the Satlaj Valley, it is quite a common occurrence—I may say almost the usual thing,—for a mother each morning to make a black mark on her infant's forehead and nose with a bit of burnt stick, in order to preserve it from evil influences during the day. On the principle above explained, if a man be blind of one eye, or has any other optical defect, he is believed to be likely to cast *nazar* should he meet any one with a particularly fine pair of eyes, and for this reason many of the natives of India are said to put *kâjal* (lampblack) on their eyelids, or a piece of white thread hanging downwards, anything in short, to distract the attention of others, and avoid rousing feelings of covetousness in their minds. They also hold that if a person's eyes are encircled with *kâjal* they are themselves also incapable of casting *nazar*, and deem it a pretty thing for a woman thus to adorn herself, for in this case she can neither receive the ill effects of *nazar* nor impart them to others.[4]

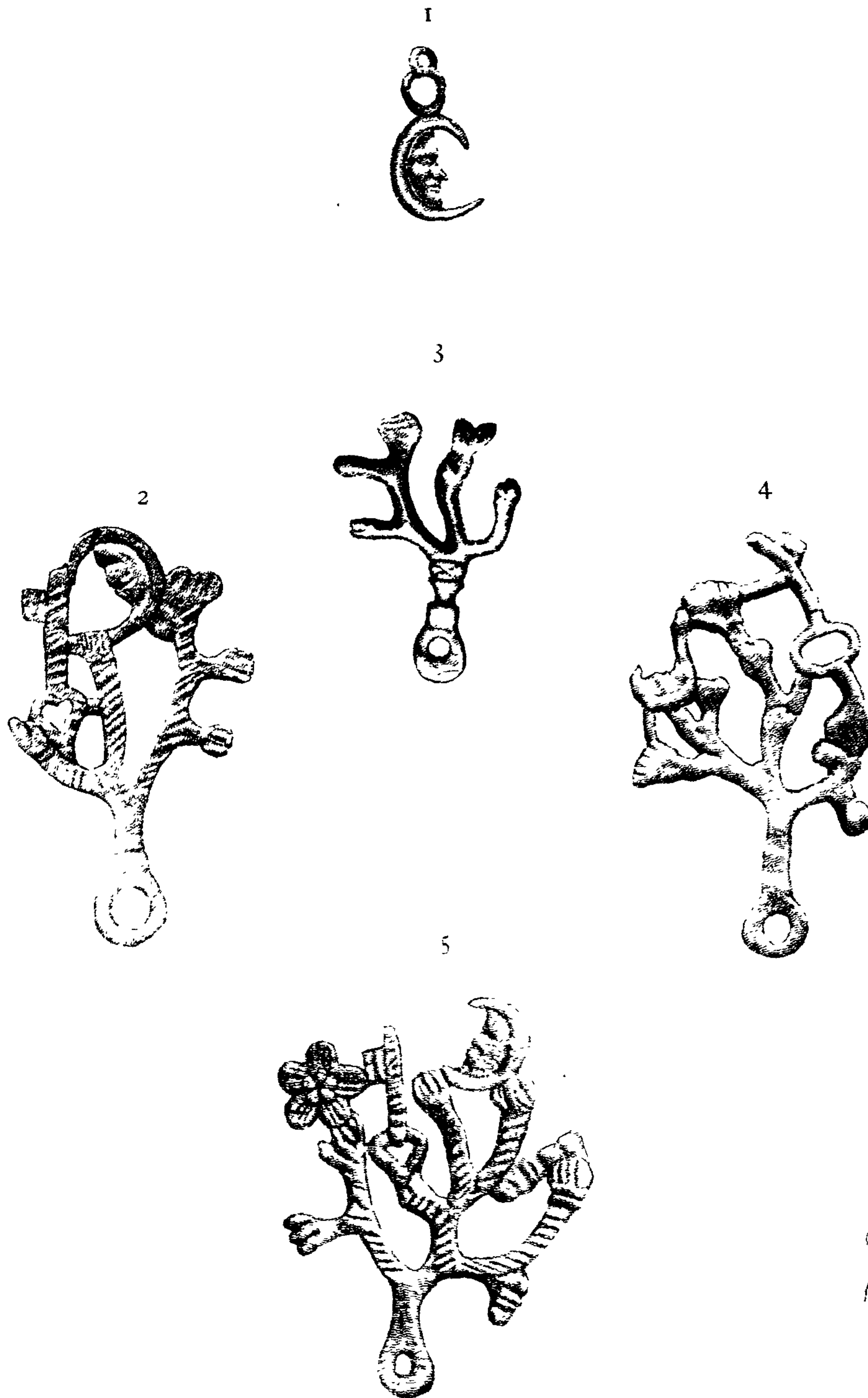
The custom of using colours to distract attention from the thing to be protected is naturally not confined to black, and in other parts of India the natives sometimes paint all kinds of strange subjects in gaudy colours on the exterior of their houses, so that should any unlucky glance be turned towards their dwelling, it may be attracted by these representations and rest upon them, rather than on the house itself or its inmates. Similarly, we find Madame Carla Serena in her interesting work *Seule dans les Steppes* which appeared in 1883, saying that the Khirghiz have a great fear of the Evil Eye, and ornament the heads of their beasts with bright-coloured ribbons to frighten it away. She speaks of having seen in her wanderings whole troups of camels thus decorated.

A mixture of all the above notion in one person once attracted my attention. In Corfu in 1883, I met a Christian woman from Alexandria, whose nationality was doubtful, but she spoke Italian fairly well, and I fancy she had a mixture of European and Egyptian blood in her veins. She was carrying an infant of about eight months old in her arms, whose waist was encircled with strings of coral to which were attached a silver whistle and bells, a boar's tusk, coral charms like those used at Naples against the Evil Eye, a piece of mother-o'-pearl

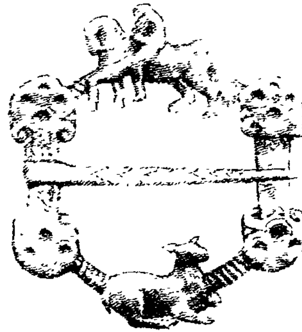
[1] [See *Pañjâb Notes and Queries*, Vol. I. *passim*.—ED.]

[2] The people of Sweden, if they happen to meet any one who is maimed or afflicted with any grievous disorder, immediately call out "pepper!" thinking by this means to avert any evil consequences from themselves

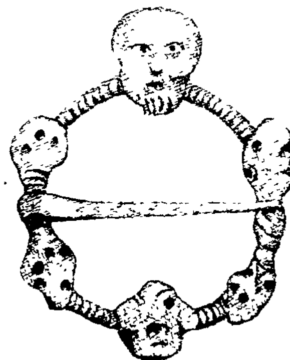
[4] [See *Pañjâb Notes and Queries*, Vol. I *passim*.—ED.]



VARIOUS FORMS OF A TALISMAN STILL IN USE AT NAPLES.



A BROOCH OF THE BRONZE AGE FROM NORWAY.



A BROOCH OF THE NORWEGIAN TYPE FROM A GRAVE NEAR BREGENZ, IN SWITZERLAND.

set in silver on which was engraved the image of some saint, and a small silk bag. I inquired the contents of this, and was told that within it was salt, a piece of charcoal, a nail, and a piece of garlic. And lastly in the centre of the child's forehead was an object resembling a dark blue wafer, which the mother said was to protect it from the Evil Eye. As we have already seen in this heterogeneous collection of articles, the black and the blue colour and the nail are connected with Asiatic superstitions,[5] and in Greece, garlic is regarded as a preservative against evil influences.

Among other methods of counteracting *nazar* I may mention that in Calcutta the natives hold that a portion of all the food they buy in the market should be thrown into the fire to avert the Evil Eye. Muhammadans, too, are said to be, if possible, more fearful about *nazar* than Hindûs, and often furnish the latter with texts from the *Qurân* to be used as armlets in order to keep it off.

In this connection I could draw attention here to a peculiar set of armlets used in Naples, which appear to have arisen from the notion of the Evil Eye, and to serve in some degree to connect the East and the West. There seems little doubt that many of the customs and superstitions still existing in Naples were brought to that part of Italy by the Greek colonists, who settled at Cumæ and elsewhere, and whose ancestors again, in remote times, were probably some of the earliest wanderers from Central Asia to Europe. At the present day the Neapolitans, in customs, at any rate, as I will now show, approach Eastern types: and they would seem to do so in character as well; for the higher classes are clever and acute, but they are deficient in perseverance, develop early, and lack accuracy and method in business matters, and also in small things; while the lower classes are deeply imbued with superstition of an Oriental kind.

These singular amulets which bear decided traces of Asiatic Symbolism are still in use in Naples, and it is highly probable that the original signification of their various parts is unknown to those who now adopt them. They are figured in Plate XVII. Fig. 5 differs from the others in that it has the lotus-flower,—a favourite Hindu emblem on the left: while on the extreme right is a fire-altar with smoke issuing from it. Figs. 3 and 4 are very old and worn specimens, and fig. 1 is a *Janara* or Moon. Fig. 2 was sent to the Abbate Bastiani (no mean authority on points of Archæology) for opinion, and I give here the result of his inquiries and researches, which I have translated from the original Italian MS. He begins by saying that he showed "this little silver article to a great many people in Naples; some said immediately that it was a charm against the *jettatura* (fascination),[6] and others again that it was the sign of some sect. The first named, who were for the most part people of the lowest classes, declared that superstitious mothers were in the habit of hanging such amulets on their children to save them from ill fortune, but the latter, people of some intelligence, held that such symbols belonged to the freemasons." He himself seems to think that there may be some accidental masonic figure in this mysterious amulet, but nothing more, and he believes it "to be an object which illustrates the customs of the Neapolitan people; especially those of the women of the lowest class." He considers it to consist of several parts, which we will now proceed to examine in detail, following the Abbate's own words:—

"(1) We have a *serpent* on one side and a *tree* on the other: the trunk of the tree and the tail of the serpent are united, though they remain distinct at the lower part. (2) Beneath the head of the serpent rests the handle or top of a key. (3) Between the tree and the serpent rises an arm: the hand, which is closed, holds a horn, within which is a half-moon overshadowing the whole amulet: perhaps, too, the little circle at its base for hanging it on to the person is not without its symbolical meaning. We have thus enumerated all the parts of this amulet, which are seven in number; *viz.* a serpent, a tree, a key, a hand, a horn, a half disc, and a circle; but possibly we may add two more to these; *i.e.* the two spaces in the form of a heart, which strike us when we carefully consider the whole.

"Let us now discuss the signification of these nine signs or symbols, and try to discover the precise meaning of them. The man who cut

[5] Salt and iron still have their significance with the English.

[6] For an explanation of this word see below.

and fashioned this amulet did not know it perhaps, neither do those who hang it round their children, nor the person who wears it; but all three have thought by its means to drive away something from themselves,—to make this charm a sort of lightning rod against certain evil influences—and all three followed a vague and superstitious tradition: they may often in their own minds have given a poetical meaning to this object. The archæologist with his spectacles on nose, and his big books of yellow parchment before him, may hit upon and theorize about mysterious doctrines, but will that suffice the curious searcher after truth? Will the archæologist succeed in bringing to light the meaning of the strange fancies, and will he be quite certain of his facts? On the whole, he will only be able to give us such knowledge as lies in following out the order of the ideas which we find in this amulet. Thus, the serpent and the tree recall the history of the human race, and explain the origin of evil,[7] which we ought to avoid and against which we ought to exercise our free will, abiding in virtue by the force of reason and determination; for even animals are maintained by their instincts in the order assigned to them. According to heathen ideas, this fixed principle was not sufficient; some presiding power was necessary; a kind of mysterious grace, which[8] is indicated by the *arm*, and the *hand* holding a *horn*, whence it is easy and natural to affirm that Bonus Eventus is here signified. He was the youthful god, pleasing to look at, folded in his mantle, and not in a cunningly made and complicated coat of mail, and depicted in the act of holding a horn in his right hand."[9] He goes on to say "with regard to the serpent, what good fortune is connected with it! It is a symbol of prudence, and also of victory. It follows from these two attributes that we have here the history of the transformation of our moral world, in which the serpent was a god, and man was its victim.[10] Guile usurped the name of prudence; temples were erected to deceit: phantoms and superstitions became the popular form of devotion. The serpent under this very name was worshipped in the universe as a beneficent genius, the ideas of God and of good being inseparable.[11] No other fabled invention obtained so much favour. We still find remains of it in the fetishes of Africa, and also in Southern Italy. It would appear that the fable of Angizia or Kirkê, a famous enchantress, explains their theology. With the Neapolitans, a lizard with two tails, or some other green creature which may creep amongst their grain, or into their oil jar, is looked upon as a piece of good luck, a true blessing!

"With regard to the tree—in the time of the ancient Romans there were lucky and unlucky trees. Even down to a short time ago, the Tree of May or of the Spring used to be planted in Tuscany with singing and rejoicings as an outpouring of thankfulness and hope for good fortune desired and obtained. We can trace such customs back to the middle ages when the people went to consult the sorceresses, who assembled under the Nut Tree on a mountain behind the city of Benevento (Bonus Eventus), their dwelling being a grotto overshadowed by this tree. The inhabitants of Terracina were at one time reproved by the Pope for their worship of the tree. We will now go back still further, even to the Roman times, and speak of Hekatê, called also the Moon, and the Queen of sorceresses, and of nymphs who danced at night by her light. Hekatê is also styled Jana, just as Janus was the name of the sun. The name of this goddess and the traditions connected with it, will assist us in explaining the use of the word *Janara* by the Neapolitans, and why they call those people *Janare*, who know secrets and make practical defences against such evil influences; such as the use of rue round the couch of a woman who has recently given birth to a child, and the hanging of an amulet about the infant.[12] The worship of trees of good luck came in amongst us (*i.e.* the Italians) with the Pelasgoi who adored the oak of Dô-

[7] [To a Christian only. If the amulet is of Eastern origin the signification would be very different.—ED.]

[8] Still following the Abbate Bastiani's argument it should be remembered.

[9] The Abbate imagines that it is on this account "the Neapolitans wear a little ornament in form of a horn on their watch-chains to drive away, as they think, the *jettatura* or the Evil Eye, and that "they are in the habit of stretching out a forefinger."

[10] [Is not all this argument based on Jewish and Christian notions?—ED.]

[11] [This is not borne out by the study of primitive religions.—ED.]

[12] When a Neapolitan woman belonging to the lower classes is angry with another, she will call her a *janara* (a witch).

dônê,[13] sacred to Zeus, and it was confirmed by the Aryans, their brothers, whence the words *ariolus*, augur; *ariolatio*, divination; and *ariolor*, to augur.[14] In the Valdimagra, the oak of Marriano (the Asiatic *mariontola*) was under a rock, which was the place of assembly for evil spirits. We have thus by degrees worked back to the memories of Northern Asia, to the times of the original *ariologiani* or augurs. There, in the courts of Nineveh and Babylon, the worship of the sacred tree existed, which we may suppose to have had its origin on historic soil;—one may say in the traditions of Eden, where the tree flourished whose fruit man was intended to enjoy. But of this enough. We have mentioned the name of Janus, which seems to come appositely into this paper, in order to explain the significance of the *key*, which is his ornament and domestic badge. It may be remembered that it was Janus who taught men to build houses and close them with doors (*janua*) and, nevertheless, he is also the sun, and therefore it is suitable that he should have the keys of both the doors of heaven. He opens the door at dawn and closes it at sunset."

The two voids or open spaces in the form of a heart still remain to be discussed. With regard to these, the Abbate Bastiani is of opinion that they indicate the *bulla*,[15] which was made round and like a cord, in order to hang it round the throats of young people. He considers that the second space was intended to point out to them that they should reflect that they were men, and also that young persons ought to act with discretion and good sense, which is always the most certain and safe antidote against peril. "Finally," he adds, "we must not omit to observe the number *nine* in the elements of the amulet. We are induced to touch upon this when we reflect that the month of November was sacred to Diana the goddess of sorceresses, and that the sacrifices, which were held to avert calamities and propitiate the gods, were called *novendiales* because they lasted *nine* days. Is it not in this sense that we (Roman) Catholics have our *novenas* in which we glorify God, the all powerful and triune during nine days? And is not nine the number of the orders of spiritual angels who incessantly sing in Heaven before the Trinity?"

I have faithfully transcribed the Abbate's quaint conceits regarding this amulet, though on the whole they do not seem to throw much light on the subject.[16] During a 25 years residence in Naples he had never before chanced to see this little charm; even now, he does not enlighten us as to its name, but styles it a *fascino*, or charm. It was only after some searching and many inquiries in the quarter of Naples called Old Naples, that I was able to hunt up the various forms given on Plate XVII.[17] The people, at first, seemed ashamed of owning that they held such a superstition, but after several visits and much questioning, I elicited from them what I believe to be the true name for these little silver ornaments; *viz.*, *cima-ruta*, top or head of rue. The charm is bound over the heart of a newly born child, thence, most probably, its name.

Whatever be the value of the Abbate's opinions as to the meaning of the amulet, he has struck a key note in alluding to the custom of strewing rue round the couch of a woman and her newly born infant and the hanging of this charm on the child. We have here a distinct connection between the customs of the East and the West. In India rue is in various ways a charm against evil, and when describing a native wedding in that country, Colebrooke says, "The bridegroom goes in procession to the house where the bride's father resides, and is there welcomed as a guest. The bride is given to him by her father in the form usual at every solemn donation, and their hands are bound together with grass. He clothes the bride with an upper and better garment; the skirts of her mantle and of his are tied together. The

[13] The wintry Dôdônê, one of the further summits of the Pindos range in Albania.

[14] [This is a very dangerous derivation. Although the word "Aryan" is really *Ârya*, the derivation of *ariolus*, &c. from it is exceedingly doubtful. *Ariolus*, &c. should be *hariolus*, the root of which more than probably, like that of the kindred words *haruspex*, *haruga*, *harviga*, &c., lies in *hira*, the intestines.—ED.]

[15] A boss of gold worn upon the neck by the children of free-born Romans to distinguish them from those of freedmen, who wore leather ones.

[16] [It is always unsafe to theorize upon the meaning of charms fashioned and originated by the humble and ignorant as if they were the work of highly educated and intelligent minds. It is a much safer course to seek for natural and very mundane origins for such things. These lucubrations appear to be pure theory and to attribute to Christian ideas the origin of objects supposed to have a pre-Christian descent. These must be taken for what they may be worth.—ED.]

[17] [Specimens of these charms are in the possession of Dr. E. B. Tylor, F.R.S., at Oxford, who has had them several years. They also came direct from Naples.—ED.]

bridegroom makes an oblation to fire, and the bride drops rue upon it as an oblation."[18] Compare this with the use of rue in England. According to Miller,[19] rue was anciently named in English "Herb Grace," or "Herb of Grace," and Warburton says it had the latter name from its having been used in exorcisms, but that "when Ophelia in *Hamlet* says to the Queen 'There's rue for you and here's some for me, we may call it herb o' grace o' Sundays,' she does not refer to this plant being used for exorcisms as performed in Churches on Sundays, but means only, that the Queen may, with peculiar propriety, on Sundays, when she solicits pardon for that crime which she has so much occasion to *rue* and repent of, call her rue, 'herb of grace'." In Burke's *Romance of the Forum*, it is said that during the trial of Mrs. Manning "the bench of the dock was, according to custom, strewn with rue." This practice has now been discontinued at the Old Bailey, and in place of the herbs a small bouquet of flowers is placed on the judge's desk from April to October. In the English *Notes and Queries*,[20] when referring to the use of rue at the Old Bailey we read that in Laurence's *Life of Fielding* it is stated that this custom arose after a contagious disease which had been engendered by the foul atmosphere there upwards of a hundred years ago, and in Brand's(?) *Popular* [illegible][21] it is ment[illegible] was hung about the neck as a[illegible] Aristotle's time. Another reason given for this custom is [illegible] eighteenth century [illegible] judge, jury, and prisoners, and [illegible] since then it had been used as a disinfectant.[22]

We will now endeavour to find out the meaning of the [illegible][23] (fascination or charm), and we shall perhaps be led to see that the ideas connected with it [illegible] serve to show [illegible] that exists between the East and the West. In Naples the favourite [illegible] horn of gold, silver, or coral, which is universally worn attached to the watch chain It may possibly, at one time, have been invested with a threefold meaning. (1) As the horn of plenty, bringing good fortune: (2) As a protection against evil coming from without, from ill-disposed or unlucky persons, who have the power of casting the Evil Eye; and (3) May it not also originally have had some association with the idea of the scape-goat? The following anecdote, which was related to me by an Italian lady who knew one of the persons concerned would seem to indicate that this last idea is not a far-fetched one. A family had settled themselves in an apartment in a certain house at Naples, when shortly afterwards another floor in the same house was hired by a lady whom the first comers believed to be possessed of the *Mal' Occhio* or Evil Eye. They were in despair at this circumstance, and in order to avert any bad consequences which might result to themselves, they caused a bull to be brought to the house, and had it driven through the entrance archway and round and round the court-yard for some hours, evidently as a 'scape-goat.' This custom is in close connection with a well-known one in India, where to the present day, Hindus are universally in the habit of turning loose bulls, to wander about, after some person's sins have been transferred to the animal by the performance of [illegible]. As an instance of the farther development of this idea in the East Dr. Schuyler[24] speaks of a custom existing in Turkistân(?) in a passage so curious that I cannot forbear quoting it. "Life in Ach Kurgân was rather dull, amusement there was none, all games being strictly forbidden. Such things as juggle[illegible], dancing, and comic performances are, I am told, prohibited in the Khanate:—the licen[illegible] tion, Khân having seen the error of his ways and having put on, for his people at least—the resemblance of virtue. Of playing there was very little, occasionally in the afternoon or at sunset some few [illegible] individuals would

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[illegible] done [illegible] 1867 [illegible]

[illegible] the same thing is [illegible] it is that [illegible] own know- [illegible] long at [illegible] out [illegible] make in [illegible]

[illegible] Vol. II [illegible]

spread out a rag and make their supplications to Allah. One poor old man,[25] however, I noticed, who seemed constantly engaged in prayer. On calling attention to him I was told that he was an *iskâchi*, a person who gets his living by taking upon himself the sins of the dead, and thenceforward devoting his life to prayer for their souls. He corresponds to the Sin-eater of the Welsh border."[26]

The Abbate Bastiani's notice of augurs and soothsayers reminds me that there is one divining custom existing both in the East and the West, which should mentioned in this connection. In India, in order to discover a thief it is a common practice to send for a diviner who comes with two attendants, and is provided with a pair of scissors, some rice, and a basket, or sieve, used for winnowing grain. Both the sieve and the scissors have in this case a very significant meaning, because the sieve[27] is considered emblematical of the rain clouds, and iron is deemed in many lands an effectual charm against evil spirits. When the charm is about to be tried a fire is lighted in an earthen pot and the diviner takes the winnowing basket; an article which in India has its edges bent up on three sides with the fourth side flat. After having stuck a pair of scissors into the upper and deepest edge of it and repeated certain prayers or incantations, he causes his two assistants each to put a finger beneath the holes in the scissors and in this manner to hold the tray suspended over the fire. All in the house must then in turn take a small quantity of uncooked rice in their hands and drop it into the flames between the fork formed by the scissors, the diviner all the time repeating certain formulæ. All goes very smoothly till the guilty person attempts to scatter his rice, when the grain sifter commences turning round rapidly, and the true culprit is thus exposed. A friend, who saw this plan tried in her own house at Bangalore, told me it was perfectly successful in that case and the guilty person—a woman—seeing she was discovered, confessed having committed a theft from her fellow servant. A parallel to this is to be found in England. Brockett, *Glossary of English North Country Words*, says: "The vulgar in many parts have an abominable practice of using a riddle and a pair of scissors in divination. If they have had anything stolen from them, the riddle and the shears are sure to be resorted to."[28] A similar mode of discovering thieves or detecting the guilt of a person accused of any crime, prevailed amongst the Greeks.[29]

A singular development of the idea of iron in the shape of nails as a protection against spirits generally, however rather than the evil eye, came under my notice, when travelling in the Maisûr State. I chanced to meet a European Government official making a tour of inspection through his district. As is usual in such cases, a number of natives came to him every day; some with wrongs to be redressed and others simply to make their salutations. In the latter category was an old native who had served in the late Mahârâja's body-guard. His former uniform, which was abundantly ornamented with gold lace, had been carefully preserved, and was worn on this important occasion. In his right hand he held a stick of powerful proportions;—the upper part as thick as a man's arm,—the lower end about the size a man's wrist on which were numerous silver rings and knobs. It was made out of a branch of the *Bombax Malabaricum* ([illegible]), a tree common in jungles thereabouts, producing pods containing a silky cotton fibre. Both the trunk and the branches are thickly studded with protuberances which resemble *blunt nails*. When asked why he carried about such a formidable looking stick the old man replied: "When provided with such a stick as this anyone can walk safely at night through the jungles without fear of demons." He evidently did not carry it to protect him from man, but from the spirits of evil.

As another instance of a custom which in closely allied form exists in India and in Europe I would here notice the following. Many wandering native traders, such as those who sell shawls, stuffs, cloths, calicoes, &c., frequently come into the verandahs of European houses in India to dispose of their wares. [illegible]

[25] [illegible] ngier gives his portrait.

[26] A Welsh friend, however, who is fond of folk-lore and is an acute observer tells me that he has never heard of the sin-eater of the Welsh border."

[27] According to Kelly, *Indo-European Folklore*.

[28] Another development of the idea is to be found in Northumberland where [illegible] in order to [illegible]

[29] Potter, *Gr[illegible]*, Vol. I. p. 352.

article be purchased of such a trader and happen to be the first thing he has sold that day, he will, on receiving his money, take the rupees one by one, and with them touch first his forehead, then his mouth, and lastly his yard-measure.[30] I was recently a witness of a somewhat similar proceeding in Guernsey. Chancing to go into an old curiosity shop just as a cart-load of goods arrived, which had been bought at a sale the day before, I invested in some articles, paying for them in five-franc pieces. The shopkeeper,—a woman, spat upon one or more of the coins, apologising for so doing by saying it was for luck, as those I had bought were the first things which she had sold out of that consignment.[31]

I think I should also draw attention to a singular custom which still exists in Guernsey, called *Le Clameur du Haro*, which is probably known to few persons out of the Island, and which is clearly performed on the principal of the well-known Indian custom of *dôhâî*. It has great influence over the minds of the people, and though it is only resorted to in extreme cases it is invariably respected. The following account of it was related to me by a lady whose husband, a few years ago, employed it to obtain redress for an injury. He owned a stone quarry, which he had leased out, but for some few years he had not been able to get any rent from the lessee, who also defied a notice to quit which had been sent him. He consequently decided to make use of the ancient but still effective custom of *Le Clameur du Haro*. He went to the quarry accompanied by two or three friends and a couple of policemen as witnesses. Arrived at the spot he went down on one knee, crying "*Haro! Haro! On me fait tort: à mon aide, mon Prince!*" This is an appeal to Rollo, the redoubtable Norman chieftain. After the ceremony had been gone through not a workman would dare to touch a stone. The matter then of necessity came before the Law Courts, and the case was decided in favour of the owner of the property.

Here again is another superstition which curiously survives in India and in Europe. In the *Pañjâb Notes and Queries*, Vol I., Note 219, a custom is cited, according to which if a couple have lost several male children, and a boy is again born to them they call it *Nathâ* *i.e.* one having a *nath* or nose-ring. They pierce its nose and introduce a ring (an ornament worn by girls and women only) in the desire that the child should be mistaken for a girl, and so passed over by the evil spirits.[32] This idea is not unknown in Europe. Some years ago when I was spending the summer in the Engadine I saw a good deal of an Italian lady, who, as far as I remember, was a Milanese. She had a sweet little child with her, apparently about five or six years old. For some days the little one went about attired in a sort of knicker-bocker suit, and I certainly thought that this child was a boy, but one day, to my amazement, I saw it dressed as a girl in a pretty white muslin frock. On my expressing much astonishment at the transformation, the mother told me that out of a large family only one grown up son and this little girl had survived; she had lost several between, all girls, and she seemed to think that by disguising the sex of this one, she would in some way avert evil from it.

Lastly in India, when a man wishes to put anyone out of the way, a not uncommon method of disposing of an enemy is to mix small bits of chopped hair with his food: a most deadly proceeding I believe, unless emetics be speedily given. Neapolitans, when they have a spite against any person, get rid of his cat or his dog in this manner. Here again we have the East and the West mixed up in a way that is at least remarkable

THE FOUR PRINCES.

A KASMIRI TALE.

BY THE REV. J. HINTON KNOWLES, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

(*Concluded from p. 303*).

At this moment one of the four princes signed with his hand and prostrated himself before the throne, as if he wished to say something. "Let him speak," said the king. "May be he

[30] Compare also the custom of handsel prevalent alike in the East and the West.—ED.

[31] The custom of spitting on coins for luck also obtains among London crossing-sweepers and street-beggars. ED.

[32] Also if his elder brother has died a boy is clothed very shabbily, no doubt because it is hoped he will thus escape the notice of the godlings, the agents of divine mischief in India.

wishes to relieve his heart of some foul secret. Let him speak. Let him speak."

The prince said :—" O great and merciful King and father, hear me, I beseech you, before I die :—In past times there lived a merchant, whose only son grew up to be exceedingly clever and wise in all manner of works, and was also very good. One day the merchant, wishing his son to have a large experience, bade him to make arrangements for going abroad, as it was his intention to send him to some foreign country with merchandise. Within a week the young merchant got ready and started. Many strange people he met with and many wonderful things he saw ; and I could occupy the attention of Your Majesty and of this assembly for several days in the narration of some of these, but one incident only I ask permission to mention.

In the course of his journeyings the young merchant met with four men, who were wildly disputing with one another over the possession of a poor dog, that they were dragging about most unmercifully.

'Why quarrel ye thus one with another ?' he asked.

'We are brethren,' said one of the disputants, 'and our father has recently died. We have just been trying to arrange our several shares of the property, and all proceeded most amicably, till we had to decide about this dog. We each have a cow apiece, an equal share of the rice and other grain, an equal number of sheep and goats ; but this dog we cannot divide, so that each one of us may have an equal portion ; and therefore the eldest brother says, 'It is mine,' and attempts to seize it ; and I wish to have it and so lay hands on it ; and my other two brothers also think they have a right to it and try to get it. You wonder, perhaps, that we care to wrangle over such a trifling matter ; but this is not an ordinary dog. Each of us would gladly relinquish his right to it, had we not learnt that this is no common animal. Our dear father, when on the point of death, bade us to sell it for Rs. 20,000 ; but nobody will give us so much money for it. We took it to the *bázár*, and the people laughed at us for asking such a price. Some thought that we were mad, others thought that we were joking, and a few struck at us for our apparent folly.'

'Strange story,' said the young merchant, 'very strange. Cannot you possibly sell the dog for a smaller sum ?'

'No,' replied the four brethren most decidedly. 'We could not disobey our deceased father, who charged us so strictly concerning this matter.'

The young merchant believed them and thinking that the dog must in some way or other be worth the money, he said, 'I will buy it.' Besides this, his father had warned him not to miss the first purchase or sale, even though it might be to his loss.[9] So he at once took the dog and paid the money. The rest of the way he was very much prospered, and in a few years he returned to his father and country a most wealthy and experienced man.

He had not been back from his travels very long before his father died. Owing to some mismanagement concerning the property the young merchant found himself suddenly without anything except the clothes in which he stood upright, and the dog that cost him so great a sum of money. In the hour of his distress he visited another merchant, who was a great friend of the family, and begged him to advance Rs. 15,000 on the dog. This merchant readily complied. Taking the money the young merchant went and traded, and gained for himself another little fortune.

Meanwhile the other merchant became very fond of the dog. He used to take it about with him by day and kept it fastened up to a peg in the middle of the court-yard at night. The dog, too, was very fond of his new master, and seemed never so happy as when he was with him.

One night the animal's sagacity and faithfulness were put to the test. When everybody was asleep and every place was covered with a thick darkness, some robbers arrived at the merchant's house. They came along very stealthily. However, the dog's quick ear detected their approach. It barked loudly to wake the household, but no one was aroused. It barked again and again and yet more loudly, when it saw the robbers enter

[9] Kâśmîrs have a saying *Gu'lanuk sodâ gatshih nah rôwarun, i.e.* 'One must not lose the first trade.' Traders in the Valley, like those of many European cities and all over India, are very superstitious about refusing handsel, or the first bargain or sale of the day They will often lose rather than give up the first chance of trade

the house; and ran about most wildly to the full tether of his chain, longing to get free. At last, just as the robbers were departing with their ill-gotten treasure, the chain broke. The dog dashed forward and would have jumped on them, but seeing that they had arms in their hands, he refrained. He reflected that he might be killed in the affray, and to what purpose? Better, he thought, to follow quietly on behind, to see whither the robbers conveyed his master's things.

The robbers walked far and fast till they reached an out-of-the-way place in a little jungle, where they stopped, dug a large pit, and therein deposited their treasure, intending to come again and arrange for its distribution as soon as the excitement about the robbery had subsided. When they were quite out of the way the dog went up to the place and scratched the earth round about, so that he might recognise the spot; and then returned to his master's house.

On the following morning the merchant rose and found the front door of his house ajar, and all his cupboards and boxes open, and their contents rifled. 'Robbers must have been here,' he cried, and rushed hither and thither tearing his beard and smiting his breast. The neighbours, attracted by the noise, came round and wept also.

'Alas, alas!' said one, 'would that we had taken more notice of the dog's barking.'

'Surely it must have awakened you?' said another.

'No, no,' replied the poor merchant.

At mention of the dog the merchant took the animal and placed him before him, and like a madman fondled him and talked to him, saying, 'Oh that you could speak and tell me who has taken my goods;' whereupon the dog seized the merchant's right sleeve between his teeth and began to pull towards the door.

'Perhaps,' remarked one of the neighbours, 'the dog knows where the treasure is concealed. I would advise you to follow his lead.'

On, on, the dog trotted for many a mile, till he came to the place in the jungle where the robbers had buried the goods. There he scratched away and threw up the ground most vigorously. The merchant also, and the few friends who had accompanied him, began to dig at the place. Presently they came on some of the stolen property; and then all of the things appeared! The merchant was overjoyed at the sight.

As soon as he had got his goods back again in his house and had arranged them in more secure places, he wrote to the young merchant the following letter:—

'To the abode of wisdom and bravery and goodness, beloved of all men, *salám!* After an expression of my intense desire to see you, be it known to you that I am your obliged servant for ever. You let me have a dog some time ago. That dog has just saved me from ruin. I send a request that you will kindly sell it to me. You let me take it as a security for Rs. 30,000 of which amount Rs. 15,000 were at once paid you; so I enclose a cheque for the same amount again, making altogether Rs. 30,000. If you will please grant this my request I shall always pray that blessings may wait on you from every side.'[10]

Having sealed the letter he placed it within the dog's mouth, and told him to go to his old master.

When the young merchant saw the dog running towards him, he thought that he had escaped, and that therefore his present master would soon follow and demand repayment of the money, which would not be at all convenient just then. So he determined to kill the dog; and then if the merchant came and asked for his money he would be able to say: 'Give me back my dog, and I will return to you the money.' But grief, a thousand griefs! No sooner had he slain the dog, and taken him up to bury him in some secret place, than the letter dropped out of the animal's mouth. The young merchant picked up the letter, and on reading it, dropped down insensible.[11]

[10] Specimens of the mode of addressing letters to persons of different rank are given in *Vigne's Travels in Kashmir, &c.*, Vol. II. pp. 137, 138.

[11] Concerning *story-telling to explain the situation* Capt. Temple has the following note in *Wide-awake Stories*. Such stories are "commonly brought in to explain and elucidate the difficulties of the tale when the *deus ex machina* is not employed, thus the murder by mistake of goldsmith's wife in place of ogress is explained in *Folk-tales in Bengal*, 150 ff. and hero is recognised by his relating his story, *Indian Fairy Tales*, 191ff. The idea frequently occurs, *Old Deccan Days*, 90, 139, 145ff; *Indian Antiquary*, IX. 8; IV. 59, 263." [This story, however, seems to refer to that extensive series of tales in which the machinations of the wicked wife or mistress are counteracted by the stories of the King's advisers. See the Sindibad Cycle, *passim*.—ED.]

The prince told this sad story with much feeling, so that the king and all the assembly were much moved by its narration.[12] Not the slightest sound was heard in the *darbâr* when the prince, after pausing a few minutes, said, even more solemnly than before, " O King, you have commanded our speedy execution; but we are as innocent as that poor dog. May it not be that you will regret this hasty work, and like the young merchant, of whom I have spoken, repent when it is too late."

" The order is irrevocable," whispered the king, " I cannot hear the man."

Then another of the princes prostrated himself before the throne and begged that he, too, might be permitted to say something before he died.

" Say on," said the king, slightly waving his right hand.

The prince began:—" O great and gracious King, there was in times long past a celebrated *shikârî*,[13] who entirely supported himself by the several beasts and birds which he killed in the jungle. One day it happened that nothing came to his hand. He was in great distress about this, as there was no food in the house for the morrow. So he went on some three days wandering further and further into the jungle in the hope of getting something, till at last he came to a hut outside which some *shikârîs* were sitting. They asked him who he was and whence he came; and when they heard that he was in search of food and had not partaken of any for three days, they set some meat and bread before him, and promised to take him in a short while to a spot where *shikâr*[14] would certainly be found.

After a good meal and a refreshing sleep he and one of the other *shikârîs* went in a certain direction in the jungle and killed a *bârah-singâ*,[15] some smaller animals, and a bird or two. These the other *shikârîs* would not think of touching.

'No, no,' they said, 'these are yours. Take them home quickly to your wife and children, who must be starving by this time. We would like to keep you with us longer, if it were not for the thought that you must be anxious to return home at once. However, we hope to see you again.'

'Thank you much for your goodness to me,' replied the *shikârî*. 'I shall undoubtedly come and see you often, and shall always be ready to help such friends as you have proved to be. Had it not been for your timely aid, I and my house would have perished. Of course you will see me again.'

On arriving at his house he found his wife and family almost dead from starvation. They had waited and waited for his return, until they had become quite ill from want of something to eat. So he quickly got a fire ready, cooked some venison, and made some broth.

The next day they were well and happy again, and related to each other all their wretched experiences; and blessed the *shikârîs* in the jungle, who had been so kind to them.

In a few days the *shikârî* told his wife that he must visit his friends in the jungle, as he had promised that he would go and see them again soon. So he prepared some presents and went. The other *shikârîs* were very glad to see him, and treated him right hospitably. He stayed with them many days, during which he did much hunting, and arranged that the beautiful daughter of the chief of the party should be married to his son; for thus the two families would be bound together by other than ties of friendship.

In due time the wedding took place and the bridegroom was invited to come and sleep in his father-in-law's house. He went, and in the middle of the night the happy pair were disturbed in their slumbers by a great howling of jackals. Now it happened that the bride understood the speech of every bird and animal. Accordingly as she lay awake listening, she heard the jackals saying to one another, 'A dead body is floating down this river and round one of the arms of the corpse there is a bracelet of five precious stones. Where is that person who will go and drag the body to shore and take off the bracelet of precious stones, and thus do three good works, *viz.*, cleanse the river of this pollution, save the five precious stones from being lost altogether in the bed of the river, and provide us poor hungry beasts with a good meal?'

[12] Evidently a popular story, as it appears as a legend of Haidarâbâd, and is told by the Marri Baloches: cf. *Pañjâb Notes and Queries*, Vol. III. pp. 94-95. Compare also the Sinhalese story, "The widow and the Mongoose," and the story in the *Hitôpadêsa* of the "Brâhmaṇ and the Weasel." In the story of "Gelert by Spence" groundwork is the same. Perhaps other similar tales in Europe?

[13] *Shikârî*, a hunter.

[14] *Shikâr*, game.

[15] *Bârah-singâ*, a twelve-tiner (*Cervus elaphus*).

When she heard this, the bride rose from her bed, and walked out towards the river.[16] Her husband, also, moved by curiosity went after her unawares. On reaching the brink of the water the woman leapt in and swam towards the floating corpse, which was just discoverable in the faint moonlight. She seized the body, and having pulled it to the bank, she took off the beautiful bracelet, that was tied round one of the arms, and then returned to the house.

Her husband arrived first, as he had not waited while she untied the bracelet. 'What can she have gone to the river for and bathed at this time of the night?' he thought. No sleep came to him because of this, but his wife slept soundly till the morning light.

According to custom, the husband on rising immediately went to the river for a bath. What was his horror and disgust to find in the very place where his wife had jumped in during the night, a half-eaten body of a human being! He said within himself, 'My wife must be a *rákshasí*.[17] She has devoured half of this body, and will certainly come and devour the remainder on the next night.' Thinking this he feared to return to her, and so went by an unfrequented path back to his father and his father's house.

'Father,' he said on arrival,' 'why did you marry me to a *rákshasí*. I am sure that this woman is a *rákshasí*, because last night she feasted on a human body. In proof of this you can go and see the remains of the corpse lying on the river-side. What an unfortunate man I am!'

When the *shikârî* heard these words he thought that either his son was not speaking the truth, or else he had gone mad. So he hastened to ascertain the real state of affairs. When he was yet some distance from their house, the father of the bride and several other members of the family came forward to greet him, and to inquire the reason of his son's strange and sudden departure.

Thinking it wise to dissemble matters till the truth concerning the woman was fully known, the *shikârî* bade them not to be anxious about his son, as he was safe at home, having returned quickly in obedience to his directions. The boy was not grown up, he added, and therefore he had been ordered to return home quickly. He hoped they would forgive any apparent rudeness, and allow the bride to accompany him.

The other *shikâris* were quite satisfied with these explanations and agreed to let the bride go. After eating a little, the *shikârî* (the father of the bridegroom) went back to his house with his daughter-in-law.

He soon managed to walk behind her, for he was afraid to keep up with her, lest she should really be a *rákshasí* and eat him. They had proceeded some way in this fashion, when the girl, feeling tired and weary, sat down by a little pool of water under the shade of a large and beautiful tree. The *shikârî*, also, encouraging himself in the thought that his son had, probably, only had a nightmare, sat down beside her, and taking out some provisions, with which the girl's father had supplied him, gave her some to eat.

While they thus sat, enjoying the rest and the food, and each other's conversation, a few crows gathered round and commenced cawing and making a great noise, as they hopped and flew about from branch to branch and stone to stone with eyes fixed on the scraps of the meat; ready to pounce down on the first opportunity and carry them off. One of them, an old crow, wished to be especially friendly. 'Who is that person,' he cawed, 'that can hear and understand my speech? Near the roots of this beautiful tree, there lies a potful of precious stones, and under this pot are thousands and thousands of ants, that are destroying the very life of the tree. Oh where is the person that will dig up this pot, and thus save the tree, and us who have built our nest in its branches and besides this enrich himself beyond thought and speech?' The girl heard these words and laughed and wept alternately.

On seeing this her father-in-law got very frightened. He thought that she laughed and wept because she was a *rákshasí*, and was then meditating making a meal of him. With a tremulous voice he asked her, "Of what nature are you? If you are a *rákshasí* I beg of you to spare me."

[16] Concerning *talking animals and understanding non-human language*, cf. *Wide-awake Stories*, pp. 412, 413.

[17] *Cf.* p. 303 above, note 8.

The girl, exceedingly surprised at these strange words, answered, 'I am not of a bad or sanguinary nature. What have you observed in me, or heard about me, to prompt such a question?'

'How came that half-devoured corpse on the river-side the other morning?" he said. "Why did you laugh and weep just now, and almost in the same breath?'

'What! shall I tell you?' she said. 'Are you really supposing me to be a *rákshasí* for these reasons? Is this the cause of my husband, your son's, sudden disappearance? Is it on this account that you have walked behind me almost all the way here? What folly! What wrong is this! Listen to the truth of the case. On the night of the day that your son visited my father's house, the jackals prowled about the place and made such a noise, that we both awoke. Their conversation was loud and long that night, and no wonder, for they had seen a corpse floating slowly down the river, and on one of the arms of the corpse, they said, a beautiful bracelet was fastened. Understanding their speech I thought that I would go down and drag this corpse to land and get the bracelet. Look, here it is; and she showed it to her father-in-law wrapped up in a dirty piece of cloth. The dead body, I left on the river bank. Perhaps the jackals came afterwards and devoured it. I did not, you may be sure. It was a half-eaten corpse, that your son probably saw in the early morning, and as he had very likely noticed my going to the river in the middle of the night, he thought that I must be a *rákshasí* and therefore have devoured the body. And so he fled.'

Saying this, she laughed heartily. The *shikárí*, also, could not help laughing.

'And then again,' she continued, 'just now a crow perched on yonder branch, and by cawing said that much treasure was concealed near the roots of this tree. Understanding the speech of birds also, I laughed and cried from joy at the thought that I should get further treasure, and thus be able to bring ease and pleasure to my husband and family. Wasn't that quite rational? O please do not think me to be a *rákshasí*, or anything of that nature. I wish to be a faithful wife to your son, and to do good to all people.'

The *shikárí* was very glad to hear this. He thoroughly believed his daughter-in-law's words.

Presently they both dug together round the roots of the tree and found the treasure—some most valuable stones and riches. In the excitement of the moment the *shikárí* embraced the girl, and begged her to forgive both him and his son for their misapprehensions concerning her.

Most happily they recommenced their journey. It was a beautiful road. The trees made one long avenue, through which they walked in a most grateful shade the whole way; flowers of every form and beauty strewed the ground, and streams meandered in all directions carrying with them life and strength and gladness.

From one of these streams the *shikárí*, feeling thirsty, asked his daughter-in-law to bring him some water. She at once obeyed, and as she stooped down to take the water a frog croaked and said, 'In the name of mercy will nobody listen? Within this stream a treasure lies concealed; and therefore the stream is filled with insects. Who will hear me and take out the treasure? Thus would the waters be healed and travellers, who drink of it, be benefited; the frogs would be able to enjoy themselves without hindrance from unpleasant pains in the stomach, which they are constantly experiencing from life in this water; while the finder of the treasure would be enriched beyond all want.'

On hearing this the girl went at once and told her father-in-law, who immediately came to the stream and found the treasure. Having securely fastened it round their waists they proceeded on their journey.[15] When they arrived near the house the *shikárí* asked his daughter-in-law to go on ahead. She did so, and while she approached the entrance of th house her husband saw her; and observir that she was alone, he at once thought tl she had killed his father and now she v coming to slay and eat him. And there he armed himself with a sword, and wher came up expecting to be welcomed by

[14] Kásmírís have various devices for carrying their money or other little valuables. Sometimes they conceal it in their turbans; sometimes in their *kamarbands*; sometimes in their sleeve cuffs; sometimes in th if the thing is small; and sometimes tie it up in the end of their *Ásidar*, or wrap.

husband and looking forward to showing him their great wealth, he struck off her head.

In the course of an hour his father reached the house. 'O father,' said the son. 'God be praised that you have been preserved from the hands of this blood-stained woman! Be glad now. Henceforth we shall dwell in peace and safety. I have slain her. Behold her life-blood stains the door-way.'

When he saw the marks of blood about the place the *shikârî* fell down insensible. It was a long time before he again came to his senses. Great was his grief, but greater the grief of the hasty husband, when he heard the truth of the case.[19]

There was perfect silence during the narration of this story. With great power the moral seemed to be brought home to the heart of the king. "O king, our father," the prince said in conclusion, "be not hasty, we beseech you, concerning this matter of our execution, lest you also come into similar grief."

His Majesty, however, hardened his heart and would not hear the thing.

Then another of the princes prostrated himself before the throne and begged to be permitted to speak. He said:—"Many years ago there lived a king, whose favourite sport was falconry. One day this king visited a certain jungle for *shikâr*, and reached a spot where he had never been before. He was so charmed with the place that he ordered his tents to be pitched there. While this was being done His Majesty got very thirsty and asked for some water. According to custom a sword was in the right hand of the king, a hawk perched on the left, and the royal flag in front, and so it happened, that when the king was about to drink, the hawk flapped its wings and upset the cup. A servant went and brought some more water, but again the hawk caused it to be spilled. This time the king vas angry and spoke harshly to the bird. gain a servant went and got some water, but r the third time, when His Majesty took hold the cup and lifted it to his mouth, the k fluttered about tremulously, upsetting the r and discomposing the king exceedingly. His Majesty was very angry, and raising his sword killed the bird.[20]

On this one of the *wazîrs* came up and suggested that there was some special reason for the hawk's persistent and apparent rudeness. Perhaps some evil was in the cup.

The king then ordered that the stream whence the servant had brought the water should be thoroughly examined. For some distance nothing was discovered till they came to another little stream running into it, whose waters were of a greenish hue. This tributary stream they also followed, and in a short while came on a large python,[21] out of whose mouth green slime (rank poison) trickled. Frightened at the sight of this terrible monster the servants ran back to the camp as fast as they could.

When His Majesty heard their account, he beat his breast and tore his beard, saying, "Oh why was I so hasty! I have slain my preserver! My handsome, faithful falcon is no more! Oh that I had waited to inquire the reason of the bird's behaviour!'"[22]

'"O King, our father," added the prince after a few moment's pause; "we beseech you to inquire thoroughly before you deliver us over to death."

Then the king began to relent. He doubted the truth of the queen's story, though he did not know how else to account for the marks of blood on Her Majesty's toes and the presence of the eldest prince in their private room at that time. "Tell me," he said, turning to his eldest son and heir, who as yet had kept perfectly silent, "everything concerning last night; and if you can answer satisfactorily then you and your brethren shall go free."

The eldest prince having prostrated himself before the throne, replied:—

"O King, our father, your goodness and kindness are well known to all men. We do not hesitate to answer you about this matter; for our consciences are clean, and we are assured that Your Majesty will receive us again to your confidence, when you have listened to our petition.

"While going my rounds one night, I reached

r an interesting variant of this tale, *cf. Folktales of* pp. 150, 153.

Legends of the Panjâb, Vol. I. p. 167ff.

ir (Persian *azhdar*, Sanskrit *ajagara*), a pent, a python, a dragon, a boa-constrictor which is said to be known in the Valley, though I very much doubt it. A native gentleman told me that it had been seen on the Jammûn side of the Pîr-Pantsâl.

[22] *Cf.* variant of this story, *Folktales of Bengal*, p. 154.

a hut, where lived a Brâhmaṇ and his wife. Attracted by the man's strange behaviour,—for he came out of the hut, looked up at the heavens and then went in again exclaiming *trâh trâh*,—I drew nearer to the place, and heard that Your Majesty's star had been destroyed by another star, and that this meant that Your Majesty would die on a certain night. From further conversation between the Brâhmaṇ and his wife, I learnt that a serpent would descend from the sky to kill Your Majesty, and would enter the palace by the door that opens into the court to the east. There was no hope of safety, said the Brâhmaṇ, unless one of Your Majesty's relations would dig pits in the palace-court, whence the snake would enter, and fill them with milk and water, and cover the pools thus made with flowers, so that the snake by passing through them might lose its poison;—and further, the man who would do this thing, must also slay the snake before it entered the palace, and smear some of its warm blood over Your Majesty's toes.

"Therefore, O King, our father, I took upon myself to do this. I was present at the door on the east of the palace at the appointed time. The pits were dug and everything arranged as the Brâhmaṇ had ordered. The serpent came and I duly slew it. And then, fearing to enter Your Majesty's private room with my eyes open, I blindfolded myself. Hence the mistake I made of putting the blood on the queen's toes instead of on Your Majesty's. No *râkshasa* entered Your Majesty's room.

"O King, our father, why do you suspect us? We are true sons. You have listened to the words of the queen, who wishes her own sons to have the throne and the great places in the kingdom, and so has maligned us. We have never deceived you, O king, or wished you harm."

The king hung down his head in sorrow and shame. In a few minutes he arose and dismissed the assembly, saying: "Ye have heard. I will go myself and ascertain the truth of these things."

Accompanied by his four eldest sons, the king went and saw the pits that had been dug and the blood-stained place where the dead body of the snake had been thrown. He then visited the Brâhmaṇ's hut and closely interrogated him concerning the eventful night. All was found to be perfectly correct.

There was great rejoicing in the city that night, when the news was blazed abroad how near the four princes had been to death, and how they had been saved. It was soon arranged for these princes to govern the land. The eldest son became king, and the other sons were appointed *wazîrs*. They lived together most amicably and prospered much. The poor Brâhmaṇ and his wife were well-provided for during the remainder of their lives. The plotting, malicious queen was divorced and exiled. The old king retired to a jungle, that he might entirely devote himself to meditation and prayer. In this jungle he obtained a very great reputation for sanctity, and at length died at a very great old age.[23]

[23] *Cf.* variant of this story, *Folktales of Bengal*, "Strike but hear,' pp. 147-159.—[There can be little doubt that the Sindibâd cycle of oriental folktales is responsible for the form that this story is made to take.—ED.]

VALABHI INSCRIPTIONS, NO. XVIII.

BY G. BUHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; VIENNA.

(*Continued from* Vol. XI. *p.* 309.)

A NEW GRANT OF DHARASENA IV.

The subjoined transcript of a new grant of Dharasêna IV. of Valabhî, has been made according to a reversed photozincograph which I owe to the kindness of Dr. J. Burgess.

The original plates, which, as I learn from Dr. Burgess, were found last year in the Khêḍâ (Kaira) Collectorate, seem to be in good preservation, as only a few letters of the second page of the photozincograph are illegible. Their measurements appear to be about 1' inches by $10\frac{1}{4}$. The first plate contains 28 li and the second 29, the two last being so what shortened in order to make room for royal signature,—स्वहस्तो मम.[1] The chara agree most closely with those of the inscri of Dharasêna IV. published in this Journa I. p. 14, and Vol. VII. p. 73. The te execution of the inscription is good. Tl few clerical mistakes, and few misshaper

[1] The two horizontal strokes which the facsi after मम. do not represent the *visarga*, but i end of a *Mahâvâkya* just like the more comm strokes.

The *Vaṁśâvali* contains nothing new. But the document offers a good many other points of interest.

First, we learn from line 1, that, like the grant discussed *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 73, and Vol. X. p. 278, it was issued "from the camp of victory located at Bharukachchha." Whether we take this phrase to indicate that Dharasêna IV. was at the time engaged in a warlike expedition, or was making a royal progress through his dominions, the inevitable conclusion is that the Broach district, as far as the Narmadâ, belonged for a time at least to the kingdom of Valabhî.

Secondly, the statements regarding the recipient of the royal bounty allow us to trace the ancient name of one of the *bhêdas* of the Brâhmaṇs still existing in Gujarât. According to lines 41-42 the donee was the Brâhmaṇ Aditiśarman, son of the Brâhmaṇ Bhavînâga, a student of the Vâjasanêyiśâkhâ and a member of the race of Parâśara It is further alleged that he was an emigrant from Udumbaragahvara, resided in Khêṭaka or Khêḍâ, and belonged to the community[2] of the Udumbaragahvara-Chaturvêdîs. These phrases show that Udumbaragahvara was the ancient name of a country or of a town, and that a Brâhmaṇical community, consisting of emigrants from Udumbaragahvara, was settled in Khêḍâ, and kept itself separate from the other Brâhmaṇs of that town. I have never found Udumbaragahvara used elsewhere as a geographical name. As names of towns and villages, formed with *umar*, one of the modern representatives of the Sanskrit *udumbara*, are common on the map of India, I conclude that Udumbaragahvara was the name of a town; it means literally 'a thicket of *udumbara*-trees.' [illegible] regards the Udumbaragahvara-Chaturvêdîs, [illegible] are, I think, the forefathers of the present [illegible]mbara or Udambara[3] Brâhmaṇs, who are [illegible]d in considerable numbers in the Khêḍâ [illegible] Ahmadabâd Collectorates, in the Pañch[illegible]s, and in the Barôda territory. They still [illegible] that they are immigrants; and their [illegible] justified by the fact that a great number [illegible]mbaras are found in the provinces east and south-east of Gujarât. The antiquity of the Udumbaras is attested by the statement which Bhavabhûti makes regarding himself, that he was an Udumbara and a native of Vidarbha or Berâr.[4] The representation of Udumbaragahvara by Udumbara, is justified by the rule according to which, for proper names and other *saṁjñâs*, expressed by a compound, the first or the second part alone may be used, as Bhîma for Bhîmasêna and Bhâmâ for Satyabhâmâ.

Thirdly, the description of the objects granted furnishes an interesting contribution to the ancient geography of Gujarât. According to lines 43-50, Aditiśarman received two fields and a *bhṛishṭi*. One of the fields which required to be sown with two *ṭṭipiṭukas* (?) of rice according to the measure of Khêṭaka, was situated in the *âhâra* or Zillâ of Khêṭaka, in Kôlamba, in the south-eastern portion of the *sîm* of the village Vaḍḍasômâlikâ. Its boundaries were, to the east the *sîm* of the village of Sîhamuhijja; to the south the *sîm* of the village of Viśvapalli; to the west a field (called) Śamîkêdâra, *i.e.* the field where Śamî grows, belonging to Drôṇa; to the north a field (called) Khaggaḍikêdârî, *i.e.* the small field where Khaggaḍi grows, belonging to Mahêśvara. Looking at the Trigonometrical Survey Map, it is very probable that Vaḍḍasômâlikâ[5] is the modern Vaṁtwâlî, east of Mahmudâbâd. To the east of the south-eastern *sîm* of Vaṁtwâlî lies the large village of Sîhuñj or Suñj, which is clearly the Sîhamuhijja of the grant. Exactly to the south of the south-eastern boundary of Vaṁtwâlî, we have the village of Vansol, the name of which closely corresponds to Viśvapalli; in Gujarâtî *palli* becomes regularly *ol*; and *vaṁs* for *viśva* is not very extraordinary in a language where *Sirô pi śaratam gataḥ*. If these identifications are accepted, Kôlamba must be the name of a territorial subdivision of, and must correspond to a portion of, the Mahmudâbâd Tâlukâ. The second field required to be sown with two *piṭhakas* (?) of rice according to the measure of Khêṭaka, was called *kôṭila*, a name which I do not understand, and was situa-

[illegible] *Siṁhana* with Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, *ante*, [illegible] p. 8, in the sense of 'community.'

[illegible] Gerilal U. Yajnik, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* [illegible] 10, No. 17 of the list.

[illegible], pp. v. and 11 (Bhandarkar).

[5] The disappearance of the *s* is explained by its change to *h* in the dialect of Khêḍâ. An intermediate form probably was Vaṁthuvâli. The spelling Vaṁthwâlî still occurs.

ted in the *sîm* of the village of Duhuduhu which belonged to the Nagarakapathaka, *i.e.* the *pathi* or Tâlukâ immediately surrounding the town, *i.e.* probably Khêḍâ itself. Its boundaries were: to the east a field belonging to the *Mahattara* Gôllaka, called Âṭiramaṇakêdâra, *i.e.* the playground of the Turdas Gingerius and a *Kṛandak'tara* (?) belonging to Sabbhiaka; to the south the *sîm* of the village of Jaiṇṇapalli: to the west the *sîm* of the village of Guḍḍapallikâ: to the north the Âralikêdâra, the Samikedâra, and two anthills. The want of a portion of the Trig. Surv. Map makes exact identifications of the villages named impossible. But I remember perfectly well to have visited a village Jainol in the Khêḍâ District. The *bhrishṭi* lay in the *pathaka*, the *pâdr* or grazing-place, of Duhuduhikâ, on the eastern *sîm*.[6] Its boundaries were, to the east a *kapitthaudani* (*i.e.* an *udani* near a *kapittha*-tree): to the south a small field (*kêdârikâ*) called Viśiṇṇo (Viśîrṇa?); to the west a *kapitthôdani*: to the north two *udanis* beyond the *brahmadêya*-field, belonging to the Brâhmaṇ Vairabhaṭa. The word *bhrishṭi*, which occurs here for the first time in a Valabhi grant, probably means, like its modern Hindi representative *bhiṭ* or *bhîṭ*,[7] 'raised ground near a tank for planting Piper betel upon.' The hitherto unknown term *udani*, which is associated with it, seems from its etymological import to designate a reservoir of water or a channel for the purpose of irrigation. I do not think that the meaning शून्यवाटिका given for *bhrishṭi* (with a short *i*) in the Kôshas[8] can be possibly here intended. Among the conditions of the grant (lines 49-52) the expression *pûrvapravṛittadêvabrahmadêyabrâhmaṇaviṁśatirahitam*, *i.e.* "with the exclusion of grants to gods and Brâhmaṇs, and of the *twentieth (to be paid) to Brâhmaṇs*," deserves attention, because the other inscriptions do not mention the twentieth payable to Brâhmaṇs. The payment of this tax is occasionally recommended to Vaiśyas and Śûdras in works on Dharma.

Fourthly, the name of the *Dûtaka*, or representative of the king for the conveyance of the grant, is very interesting. Just as in the Aliṇâ grants, published *ante*, Vol. VII. pp. 73ff. and 76ff., a royal lady, the princess Bhûvâ, is entrusted with this office. Dharasêna's grant, which belongs to the Aliṇâ collection, names the *râjaduhitṛi-Bhûpâ*. Probably the same person is meant here. *Bhûpâ* may be only a misspelling for *Bhûvâ*.

Finally the date of our inscription, सं ३००+३० द्वि मार्ग्गशिर सु २, is of the utmost importance, and settles, I think, the question regarding the beginning of the era used in the Valabhi grants. As soon as I saw it, I thought that, taking into consideration the double date of the grant of Śilâditya-Dhruvabhaṭa,[9] it must be taken to stand for संवत्सरशतत्रये त्रिंशदधिके द्वितीयमार्गशिरसि शुद्धद्वितीयायां (तिथौ), literally "in the third (completed) century, increased by thirty, in the second (month of) Mârgaśirsha, on the second lunar day)." It also seemed to me most probable that the expression द्वितीयमार्गशिरसि must indicate the occurrence of an intercalation of the month of Mârgaśîrsha in the year 330 or 331 of the era of the Valabhi grants, and that with this interpretation the date would be useful for testing the various theories put forward with respect to the initial year of the era. Some friends, to whom I communicated the fact and my explanation, raised a weighty objection by pointing out to me that, according to the method of intercalation actually used in India, the months Mârgaśirsha, Pausha, and Mâgha, cannot be intercalated at all. It was possible to meet this by answering that, considering the numerous changes introduced by the Hindus at various times into their astronomical calculations, the present Indian method might be late invention, and not applicable to the ea[rly] inscriptions. Still, the possibility of a mist[ake] on the part of the writer of the grant c[an]not be denied.[10] It, therefore, remained ha[zardous] to use a date, which might be reason[ably]

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[6] Above l. 15 it is stated that the *bhrishṭi* lay in the *sîm* of Valh... ...ikâ.

[7] H. H. Wilson, *Gloss. of Jud. and Rev. Terms*; Elliot, *Races of the N. W. Prov.* Vol. II. 235.

[8] See the *P... D... s.v. ...*

[9] *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 86. संवत्सरशतचतुष्टये सचत्वारिंशद-धि[के] ज्येष्ठशुद्धपंचम्यां अङ्कत[:] सवत् (संवत्) ४०० ४० ७ ज्येष्ठ शु ५ II. See now also Fleet, *Corpu[s] In[scr.]* Vol. III. No. 39.

[10] Another interpretation, the assumption that ... belong to the preceding figures! and that the y[ear] ...32, is barred by the fact that according to ...lished grants Dhruvasêna III. was on the thro[ne] ...bhi in Saṁvat 332, and by the impossibility [of] the use of द्वि for the symbol for 2 in inscripti[ons] ...

suspected, for the final settlement of an important chronological question. The doubts regarding the correctness of our date have, however, been dispelled of late by Mr. C. Bendall's discovery of a Nêpâl inscription which plainly mentions an intercalation of the month Pausha. It is given as No. II., Pl. ix., in Mr. Bendall's *Journey in Nepal*, pp. 74-76. Its date runs—*Saṁvat* 34 *prathama Pausha śukladvitîyâyâm*, "the year 34, first (month of) Pausha, on the second (lunar day) of the bright half." *Prathamapausha* gives no sense at all, if it is not taken to indicate that in that particular year the month of Pausha occurred twice, or was intercalatory. Further, if Pausha was intercalated, the rule of intercalation, used in the old almanacs of Nêpâl, must have differed from that adopted by the Jôshîs of later times. As Mr. Bendall's inscription belongs to Aṁśuvarman, and hence the year mentioned refers to the Śrîharsha era, it could be ascertained by astronomical calculation, whether according to any possible method the month of Pausha could be intercalated in the years 640-41 A.D. Two eminent astronomers, Professor Adams of Cambridge and Dr. Schram of Vienna, before whom the facts were placed, have both arrived at the result that with the use of the elements of the *Brahma-Siddhânta*, a *mean intercalation* of Pausha is obtained for the year 640 A.D., which corresponds to Śrîharsha-Saṁvat 34 (running).[11] It is, therefore, evident that the ancient almanac of Nêpâl took into account the mean intercalation alone, and that it ignored the modern method, which admits of an intercalation only in case two new moons occur in one solar month which has been exactly calculated according to the entrance of the sun into the particular sign of the zodiac. Dr. Schram is of opinion that the incorrect assumption of an equal length of the solar months forms the basis of the doctrines of the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, enunciated in verses of the first chapter,[12] and that thus some [mo]st of the older Indian astronomers were ignorant of or disregarded the fact that the solar months of winter are shorter than the others.

Encouraged by the wording of the Nêpâl date and its interpretation by the astronomers, I placed before Dr. Schram the question whether an intercalation of Mârgaśirsha was possible in the years 496-498 A.D. (166-167 + 330-331, or in the years 519-521 A.D. (189-190 + 330-331) or, finally, in the years 648-650 (318-319 + 330-331). I chose these three different periods in order to test the well-known three theories regarding the beginning of the Gupta era, which has been placed by General Cunningham in 167 A.D., by Sir E. C. Bayley in 190 A.D., and by Bêrûnî in 319 A.D. Dr. Schram. whose elaborate calculations have been printed at length in my German paper on this inscription, answered:—(1) That, among the years mentioned, 497, 518, and 648 A.D. were intercalatory;[13]—(2) That according to the method of calculating intercalations which is used at present, the intercalatory months would be respectively Jyaishtha, Bhâdrapada, and Kârttika;—(3) But that according to the rule for mean intercalations Mârgaśirsha would be intercalatory[14] in 648 A.D. This result, it seems to me, leaves no doubt possible with respect to the chronology of the Valabhî kings, whose dates, lying between Saṁ. 207 and Saṁ. 447, are thus shown to range from 525-6 to 765-6 A.D. This discovery destroys one of the most important arguments for placing the initial date of the Gupta era earlier than 318-19 A.D., as it is now evident that Śîlâditya VI., surnamed Dhrûbhaṭa, cannot be the *T'u-lo-ho-po-t'u* whom Hiuen Tsiang visited about the year 634 A.D. Considering the important discoveries made of late, (1) by Mr. Bendall[15] of the use of an era which began in 318-19, by Śivadêva I. of Nêpâl; and (2) by Mr. Fleet,[16] of the Mandasôr inscription, according to which Kumâragupta was lord of the whole earth in the year 494 of the Mâlavas or Mâlavêśas (*i.e.* of the Vikrama era), I now feel compelled to withdraw my opposition to the acceptance of

[11] [Th]is is on the supposition that the Śrîharsha era [bega]n 606 A.D.

[12] [See m]y article 'Ueber eine Inschrift des Königs Dhara[sena IV]. 14,' Sitz. Ber. Wiener Akademie CXI. Heft II. [Mr. Benda]ll's statement, *loc. cit.* p. 76, that Dr. Schram [found a]n intercalation of the month of Pausha to be [possible] according to the doctrines of the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, i]s based on a misconception of his words. [Dr.] Schram says in a paper submitted to Mr. [Bendall th]at, *if the elements of the Sûrya-Siddhânta are used in calculating the date of the Nêpâl inscription, Pausha will not be intercalary in Śrîharsha-Saṁvat* 34; *but that it is, if the slightly different elements of the Brahma-Siddhânta are taken*.

[13] See also Cunningham, *Book of Indian Eras*, Table xvii. pp. 153, 154, 155.

[14] See also Warren, *Kala Sankâlita*, Table xxix.

[15] See his inscription, *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 97f.

[16] See his papers "On the Epoch of the Gupta Era," and on the inscription in question, at p. 189ff. above.

Bêrûnî's statement that the Gupta era began in Saka-Saṁvat 241. Strict proof that the Mâlava era really is the Vikrama-Saṁvat, and that the Kumâragupta of the Mandasôr inscription is the Kumâragupta of the Gupta line, has still to be furnished. But the probability that these assumptions are correct, is very strong.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 ओं स्वस्ति विजयस्कन्धावाराद्भरुकच्छवासकात्प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणां मैत्रकाणामतुलबलसम्पन्नम-
2 ण्डलाभोगसंसक्तप्रहारशतलब्धप्रतापात्प्रतापोपनतादानमानार्ज्जवोपार्ज्जितानुरागादनुरक्तमौल-
3 भृतश्रेणीबलावाप्तराज्यश्रियः परममाहेश्वरश्रीभटार्क्कादव्यवच्छिन्नराजवङ्शान्मातापितृचरणारविन्दप्र-
4 णतिप्रविधौताशेषकल्मषः शैशवात्प्रभृति खड्गद्वितीयबाहुरेव समदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितसत्व-
5 निकष[:] तत्प्रभावप्रणताराति‌चूडारत्नप्रभासंसक्तपादनखरश्मिसङ्हतिः सकलस्मृतिप्रणीतमार्ग्गसम्यक्परिपा-
6 लनप्रजाहृदयरञ्जनान्वर्त्थराजशब्दो रूपकान्तिस्थैर्य्यगाम्भीर्य्यबुद्धिसम्पद्भिः स्मरशशाङ्काद्रिराजोदधित्रिदश-
7 गुरुधनेशानतिशयानः शरणाशताभयप्रदानपरतया तृणवदपास्ताशेषस्वकार्य्यफलप्रार्त्थनाधिकार्त्थ-
8 प्रदानानन्दितविद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदयः पादचारीव सकलभुवनमण्डलाभोशप्रमोदः परममाहेश्वर-
9 श्रीगुहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादनखमयूखसन्तानविसृतजाह्नवीजलौघप्रक्षालिताशेषकल्मषः प्रणयिशतसह-
10 स्रोपजीव्यमानसम्पद्रूपलोभादिवाश्रितः सरभसाभिगामिकैर्ग्गुणैस्सहजशक्तिशिक्षाविशेषविस्मापिताखिलधनु-
11 र्द्धरः प्रथमनरपतिसमतिसृष्टानामनुषालयिता धर्म्मदायानामपाकर्त्ता प्रजोपघातकारिणामुपप्लवानां दर्श-
12 यिता श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिवासस्य सङ्हताराति‌पक्षलक्ष्मीपरिभोगदक्षविक्रमो विक्रमोपसंप्राप्तविमलपार्त्थिवश्री[:]
13 परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुध्यातः सकलजगदानन्दनात्यद्भुतगुणसमुदयस्थगितसमग्रदिङ्[ण्ड]-
14 लः समरशतविजयशोभासनाथमण्डलाग्रद्युतिभासुरतरान्सपीठोदूढगुरुमनोरथमहाभारः सव्वविद्यापरा-
15 वरविभागाधिगमविमलमतिरपि सर्व्वतस्सुभासिनलवेनापि सुखोपपादनीयपरितोषः समग्रलोकागाध-
16 गाम्भीर्य्यहृदयोपि सुचरितातिशयसुव्यक्तपरमकल्याणस्वभावः खिलीभूतकृतयुगनृपतिपथविशोधनाधिगतो-
17 दग्रकीर्त्तिर्द्धर्म्मानुपरोधोज्ज्वलतरीकृतार्त्थसुखसम्पदुपसेवानिरूढधर्म्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशीलादित्यः
18 तस्यानुजस्तत्पादानुध्यात[:] स्वयमुपे[न्द्र]गुरुणेव गुरुणात्यादरवता : समभिलषणीयामपि राजलक्ष्मीं स्कन्धसक्तां परमभद्र
19 इव धुर्य्यस्तदाज्ञासम्पादनैकरसतयैवोद्वहन्खेदसुखरतिभ्यामनायासितसत्वसम्पत्तिः प्रभावसम्पद्वशीकृत-
20 नृपतिशतशिरोरत्नच्छायोपगूढपादपीठोपि परावज्ञाभिमानरसानालिङ्गितमनोवृत्तिः प्रणतिमेकां परित्यज्य
21 प्रख्यातपौरुषाभिमानैरप्यरातिभिरनासादितप्रतिक्रियोपायः कृतनिखिलभुवनामोदविमलगुणसङ्हतिप्र-
22 सभविघटितसकलकलिविलसितगतिर्न्नीचजनाधिरोहिभिरशेषैर्द्दोषैरनामृष्टात्युन्नतहृदय· प्रख्यातपौरुषास्त्र-
23 कौशलातिशयगणतिथविपक्षक्षितिपतिलक्ष्मीस्वयंग्रहप्रकाशितप्रवीरपुरुषः प्रथमसंख्याधिगमः परममाहेश्वर-
24 श्रीखरग्रहस्तस्य तनयस्तत्पादानुध्यातः सकलविद्याधिगमविहितनिखिलविद्वज्जनमनःपरितोषातिशयः सत्वस-
25 म्पदा त्यागौदार्य्येण च विगतानुसन्धानाशमाहिताराति‌पक्षमनोरथाक्षभङ्गः सम्यगुपलक्षितानेकशास्त्रकला-
26 लोकचरितगह्वरविभागोपि परमभद्रप्रकृतिरकृत्रिमप्रश्रयविनयशोभाविभूषणः समरशत-
27 जयपताकाहरणप्रत्यग्रोदग्रबाहुदण्डविध्वन्सितनिखिलप्रतिपक्षदर्प्पोदयः स्वधनुःप्रभावपरि
28 भूतास्त्रकौशलाभिमानसकलनृपतिमण्डलाभिनन्दितशासनः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्यानु

Second Plate.

29 तत्पादानुध्यातः सचरितातिशयितसकलपूर्व्वनरपतिरतिदुस्साधानामपि प्रसाध
30 विषयाणां मूर्त्तिमानिव पुरुषकारः परिवृद्धगुणानुरागनिर्भरचित्तवृत्तिभिम्मनुरिव
31 मभ्युपपन्नः प्रकृतिभिरधिगतकलाकलापः कान्तिमान्निर्वृतिहेतुरकलङ्क × कुमुदनाथ·
32 तापस्थगितदिगन्तरालप्रध्वन्सितध्वान्तराशिस्सततोदितस्सविता प्रकृतिभ्यः परं प्रत्ययमर्त्थवन्तमति

Line 1, read ओं. L. 2, read °पनतदान°. L. 7, read शरणागता°. L. 8, read °लाभोग°. L. 10, read °माभिगामि°. L. 11, read °मनुपाल°. L. 14, read °विद्या°. सुभाषित°. L. 23, read प्रथमपुरुष°. L. 30, rea

33 प्रयोजनानुबद्धमागमपरपूर्ण्णं विद्धानः सन्धिविग्रहसमासनिश्चयनिपुणः स्थानेनुरूपमादेशं ददद्गुण-
34 वृद्धिविधानजनितसंस्कारस्साधूनां राज्यसालातुरीयतन्त्रयोरुभयोरपि निष्णातः प्रकृष्टविक्रमोपि करुणामृदु-
35 हृदयः श्रुतवानप्यगर्व्वितः कान्तोपि प्रशमी स्थिरसौहृदय्योपि निरसिता दोषवतामुदयसमयसमुपजनित-
36 जनतानुरागपरिपिहितभुवनसमर्थितप्रथितबालादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीध्रुवसेनस्तस्य सुत
37 तत्पादकमलप्रणामधरणिकषणजनितकिणलाञ्छनललाटचन्द्रशकलः शिशुभाव एव श्रवणनिहितमौक्तिका-
38 लङ्कारविभ्रमामलश्रुतविशेष प्रदानसलिलक्षालिताग्रहस्तारविन्दः कन्याया इव मृदुकरग्रहणादमन्दीकृतानन्द-
39 विधिर्व्वसुन्धरायाः कार्म्मुके धनुर्व्वेद इव सम्भाविताशेषलक्ष्यकलापः प्रणतसामन्तमण्डलोत्तमाङ्गधृत-
चूडारत्नायमा-
40 नशासनः परममाहेश्वरः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरचक्रवर्त्तिश्रीधरसेन × कुशली सर्व्वानेव समाज्ञाप-
41 यत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रो[ः] पुण्याप्यायनाय उदुम्बरगह्वरविनिर्ग्गतखेटकवास्तव्यो-
दुम्बरगह्वरचातु-
42 र्व्वेद्यसामान्यपराशरसगोत्रवाजसनेयिसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणभवीनागशर्म्मपुत्रब्राह्मणादित्यशर्म्मणे खेटका-
43 हारे कोल्लम्बं वडुनांगलिकाग्रामपूर्व्वसीम्नि खेटकमानेन व्रीहिपिटकद्वयवापं सभूटीकं क्षेत्रं यस्या-
44 घाटनानि पूर्व्वतः संकुलिकाग्रामसीमा दक्षिणतो विश्वपल्लिग्रामसीमा अपरतो द्रोणकसत्कशर्माकेदारक्षेत्रं
45 उत्तरतो महेश्वरसत्कखण्डकेदारक्षेत्रं तथा नगरकपथकान्तर्ग्गतदुदुडुग्रामे दक्षिणापरसीम्नि खेटक-
46 मानेन व्रीहिपिटकवापं कोटिलकक्षेत्रं यस्याघाटनानि पूर्व्वतः आदित्यमणकेदारसंज्ञितं महत्तरगोल्लकसत्कक्षेत्रं
47 सब्भीलकसत्कखण्डकेदारश्च दक्षिणतः जाइग्णपल्लिग्रामसीमा अपरतो गुड्डपल्लिग्रामसिमा उत्तरत-
आगलिकेदारः शमी-
48 केदारो वल्मीकद्वयञ्च तथा पूर्व्वसीम्नि दुडुदुहिकाग्रद्रके भूटी यस्या आघाटनानि पूर्व्वतः कपित्थोन्दन-
दक्षिणतो दिशीर्ण्णोज्झित-
49 केदारिकं अपरतः कपित्थोन्दनी उत्तरतः ब्राह्मणवैरभटसत्कब्रह्मदेयक्षेत्रमतिक्रम्य उन्दनीद्वयं एवं
क्षेत्रद्वयं सभूटीकं
50 सोद्रङ्गं सोपरिकरं सभूतवातप्रत्यायं सधान्यहिरण्यादेयं सदशापराधं सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकं सर्व्व-
राजकीयानामहस्त-
51 प्रक्षेपणीयं पूर्व्वप्र[त्त]देवब्रह्मदेयब्राह्मणविंशतिरहितं भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्व्वत-
समकालीनं
52 पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यं उदकातिसर्ग्गेण धम्मदायो निसृष्टः यतोस्योचितया ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या भुञ्जतः कृषतः
कर्षयतः प्रदिश-
53 तो वा न कैश्चिद्व्यासेधे · वर्त्तितव्यमागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरप्यस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैर्व्वा अनित्यान्यैश्वर्य्याण्यस्थिरं
मानुष्यं सामान्यञ्च भूमिदानफलम-
54 वगच्छद्भिरयमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तञ्च ॥ बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य
55 तस्य तदा फलं ॥ यानीह दारिद्र्यभयान्नरेन्द्रैर्द्धनानि धर्म्मायतनीकृतानि निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को
नाम साधु पुनराददीत ॥
56 [षष्टिं]वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् दूतकोत्र
राजदुहितृभुवा ॥
57 [लिखित]मिदं सन्धिविग्रहाधीकृतदिविरपतिवत्रभट्टिपुत्रदिविरपतिश्रीस्कन्दभटेनेति । सं ३०० ३° द्विमार्ग्गशिर
शु २ स्वहस्तो मम =

AN ENGLISH-GIPSY INDEX.

[illegible]MPILED BY MRS. GRIERSON, WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY G. A. GRIERSON, B.C.S.

(*Continued from p.* 311.)

[illegible]OE-MAKER,—Choko-mengro, (Eng.); albenêngoro, triakhêngoro, (Tch.); chobotâri, (M.)

[illegible]S,—Chokkor, chokkors, (Eng.)

[illegible] to,—Empushtiava, ĕmpushtisaráva. (M.)

[illegible] karive, (M. 7.)

SHOOT, (of a tree),—Vîcha, (Tch., Psp. M., M. 8)

SHOOTER,—Pushkàshu, pushkàsh, (M.)

SHOP,—Buddigur (Eng.); duyêni, vrastîri, (Tch.), dugyàna, M.

SHOP-KEEPER,—Duyenêskoro, (Tch.)

[illegible]3, read [illegible]ऌप°. L. 34, read °शालातुरीय°. [illegible] read सन्धि[illegible]; मनः. L. 39, read कार्म्मुके; [illegible] L. 42, read [ऽ]व्वय°. L. 43. खेटकमा°. L. 47, read °सीमा. L. 48, perhaps दिशीर्ण्णसंज्ञित° to be read. L. 52, read °पौत्रा°; धर्म्म°. L. 55, read नरेन्द्रै°.

SHOPPING-DAY,—Buddikur divvus, (Eng.)
SHORE,—Mal, mâlo, mâlu, mârdzhina, (M.)
SHORT,—Khatne, (As. Tch.); skurt, (M.)
SHOT,—Pudinibê, (Tch.)
SHOULDER,—Pikko, (Eng.), pikò, vikô, (Tch., Psp. M.); pilu, (As. Tch.); pkhikò, pshiko, pshikû, (M.); phiko, (M. 8)
SHOULDER, of or belonging to,—Pikalê, (Tch.)
SHOUT,—Gudlì, godli, (Eng.)
SHOUT, to,—Bashâva, khuyâzâva, khuyâzkerâva, vikizdava, vikìzdàva, (Tch.)
SHOUT, to cause to,—Bashavâva, (Tch.)
SHOVE, to,—Kŏrnisarâva, (M.)
SHOVEL,—Mashâ, (Tch.), lopâta, (M.)
SHOW, to,—Sikkerâva, (Eng.)
SHUT, to,—Bandâva, pandâva, (Tch.); popriâva, poprisarâva, (M.); bandâva, (Psp. M.)
SHUT, to cause to,—Banliâ kerâva, (Tch.)
SHY,—Ĕnvĕlinimi, (M.)
SICK,—Naflo, (Eng.); merdô, namporemè, nasvalò, nasfalô, (Tch.); numistu, numisfu, (As. Tch.); nasfâlô, (M.); mizhekh, nasvalo, (M. 8.)
SICK, to be,—Nasvâliovâva, (Tch.); nasfal'ovâva, (M.)
SICKNESS,—Naflipen (Eng.); nasallipen, (Span. Gip.); nasvalibè, nampôrema, (Tch.); namporema, (M. 8)
SIDE,—Pashavrô, rik, sannô, (Tch.); (pl.) lĕture, pârte, (M.); pashavro, rig, (M. 8)
SIEVE,—Patrakòs, (Tch.); velvu, (As. Tch.), rèsheto, (Tch., Psp. M.); Cf. FLOUR-BOLTER.
SIFT, to,—Ushanâva, (Tch., M. 8)
SIFTED, to be,—Ushânghiovâva, (Tch.)
SIGH, to,—Acharâva, (Tch., Psp. M.), akharâva, (M. 7)
SIGHT,—Dikibê, (Tch.); fâca, (M.)
SIGN,—Simadi, (Tch.), sêmnu, (M.); simadi (M. 8)
SIGN, to, to write one's name,—Iskŏlisardovâva, (M.)
SILK,—Kayes, (Eng.); kesh, (Tch.); ibishim, (As. Tch.); quequesa, (Span. Gip.); tezh, t'esh, t'ezh, (M.); kesh, (M. 7), resh, (M. 8)
SILKEN-STUFF,—Phar, (M. 8)
SILKEN,—Keshanò, keshulanò, (Tch.), tezhalunû, (M.)
SILK-WORM,—Keshèskoro kermò, (Tch.)
SILVER,—Rup, rupenoe, (Eng.), rup, (dim.) ruporò, (Tch.); orp, (As. Tch.); rup, (M., M. 8, Psp. M.)
SILVER, of or belonging to,—Rupovanò, (Tch.); rupunò, rupunû, (M.)
SIMILAR,—sar (Psp. M.)
SIN,—Bezèh, (Tch.); bezèch, pakâto, (M.), bezeh, (M. 7)
SIN, to,—Greshisarâva, (M.)
SINCE,—Dekĕnd, (M.)
SING, to,—Ghiliabava, (Tch.); ghiliâva, ghiliovâva, (Psp. M.); delabâva, (M.); bagavâva, (M.—see SONG.)
SINGER,—(fem.) Ghiovendè, (Tch.)
SINISTER,—Bango, (Eng.)
SINK DOWN, to,—Kufundisard'ovâva, (M.)
SISTER,—Pen, (Eng.); pen, ben, (dim.) penorî, (Tch.); bèno, (As. Tch.); pen (Psp. M.), phen, (dim.) phenorê, (M.); ohen, (M. 8)
SISTER IN DEBAUCHERY,—Bloen, blowing, (Eng.)
SISTER-IN-LAW,—Salì, (Tch., Psp. M.); kumnàta, (M.)
SIT, to,—Beshâva, (Eng., Tch., M., M. 7)
SIT DOWN, to cause to,—Beshavâva, (Tch.)
SITUATION,—Stan, (M. 8)
SIX,—Sho, (Eng.); sho, shov, (Tch., Psp. M.), shov, shoú, (M.); shov, (M. 8)
SIXPENCE,—Shehaury, shohaury, (Eng.)
SIXTEEN,—Desh ta sho, (Eng.); desh-u-shov (Tch.); desh-i-shov, (Psp. M.)
SIXTH,—Shoúto, (M.)
SIXTY,—Exinda, (Tch.); shovardêri, (Psp. M.)
SIZE,—Baribê, (Tch.)
SKEIN,—Kovâri, (M.)
SKEWER, wooden,—Eskunyo, (pl.) eskanyes, (Eng.)
SKEWERS,—Spikor, skunyes, skunyor, (Eng.)
SKIN,—Mutzi, (pl.) mutzior, (Eng.), perchâs, (Tch.), morchas, (Span. Gip.), mort'î, murt'è, murt'î, murchì, (M.)
SKULL-CAP,—Stadik, sadyk, (dim.) stadikori, sad (Tch.)
SKULL-CAPS, he who makes or sells,—Stadikèngoro, (Tch.)
SKY,—Sukâr devèl, (Tch.)
SLAIN,—Moreno, (Eng.)
SLAVE,—Kiolès, (Tch.), hargât, hargâto, hargâtu, rôbo, robu, (M.)
SLAY, to,—Hetavâva, morava, morâva, (Eng.), shinàva, (M.)
SLEEP,—Sutta, suttur, sutu, lutherum, (Eng.), lindr, (Tch.); nendir, (As. Tch.), lindri, îndri, (M.); lindr, (M. 8, Psp. M.)
SLEEP, to,—Sovàva, (Eng.); sovâva, sottiovâva (Tch.); sobelar (Span. Gip.), sovella, 'he sleeps,' (Hun. Gip.); sove, (Danish); sovâva, (M.), sovâva, (M. 8, Psp. M.)
SLEEP, to cause to,—Sovarâva, sovliâ kerâva, soviarâva, (Tch.)
SLEEP, lulling to,—Lindralô, (M.)
SLEEP, to lull to,—Soulârâva, (M.)
SLEEPING,—Sottô, suttò, (Tch.)
SLEEP-SONG,—Suttur-gillie, (Eng.)
SLEEVE,—Bâi, (Tch., M. 7)
SLIP, to,—Shuvâva, (M.)
SLIPPERS,—Gh'ool, (As. Tch.); papuchi (M.)

SLOE,—Âsfo, gulô, (Tch.)
SLOUGH, (pond).—Yâzeru, (M.)
SLOWLY,—Lòkô, p'o lòko, lokĕs, lokôs, (M.); parès, (Psp. M.)
SLUMBER,—Lutherum, (Eng.)
SMALL,—Beti, tawno, tawnie, tikno, (Eng.); chinoro, (Span Gip.); khurdo, (Tch., Psp. M.); khurdo, (M. 7)
SMALL-POX,—Bugnes, bugnior, bùgones, (Eng.); ch.l, jel, (Tch.), khuruk, (As. Tch.); cheol, (M. 7)
SMALL-POX, marked by,—Chelalò, (Tch.)
SMALL PIECE, a little,—Bitti, (Eng.)
SMEAR, to,—Makàva, (M.); makhàva, (M. 8)
SMELL, a,—Mirôsu, (M.
SMELL, sweet,—Sung, (Tch.)
SMELL, sweet, of or belonging to,—Sungalò, (Tch.)
SMELL AN ODOUR, to,—Sungàva, shungàva, (Tch.); kandâva, (M.)
SMITH,—Petul-engro, (Eng.); koval'û, kovâl', kovâlî, (M.)
SMOKE,—Tuv, (Eng.); juli, (As. Tch.), thu, (M.); thuv, (M. 8)
SMOKY,—Tuvalo, tuvvalo, (Eng.)
SNAIL,—Baul, bowle, (Eng.); limalò, (Tch.)
SNAKE,—Sap, sarp, (plu.) sappors, (Eng.); chapleska, (Span Gip.); sapp, (Tch.), sapuzhos, uzh, (M.); sap, (M. 8
SNAKY,—Sapunô, (M.)
SNEAK, to,—Shuvàva, (M.)
SNEEZE, to,—Chikdâva, (Tch.), chiktàva, (Psp. M.
SNEEZING,—Chik, (Tch.), chik, (M. 7
SNORT, to,—khoroisaràva, (M.)
SNOW,—Iv, (Eng.); yiv, (Hun Gip.), give, (Span Gip.); vif, viv, (Tch.); hiv, (As. Tch.); iv, biv, (Psp. M.); yiv, (M.), iv, (M. 7)
SNOWBALL,—Iv-engri, ivi-mengri, (Eng.)
SNUFF,—Nokkupen, (Eng.)
SO,—Ashâ, ashaw, ajaw, jaw, (Eng.); kadè, (M.
SO IT IS,—Si kovar ajaw, (Eng.)
SO MUCH,—azom, abor, (Tch., M. 7)
SOAP,—Sapnis, (Eng.); sapunî, sapûi, toviardô, (Tch.); sapuyèsa, (M.); sapuni, (M. 8)
SOAPY,—Sappèskoro, (Tch.)
SOAP, he who makes or sells,—Sapuniêskoro, (Tch.)
SOFTNESS,—Kovlipê, (Tch.)
SOFT,—Kovlò, (Tch., M. 7); (adv.) lokoriečs, (M.)
SOFT, to become,—Kòvliovàva, (Tch.)
SOLD, to be,—see SELL
SOLDIER, a,—Churo-mengro, kûro-mengro,(Eng.); shubâri, (Tch.); katân, (M.); lukesto, lurdo, (M. 8)
SOLITARY,—Temialò, (Tch.)
SOLITUDE,—Korkoribè, (Tch.)
SOME,—Kacùm, (M.)
SOME ONE,—Kànek, kanèk, kânek jenò, (Tch.)
SOMETHING,—Chomany, (Eng.); kormuni, (Span Gip.)
SOMETIMES,—Kayèk, (Tch.)
SOMEWHERE,—Katinde, kathind'e, (M.)
SON,—Chal, chavo, (Eng.); raklò, rakloró, shavò, shao, shiu, (M.)
SON-IN-LAW,—Jamutrò, (Tch. Psp. M., M. 7), jardàv, jafterò, jafturi (As. Tch.)
SONG,—Gillie, (Eng.), ghili, nagharâ, (Tch.); ghili, (Psp. M.), gili, (M. 7)
SOON,—Sig, (Eng.); singò, (Span Gip.)
SORROW,—Skĕrbè, (M.)
SOUL,—Ghi, (As. Tch.); oghì, (Tch.); di, d'i, (M
SOUND,—Shelì, (Tch.); godli, (M. 7)
SOUND, to,—Bashâva, (M.)
SOUP,—Zâmi, (Eng.); zum', jumî, (Tch.); zumi, (M., M. 8)
SOUR,—Shutlò, (Tch.); batde, khati, (As. Tch.); shuklô, (M.)
SOVEREIGN, (coin)—Balanser, (Eng.)
SOW,—Balì, (Tch., M.
SOW, to,—Semeniàva, semenisaràva, (M.)
SOWN, to be,—Semenisard'ovàva, (M.
SPAN,—Pâlma, pâlmĕ, (M.)
SPAN, long, a,—Shtyopàko, (M.)
SPADE,—Pmrèngoro, changhèngoro, (Tch.
SPARK,—Skĕntĕ, (M.)
SPARROW,—Cheriklì, (M.)
SPEAK, to,—Pukkeràva, penâva, rokrâva, (Eng.), sherizâva, vrakeràva, (Tch.); vrakeràva, (Psp. M.); vakeràva, (M. 8)

MISCELLANEA.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, Vol. XL Part I.; Leipzig, 1886.—The number is in great part devoted to articles connected with the Aryan side of Oriental studies, for which the Editor apologizes, promising a counterbalance in the next number.

In the first paper Dr. Hultzsch describes part of the results of a tour in India undertaken by him in the winter of 1884-85, and the spring of the latter year. His journeys extended over the Bombay and Central Provinces, thence to Calcutta, and finally, through Banâra, Gwâliyar, Mathurâ, and the Pañjâb to Kâśmîr. Thence he returned to Bombay *viâ* Jaipur, leaving India in May 1885 for Europe. After describing his tour Dr. Hultzsch gives a list of 183 MSS. collected by him in India. It is little more than a nominal list, the Doctor stating that hitherto time for further description has failed him. It includes

the names of about 115 Jaina works which appear to be of special value. Dr. Hultzsch next discusses a number of inscriptions collected by him on his journey. The first two are taken from the Temple of Vâillabhaṭṭasvâmin in the fort of Gwâliyar The second of these two had been previously attacked by Bâbû Rajêndra Lâla Mitra (*J. B A. S* XXXI 407). Dr Hultzsch gives a transcription and translation of both. He also transcribes and translates an inscription found on a large black stone at Dhôlpur, which deals with a king Chaṇḍa or Chaṇḍamahâsêna, the son of Mahisharâma, the son of Îsuka. The next inscription transcribed and translated is on five copper-plates received from Tèzpur in Assam, and deals with a king Vallabhadêva, the son of Niḥśankasiṁha.—After this he transcribes and translates, so far as is possible, a fragmentary stone inscription of the Chandella Dynasty in the Allâhâbâd Museum. He connects it with the two following observations in former works:—(*a*) "One of the Mahôbâ inscriptions gives the genealogy from Dhanga to Kîrtivarman, but its date is lost" (*Arch. Surv. Ind.* II. 447). —(*b*) "An inscription, now apparently lost, which General Cunningham found at Mahôbâ, gave the Chandèl Genealogy from Dhanga to Kîrtivarman." (V. A Smith, *J. B. A. S.* L 10). If this identification is correct, it is an important find. At any rate, the inscription is of great interest, for, though very fragmentary, it tallies with the above descriptions of the contents of the missing stone. This is followed by a more perfect stone inscription found in the same place, also dealing with the Chandel Dynasty, and giving the genealogy of Paramirdin (*i.e.* the Hindi Par'mâl) and of his ministers and other courtiers. Lastly, he transcribes two fragmentary inscriptions in Banâras College. The second belongs to the time of Muḥammad Shâh, and mentions certain merchants of the Agrotakanivâsin (Agar'wâlâ) Caste. Dr. Hultzsch concludes a very interesting and important paper with a minute study of the Bharhût Inscriptions, which is well deserving of attention

The second paper (with plate) by Dr J. G. Stickel deals with Omayyad coins of the ancient Philistine town Askalon. It is a continuation of a former paper by the same author which appeared in pp. 40ff. of the preceding volume of the *Zeitschrift* In a concluding note Dr. Sticker draws attention to the forthcoming *Fasti Arabici*, or the History of the Muhammadan Empire as established by coins, by Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole.

A short paper by Prof. J Gildmeister draws attention to alleged plagiaries by Moses of Khôren from Pseudo-Kallisthenes.

Two interesting papers by Prof. Hermann Jacobi follow:—The first is supplementary to his treatise on the origin of the Śvêtâmbara and Digambara Sects of the Jainas. The author's conclusion is that the origin of the Bôḍiya or Bôṭika sect is much later than that of the Digambaras, and that the separation of the latter from the Śvêtâmbaras was not a sudden schism, but a gradual divergence commencing in the time of Bhadrabâhu, and continued through the next generation. The Professor incidentally refers to the commentaries of Haribhadra to the *Âvaśyaka-Sûtra*, and of Dêvêndra to the *Uttarâdhyayana-Sûtra*. The former died, according to tradition, in the year 529 A.D. but Prof. Jacobi prefers to fix him in the 9th century, and to consider that the legends narrated by him and Dêvêndra are derived from a common source. He also incidentally refers to the connexion between the name Sahasramalla, and the Persian title Hazârmard —The second paper is a collection of three short notes, entitled *Miscellen*. The first draws attention to the fact that the 7th *Uchchhvâsa* of the *Daśakumâracharita* is *nirôshṭhyavarṇa*, that is to say, that the labial letters *u û ô au p ph b bh m v* do not occur in it. Though this fact is apparently new to European scholars, it is, at least on the Bengal side, well known to Native Scholars in India and to their European pupils.—The second note deals with the verses quoted by Halâyudha in his commentary to Piṅgala as samples of the metre. The author makes out a plausible case, that Halâyudha borrowed them from the *Chhandôvichiti* of Daṇḍin, a work not now known to be extant —The third gives an example of the poetic artifice entitled *Yamaka*, or commencing each line with the last words of the preceding line, taken from the *Sûtrakritâṅga*.

The next article, which is by Prof. Eugen Wilhelm, deals with the conception of Royalty an[d] Priesthood in Ancient Irân. The writer con[m]mences with noticing the sharp distinction whi[ch] must be drawn in this matter between the Irâ[n] the *Avesta* and the India of the Vedic hymns. [In] the latter each god is alternately pre-eminent, t[here] is no distinct system of priority, while in [the] former we find the greatest regularity and o[rder]. There never is the slightest doubt but that A[hura] Mazda is the highest god, who stands far [above] other gods, who are his obedient creations [This] is well illustrated by the political status [of the] two countries, for, while Irân was a hom[ogeneous] single state under one king, the Indians we[re a number] of petty independent tribes. Professor [Wilhelm] then discusses the cuneiform inscriptio[ns of the] Akhaimenides, and comes to the concl[usion that] under them the king was *King Supr[eme by the] Grace of God*. He derived his auth[ority] from Ahura Mazda, between whom an[d]

stood no third person or priest The relation between him and his god seems to have been a directly personal one. At this period, the professor concludes, there was no Anrò Mainyush known, no opposing Demon to the sovereign will of the Supreme God At the time of the *Avestâ* however there must have been a narrower notion of the king's office The king was not the first man in the state, but the second. Over him stood the High Priest The *beau ideal* of the *Avesta* is a Hierarchy in which Zarathustra (Zoroaster) or his representative, forms the head The most perfect state, according to this idea, is one like Ragha, in which Zarathustra or his representative is High Priest and High Ruler in one; but if these two dignities are separated it is not the High Ruler or king who is the first, but the High Priest Space fails us to give full details of the manner in which this most interesting subject is worked out; suffice it to say that Prof Wilhelm concludes (1), that the conception of Anrô Mainyush is not an original Aryan one, but arose on Iranian earth, and (2), that it does not appear that Ahura Mazda and Anrò Mainyush were opposing forces, the true rivals being Speñtô Mainyush and Anrô Mainyush.

Under the title of *Vedica* Dr. Pischel gives three notes on Vedic subjects The first has reference to *Rig-Vêda* 8, 47, 15, which the author translates "If a person (in a dream) prepare a necklace or a wreath, we attribute the bad dream to Trita Âptya." He then explains how the preparation of a wreath can be considered unlucky, owing to the custom of crowning sacrificial animals and persons condemned to death He next discusses the difference between *sraj* and *mâlâ*, the latter not occurring in the oldest forms of the language. He finally discusses the effect of dreaming of the various colours, connecting the ill-luck associated with ...d, not with blood (which is a sign of luck), but ...th the terrible god Rudra, the Red God —The ...ond note deals with *Rig-Vêda* 7, 5, 9, 12, for ...ich the Professor proposes a new reading and ...slation.—The last note is concerned with the ...ence अर्थं आ which occurs five times in the ... The Professor suggests that अर्थं may be ...nd may mean 'by,' 'among,' or 'to the ...s' He justifies his suggestion at some length. ... next article, by Prof. G Buhler, is an ... and translation of the second half of the ...l the whole of the 11th Edict of the Aśôka ...ons. This important paper deserves close ... all interested in the subject, and a brief ...of its contents would be impossible.

Professor Theodor Aufrecht gives a short contribution on the poet Umâpatidhara, described by Jayadêva in the introduction to the *Gîtagôvinda* as prolix (*vâchaḥ pallavayati*). The Professor gives references to other verses of this poet, and suggests his date as the first half of the eleventh century, founding his theory on an inscription published in *J. B A. S.* XXXIV. p 112. It may be mentioned, however, that there is a Maithilî tradition that Umâpati was a contemporary of Vidyâpati-Ṭhakkura, who flourished 1400 A. D. There was certainly a Maithil poet of the first rank of that name, and some poems by him in Maithilî were published in *J. B. A. S* LIII. Special Number, p. 76

Then there follows a rejoinder by Prof O Bohtlingk, on Prof. Buhler's notes on Bohtlingk's criticism on Fuhrer's edition and Bühler's translation of the *Vasishṭhadharmaśâstra* (*Z. D. M G.* XXXIX. p. 701). The essence of the controversy appears to consist in the last paragraph of the present article, in which Professor Bohtlingk, replying to Prof Buhler's argument that in dealing with such a text it is necessary to be very conservative, answers, "Yes, to be conservative is a very fine virtue, but it has its limits."

The number, which is very interesting to Indian scholars, concludes with a review by Prof. Noldeke of Robertson Smith's *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia.*

(2) *Nachrichten von der Koniglichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.* No. 7: *28th April*, 1886 —This is an interesting paper by Dr. Hultzsch, on the Drama *Tâpasavatsarâja*, a MS. of which he picked up during his recent journey in India (No. 96 in his list of MSS.). The author was Mâtrarâja, alias Anangaharsha, the son of Narêndravardhana The date of the author is conjecturally fixed as before the second half of the ninth century, owing to his being quoted by Anandavardhana and his commentator Abhinavagupta, and again as being after the commencement of the seventh century, as many of his situations and even at times his language are borrowed from the *Ratnâvalî* of Bâṇa. The drama deals with the second half of the story of Udayana, king of Kauśâmbî in Vatsa, which we find in the second and third *lambakas* of the *Kathâsaritsâgara* of Sômadêva (dated 1063-81 A.D.) The first half is the story of Vâsavadattâ, the second of Padmâvatî [1] On p. 226 (3 of the reprint) Dr. Hultzsch gives a most interesting account of former Buddhistic versions of the same story, and shows that in many particulars the

[1] ...ry of Padmâvatî is quite distinct from that ...s Padmâvat written some six centuries later ...ad Jâyasî. In the Padmâvat, however, some of the particulars seem to have been borrowed from the play above treated of; *e.g.*, the asceticism of the king its hero.

author of the *Tripasavatsaraja* is indebted to Buddhist sources for his plot. The paper concludes with a number of extracts from the work, and with an Index of the commencements of all the verses occurring in it. None of them occur in Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprüche*, nor in Aufrecht's *Index* to the *Śārngadharapaddhati*.

3. *L'Épigraphie et l'Histoire Linguistique de l'Inde; Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Paris, 1886.—In this paper M. Senart considers the Linguistic History of India almost exclusively from the point of view of epigraphy. He admits that there are other valuable sources of information, but his aim, on the present occasion, has been to draw attention to a line of demonstration in his opinion too much neglected.

At the end of a most interesting essay M. Senart comes to the following conclusions:—(a) Regarding the Vedic and religious languages the inscriptions of Piyadasi bear witness indirectly that, at about the commencement of the 3rd century before Christ, it was the object of a certain amount of culture.—(b) As regards classical Sanskrit, its preparation and elaboration in the schools based mainly on the Vedic language, and stimulated by the first applications of writing to the vulgar dialects, should be placed between the 3rd century B. C., and the 1st century A. D. Its literary or official use extended at the end of the first century or commencement of the second; and it is hence, *à priori*, certain that no work of the classic literature can be anterior to this date.—(c) As regards the mixed Sanskrit, called the dialect of the *gâthâs*, it is only a method of writing Prâkrit, aiming at, as far as possible, the orthography and the etymological forms of the religious language. Its use, born spontaneously and developed gradually, stimulated the codification of a language inspired by the same idea, but more refined and more consistent, the non-religious Sanskrit,—while to us it is an approximate measure of the latter's progress. Its use extended before that of literary Sanskrit, and becoming more general under the sway of one of the great Buddhist sovereigns, Kanishka, insured its survival as a literary dialect in certain schools of Buddhism.—(d) As regards the Prakrits, the earlier establishment of Sanskrit determines their grammatic form, which was fixed in the 3rd or 4th century. None of the Grammars which teach Prâkrit grammatical rules, and none of the works couched in any of these dialects, including Pâli can be considered as existing, *in their present form*, at an earlier period than that date.

Such are the views, almost startling in their novelty, advanced and argued with considerable force, by one of the foremost of European scholars in this branch of philology. They deserve at least a respectful attention from those who adhere to older and more accepted theories.

4. *Revue Critique d'Histoire et de Littérature*, Paris, 24th May 1886.—This number contains nothing of interest to Indian scholars, except a short notice of that most useful work the *Deutscher Litteratur-Kalender* for the year 1886, and a reference to a paper read by M. Léon Heuzey, at the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, entitled '*Le Roi Dounghi à Tello*.' Le Roi Dounghi' was hitherto considered king of 'Ur of the Chaldees,' was suzerain of Goudea, *patési* of Sipurla (Tello). M. Heuzey considers that this generally received opinion is more than doubtful.

G. A. GRIERSON.

A NOTE ON THE HISTORY AND DATE OF MIHIRAKULA.[1]

I have not my books about me here,[2] and therefore cannot answer your letter, and the remarks in your essay, as I could wish. But, as I brought the Chinese copy of the *Sagara* with me, I can add a few words on your criticisms.

(1) The date 172 A. D. for "the history of the Patriarchs"—B. Nanjio's No. 1340—is fixed by the Colophon, stating that the translator, or compiler, lived at this time in China.

(2) I have a suspicion (see further on) that Ta-tso, the equivalent for *Mo-hi-lo-kiu-lo*, is a Mongolian name, meaning the "great horde," and not a personal title, but a tribal one. There may be a Mongolian or Turkish compound M[illegible] which would be the personal name of the ruler.

(3) There can be no doubt that the original Chinese text gives "several centuries" before the period of Hiuen Tsiang, *sho-p'h-ni-i-tsiu*.

(4) With respect to "the isles of the [illegible]" this is the exact translation of the original Chinese *hai*, 'sea,' may, however, be *sâgara*, which is, I think, applied to the [illegible] by Indian writers.[2]

[1] [These remarks are from a letter received from the Rev. S. Beal, to whom I had sent advanced proofs of my paper on "The History and Date of Mihirakula," since published at p. 245ff. above. They were written while he was away from home, and so without access to his books.—J. F. F.]

[2] *Sâgarî*, the feminine of *sâgara*, is an epithet of the Ganges, as also of any other river; see Monier William's *Sanskrit Dictionary*, s.v. Also we have Gangâsâgara for 'the mouth of the Ganges,' [illegible] it out to the ocean. It still exists [illegible] *Sâgar* on the Ganges in Lower [illegible] (Saugor), an island at the mouth [illegible] branch of the river. The text [illegible] Bâlâditya took refuge on the Sâgar [illegible] islands between the mouths of the Ganges and suitable place for a king of Magadha. J. F. F.]

(5) Stan. Julien always translates the word *sien*, 'previous' or 'former,' by 'first,'—which is a mistake. Śakrâditya could not have lived *shortly after* the *nirvâṇa*; because the theory of the "One Vehicle" is the last and latest form of the Buddhist development, and *must* come after the "Great Vehicle."

(6) With respect to Buddhagupta, and Budhagupta, I was misled . . . . . . I quite accept your correction.

And now, having alluded to your "rubrics," let me add that I can only account for the introduction of Simha's *death* (for an account of his death, or martyrdom, by *Mi-lo-kiu* is found not only in the notes on Wong-puh, but also in the *Fou-fa-tsong-yin-na-chuen*; B Nanjio's No. 1340 Kiuen. vi p. 11 b.) into a book dating 472 A D., by the supposition that it was an *addendum*, after the former part was written, with a view to complete the succession down to Bôdhidharma, who certainly left India for China 526 A. D. It is certainly singular that, according to a well-authenticated tradition (*vide* Elkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, Trubner's Oriental Series, pp 84, 85), the Buddhist succession *ended* with Simha; (and therefore that Basiasita, Putnomita, and Prajñâtara, are fictitious names). If so then your date for Simha and Mihirakula, *viz.* circ. 520, would be amply confirmed ... to *Rig-Vêda*, ...

The term *Mi-lo-kiu*, is not necessarily a corruption of Mihirakula,—but a phonetic equivalent for Mlêchchha: hence it is likely that this king Mihirpul (or whatever his real name was) belonged to the Mlêchcha invaders

That these were Mongols or Hûns, appears very likely, first, from the fact of their excessive cruelty, and then, second, from the narrative of Sung Yun, who speaks of this king of the barbarians (Mlêchchhas) having invaded Gandhâra and set up another king of cruel disposition (exactly as you quote from the *Rijatarangini*), and third, from the fact of Cosmas calling this king Gollas (a Greek form of Gula), — *vide* my introduction to *Records of the Western World*, ...

... all hands your date seems to be confirmed. ... not yet quite get at the origin of the Chinese ... for Vasubandhu; but I think it highly ... e that Mihirakula was a Mongol or Mlêchchha, who had invaded India and and extended his power over Gandhâra ... to Sung-Yun, and Hiuen Tsiang's

I shall allude to this subject in my preface to the *Life* of Hiuen Tsiang.

S. BEAL

5th August 1886.

A NOTE ON THE DATE OF MIHIRAKULA.

I have no time to enter fully at present into intricate archæological discussions. But I venture to offer some brief criticisms on Mr Fleet's valuable paper, "On the History and Date of Mihirakula,"[1] in order to show that there is something to be said in favour of views other than those adopted by him

The discovery that Mihirakula was the son of a Toramâna, and the conqueror of Paśupati, as well as the opponent of a king Bâlâditya, will undoubtedly in time settle his date But I am not yet fully convinced that the problem is solved.

To enforce conviction that Mr. Fleet's view is correct, it will be necessary to harmonize his theory with the history of Kaśmîr; and that harmony remains to be demonstrated Dr Hoernle's notes on the Kaśmîr coins, seem to me opposed strongly to Mr. Fleet's new theory of the attribution of these coins ...

I can see no warrant for the conjecture that either Hiuen Tsiang or his translators *must* have made a mistake in asserting that Mihirakula, the conqueror of Bâlâditya, flourished "some centuries" before Hiuen Tsiang's pilgrimage (A.D 629-645) It seems to me very rash to tamper with the text, and boldly say that we ought to read "more than a century before"

The statement on p 252 above, that Gen Cunningham adopts the date of 500 A D. for the erection of Bâlâditya's temple at Nâlanda, and of the *bôdhi*-tree temple at Bôdh-Gayâ, is erroneous. The General did at one time adopt that date, being misled by a forged inscription; but he soon recanted his error. His final view as to the date of Bâlâditya, the builder of the great temple at Nâlanda, will be found in *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol III p 95 Gen. Cunningham there accepts "the pilgrim's statement, that the Nâlanda monastery was built seven hundred years before his time, as a plain fact, which he must have obtained from the annals of the monastery itself Bâlâditya must, therefore, be placed towards the end of the first century before Christ, or early in the first century after Christ" In the footnote, the latter alteration is indicated as the more probable[2]

[1] ...5 ff. above.

[2] ...wrote my paper, I was not aware of this ...n, having looked in vain for any departure ...ingham from the view quoted by me. I would add that it does not alter my opinion regarding the date of Mihirakula; though I am quite ready to give up the idea that it was his antagonist who built the temple in question at Nâlanda —J.F F

There really appears to be no reason whatever to reject Hiuen Tsiang's evidence The Bâlâditya who built the Nâlanda temple, was distinct from, and much earlier than, the Bâlâditya who defeated Mihirakula.[3]

Gen. Cunningham's published notice of the history of Mihirakula (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol II. p 197) is very slight. But, just at the time when Mr. Fleet's article appeared, I was fortunate enough to receive a letter, dated 13th ult., from the veteran archæologist, which briefly discusses the question of Mihirakula's date in connection with the problem of the Gupta era. and contains observations of interest. Gen. Cunningham, at the time of writing his letter, adhered to the belief that the era used by the Guptas began about 166 A.D.

As to the Gupta era he writes—" My opinion regarding the passage in Al Birûni is, that his statement is quite correct, and does not involve a contradiction. The Guptas never term their Saṁvat by their name, but simply 'Saṁvat.' The *Gupta Kál* was an era established, as Al Birûni says, when their power ceased. The two eras are therefore quite distinct . . . . The inscription of Mahânâman of Lankâdvîpa is in undoubted Gupta characters, and is dated in Saṁvat 279 I infer that the Saṁvat must be that used by the Guptas themselves, as the characters are Gupta letters. Now Mahânâman's date is known to lie between

A D.	434 and	459
Deduct	279	279
Remainder A D.	155 and	180

"The beginning of the Saṁvat used in his inscription, therefore, lies between A.D. 155 and 180 Now what Saṁvat was this? . . . . . .

"Next Mihirakula of Kaśmîr, who was conquered by Bâlâditya . . . . Bâlâditya is almost certainly the Naragupta-Bâlâditya of the gold coins,[4] and, if so, he must be later than 165 and 174, the known Saṁvat dates of Budhagupta. But Mihirakula certainly preceded the establishment of the Little Yuchi in Gândhâra, as I have three coins of Kidâra Kushâna Shâhi, and some thirty or forty of Mihirakula. This Kidâra I take to be *Ki-to-lo* of the Chinese. Mihirakula therefore reigned about A D. 350-400. But Bâlâditya's date, being later than 174 Saṁvat (used by Guptas), would, if referred to A D 318, be later than 318 + 174 = 492 A.D , or say 500, at which time Mêghavâhana, or his son, must have been reigning in Kaśmîr.[5] Accepting my date of A D. 166, Bâlâditya will be later than 166 + 174 = 340 A.D. Q.E.D "

As I said at the beginning, I have not time now to develop or discuss the arguments thus briefly indicated. I have published them in a crude form in order to stimulate discussion. Mr Fleet's arguments in favour of his theory of the Gupta chronology are strong; but all the assumptions which underlie them have not yet been made good; nor have the counter-arguments been demolished, not at least to my satisfaction. Gen. Cunningham's letter shows that I have good company in my scepticism; and, pending the result of full discussion, I propose to keep my judgment in abeyance respecting the era of the Mâlavas, that used by the Guptas, and that called by their name, as well as respecting the date of Mihirakula.

V. A. SMITH.

Basti, 19th September 1886.

NOTE BY MR. FLEET.

As regards the Bôdh-Gayâ inscription of Mahânâman, referred to above, I was, of course, aware of it when I wrote my paper; it is included in my Gupta volume, No 71 As it is of interest, I will publish it in the next number, or shortly afterwards.

It is dated Saṁvat 269, as I read the second symbol; not 279. It mentions two Buddhist teachers of the name of Mahânâman, natives of Ceylon, and records that the second of them built a mansion of Buddha at the Bôdhimaṇḍa, *i e.* within the precincts of the "diamond-throne" at Bôdh-Gayâ The value of it lies in the probability that the second Mahânâman mentioned in it, is the Mahânâman who composed the more ancient part of the Pâli *Mahâwanso* or history of Ceylon

There is no doubt that the date of the inscrip tion has to be referred to the Gupta era, with t result, according to my view, of A.D 588-89

On the other hand, from the Ceylonese reco Mr Turnour (see his *Mahawanso*, pp. ii , liv , l 254ff ; and *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol p 922) arrived at A. D 459 to 477 as the peri the reign of Mahânâman's nephew Dhâtu and it was during his reign that Mahâ compiled the history.

I cannot see why the Ceylonese should, most convincing proof, be held to hav contrary to the general Oriental cust very accurate and reliable records. Tog palæographical, numismatic, architec other theories, historical deductions fr

[3] [An inscription from Sarnâth (*Corp. Inscr. Indic* Vol III. No. 79) shows that there were at least two different Bâlâdityas, kings of Kâsî or Benares —J F.F.]

[4] [See *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 93, and note 1.—J.F F.]

[5] [But this is just one of the points which requires to be proved, and which, because of Mihir cannot be correct, unless we alter the stat *Râjataraṅgiṇî* so much as to place M before Mihirakula, instead of sixteen rei J. F. F.]

records must be adapted to definite dates; the reverse course of this is quite irrational and mistaken, and has led to nearly all the doubts that exist regarding the Early Guptas.

If the second Mahânâman of this inscription is Dhâtusêna's maternal uncle, then the real point established by the record is, not that the Gupta era began A. D. 166, but either that the details of the Ceylonese chronology are not as reliable as they have been supposed to be, or else that a wrong starting-point has been selected in working them out, and that they now require considerable rectification.

24th September 1886. J. F. FLEET.

CURIOSITIES OF INDIAN LITERATURE.

THE PANGS OF PARTING.

The following lines are well known in Mithilâ. They are very true, and are worth preserving. The metre is not very correct:—

यदि यास्यसि नाथ निश्चितं
यामि यामि वचनं हि मा वद ।
अशनेः पतनं न वेदनं
पतनज्ञानमतीव दुःसहम् ॥

'If thou must go, my Lord, say not, "I go, I go." The falling of a thunderbolt on one causeth not the pang; it is the knowledge that it is falling which is unbearable.'

With these may be compared Lakhimâ Ṭhakurâṇî's verses on the pangs of anticipated separation, which are very popular in Mithilâ. They are as follows:—

भङ्क्त्वा भोक्तुं न भुङ्क्ते कुटिलविषलतां कोटिमिन्दोर्वितर्का-
त्ताराकारात्तृषार्तः पिबति न पयसां विप्रुषः पत्रसंस्थाः ।
छायानम्भोरुहाणामलिकुलशबलां वीक्ष्य सन्ध्यामसन्ध्यां
कान्ताविश्लेषभीरुर्दिनमपि रजनीं मन्यते चक्रवाकः ॥

'He breaks the crisp lotus tendrils to eat them but does not do so, for he mistakes them for the rays of the moon; though athirst he does not drink the drops of water in the lotus leaves for he thinks them stars: in the shade of the lotus-flowers dark with the swarms of bees he sees night when there is no night; always dreading separation from his beloved, the *chakravâka* imagines even the day to be night.'

G. A. GRIERSON.

BOOK NOTICE.

ANCIENT PROVERBS and MAXIMS from BURMESE SOURCES, or the Niti Literature of Burma, by JAMES GRAY. London: Trubner and Co.

This is a rendering of the four popular *nîtis* of Burma, or *nîthis* as the Burmese prefer to spell it. These are *Lôkanîti, Dhammanîti, Râjanîti* and the *Suttavaddhananîti, i.e.* in the Pâli ...ms of the words. The immense popularity of ...se imported works, for they are strictly such, ...Burma, especially of the first mentioned, makes ...f some importance to have English transla... of them, and we therefore welcome this little ... Mr Gray's introduction, however, has not ... to say as to the date of the importation of ...ti literature of India into Burma, nor of its ...ent history there: and to say the truth ...le as to this is known at present, or is ...be known for a long while to come.

...e glad to observe that the author has the ...a of which he now gives only the trans... preparation. The texts that circulate in Burma, always or nearly always in ...with a gloss in the vernacular, are ...m being correct, and a well-collated ...n prepared text would be a valuable ...ur knowledge of Pâli.

Mr. Gray has been at some pains to collect all the parallel passages in the various *nîtis*, and also in his notes to give passages from the Indian classics which indicate the sources whence many of the *nîti* aphorisms were drawn. The Burmese glosses of course show the manner in which the people of Burma have assimilated Indian ideas, while borrowing their religion, better than do the Pâli texts; for, even if it be granted that these last are taught along with the glosses, it is from the glosses that the Burmese get their ideas of the meaning of the texts. Useful, therefore, no doubt, as it is to give a rendering of the Pâli for the benefit of English students, it would enable them to more clearly apprehend the workings of the Burmese mind, if the text were accompanied by a rendering of the explanation of it as understood by the Burmese, as well as by parallel passages culled from the earlier Indian literature. At any rate this might be attempted with reference to the *Lôkanîti*, and in this connection we would note that a translation of the most popular of the vernacular renderings of the *Lôkanîti* was given by Captain Temple in the *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XLVII Part I. p. 239ff., which has been overlooked by Mr. Gray.

A SELECTION OF KANARESE BALLADS.

By J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

(*Continued from Vol. XIV. p. 303.*)

No. 2.—THE INCOME TAX.

THIS ballad refers, not to the present Income Tax, but to the original Duties on Profits arising from Property, Professions, Trades, and Offices, which were imposed, with effect from the 31st July 1860, by Act No. XXXII. of 1860, and were, I understand, actually levied for only two years, as stated in the song, though the Act was not repealed until 1865, by Act No. VIII. of that year.

The song contains nothing disloyal. But it gives very plain expression throughout to the unpopularity and suspicion with which the Income and License Taxes have always been regarded: especially among the cultivators, whom, as paying Land Assessment, direct taxation of this kind is not intended to touch, save under exceptional circumstances, but upon whom such taxes always do fall more or less, despite all the efforts of the English District Officers to prevent such a result.

As regards the leading points of the song, the Act in question provided for a Duty of three per cent. for general purposes, and of one per cent. for "roads, canals, and other reproductive works." Hence the pretext, "of putting the roads and paths in good repair," that is put into the mouth of the assessing officer, when he announces his "scheme for extracting the money of the Râyats."[1] But there were the provisos, that no income under two hundred rupees per annum (nominally twenty pounds sterling) should be taxed at all; that no income derived from purely agricultural occupations should be taxed, unless it amounted to at least six hundred rupees: and that, on incomes of less than five hundred rupees, two per cent. only should be levied, and not the one per cent. for public works at all. Hence, when the popular champion Hittâḷi-Vîrabhadra appears on the scene, in answer to the inquiries made by the officer with appellate powers, he promptly writes down five hundred rupees as the limit of the incomes of the people in his village, thus trimming matters so as to please both the assessing officer and the villagers.

Two English officials are mentioned by name.—The first, *Gâḍin-Sâheb*, is the late Mr. Stewart St.John Gordon, Bombay Civil Service, who[2] held the post of First Assistant Collector and Magistrate in the Dhârwâḍ District, and, in October 1860, was deputed to be the special Income Tax Officer for the District. He died in 1867 or 1868, when holding the post of Additional Member on the Council of the Governor-General. A new portion of the town of Hubbaḷḷi[3] was named after him "the Gordon Pêṭh;"[4] and the Dispensary, the bridge connecting Old and New Hubbaḷḷi; and the Gurusiddhapa Hoṇḍ or reservoir, which furnishes the principal water-supply of the town, were built under his direction.—The second official, *Yelapâṭ-Sâheb*, is Mr. John Elphinston, Bo.C.S., quite recently retired. He was in the Dhârwâḍ District, as Second and First Assistant Collector and subsequently Collector and Magistrate, from August 1861 to June 1863, and on other later occasions; and was extremely popular among the people of the District.

In the accompanying plate I give the air of the chorus. The same air runs more or less through the whole song. It will be seen that the rhyming characteristic of this class of composition is preserved much more regularly in this ballad, than in the one previously published; and that the execution is more artistic throughout, as might be expected from the professor's son by whom it was composed.

TRANSLATION.

Chorus.—How shall I describe the distress of (*our*) lives? The oppression of the English has become very great! Poor people are weeping, so that the tears stream down (*their*) cheeks, and are in great anxiety!

First Verse.—Listen to the matter from the

[1] Râyat, or properly Ra'îyat, also written Raita and Rayita in Kanarese, Rayat in Marâthî, and 'Ryot' in English, is 'a peasant cultivator.'—I do not explain, on this occasion, technical terms that have been already explained with the ballad previously published.

[2] I owe these details to the kindness of Mr. J. R. Middleton, Bo.C.S., now at Dhârwâḍ.

[3] The 'Hooblee and Hubli' of maps, &c.: the chief town of the Tâlukâ or Sub-Division of the same name in the Dhârwâḍ District. This is the town referred to in the ballad.

[4] The Marâṭhî *pêṭh* or *pêṭh*, in Kanarese *pêṭe* and *pyâṭe*, is 'a mercantile division of a town: a bazaar.'

cf. plate p. 380

beginning! There came the noble gentleman, Mr. Gordon, who sat down and contrived a scheme,—a device for extracting money. Mr. Gordon put forward the pretence of saying—"I am going to put the roads and paths in good repair; what is your opinion about it? for the matter is your business."

All the members of the village-jury[5] consented; they knew not that it would turn out thus; in the pride of (*their*) wealth, they opened (*their*) teeth (*and laughed*); (*thinking that*) it was no matter of urgency. (With a change of metre),[6]—Listen! Then they imposed (*on us this*) grievous tax; it became difficult for poor people to fill (*their*) bellies; they had to sell (*their*) spinning-wheels. The Government was greedy after money; there were searching inquiries day after day: straightway they put up to auction (*even*) the cow-dung (*that is used for fuel*),[7] and sold the firewood by weight.[8] If the Peṇḍâris[9] and Lamâṇis[10] wish (*now*) to support their children (*as they used to*) by selling wood, (*they cannot*); they have fallen into a state of beggary; thus did the matter turn out.

Second Verse.—A clever scheme occurred to the Government; with all haste they imposed the Income Tax,[11] a contrivance for extracting the money of the Râyats; thus did they act. The Government behaved with severity and strictness, (*giving an order*)—"Issue (*compulsory*) notices,[12] and fix the period (*for payment*); treat them with sternness, without any fear (*of the consequences*), if they fail to pay."

Then the Collector[13] came, and put up at the (*travellers'*) bungalow; and all the people went and besieged him, as if (the god) Śiva had come down (*upon the earth*).

(*The order was given*)—"If they exceed the period (*for payment*), pile on the interest, and take (*their*) houses for sale by auction;" then many people paid (*the tax*), with lamentations, full of fear in (*their*) minds. (With a change of metre),—All the chief men of the different castes assembled, and, taking counsel together, presented a petition,—"O Sir, sit down and make inquiries; we have not the means with which to pay the tax."

The gentleman did not accept it favourably; (*saying*)—"This matter rests not with me." (*Their*) hands and feet became weak, by going constantly (*to him*); they all sat by, refusing (*their*) hardly-earned and pitiful food and water.

The rich men (*said*)—"Laying aside (*our*) ornaments and other things, and putting on tattered waistcloths and jackets, let us go to the bungalow just like poor people, without any feeling of shame.

Third Verse.—The rich men braced up (*their*) courage, saying—"The tax will leave us;" O my brother!, going constantly to the bungalow, great were the intriguing efforts that they made. The rich men, O brother!, sat all together (*on the ground*), just like labourers and village-watchmen; each of them heaved deep sighs, turning (*their*) faces downwards.

(*But the officials*) levied the tax on the whole village; they came and sat down in the Kamari Bazaar; by force they compelled (*the people*) to produce (*their*) goods, and took them under attachment.

The weavers and sellers of silk spoke to the Subhêdâr, saying—"You are like the father that begat us: with a little tenderness in (*your*) reins, take pity and let (*us*) go. Thou, O lord! art (*our*) mother and father; do thou remit the tax on us: . . .[14] has been cut and brought, weeping every day." (With a change of metre),—The wooden planks, the web-beams of

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[5] *pañchâna*, lit. 'the five people;' *i.e.* the members of the *Pañchâyat* or *Pañchâyat*, the village-jury, which traditionally consists of exactly five members.

[6] *châla*, Marâṭhî, is equivalent to the Kanarese *dhâṭi*, 'haste, speed; method, manner (of reading, reciting, and singing).' It marks a change in the metre or rhythm.

[7] The most regular and urgent necessary of Hindu life, rich or poor, and usually collected, gratis, along the highways.

[8] The restriction of forest-rights, especially of the free collection of firewood, has always been a matter of grievance among the lower classes.

[9] The Peṇḍâris or Peṇḍhâris are a low-caste tribe, whose occupation is chiefly to collect wood and grass for sale, and prepare manure. They have always had strong marauding tendencies, and have figured constantly in Marâṭhâ history. The usual English representation of the name is 'Pindary.'

[10] The Lamâṇis, Lambâṇis, or Lambâḍis (also called Labâṇâs in northern India), are a low-caste tribe, very gipsy-like in appearance and habits. They are the principal inland-carriers of the country. Their chief articles of traffic are bamboos and other wood, grain, and salt, which they transport with large droves of pack-cattle.

[11] *karapaṭṭi*, combining the Sanskrit *kara*, 'tribute, toll, tax, impost,' with the Prâkṛit *paṭṭi*, 'cess, tax, forced contribution,' is the customary word, all over the Kanarese country, for the Income Tax, License Tax, or in fact any impost of a direct kind. But it denotes specially the Income and License Taxes.

[12] The original has *nôṭîsu*, which is a corruption of the English word 'notice.'

[13] *i.e.* the Collector and Magistrate of the District; not a Collector of Income Tax.

[14] *châvuṇu chip* is unintelligible.

the looms, the skeins of silk, the earthen pots, the dishes for eating from; all these they sold by auction, putting (*reserve*) prices on them. (With a change of metre),—The Government became very bad, O my brother! poor people had their eyes full of tears, saying,—"What a time of trouble thou hast brought, O Îsvara (*our god*); no man has any care of us. Say now, is it a lot of weeping women that are sitting here?; whatever we may do, the tax will not cease." Then (*by paying the tax*) they redeemed the dishes for eating from; say now, did not they display fortitude?

Fourth Verse.—Râyappa of Harpanhaḷḷi wrote out a statement,—"Sir, they have (*each*) as good an income as may be wished for;" he brought trouble on the poor; no justice remained.

Very brave were the Musalmâns of the Kamari Bazaar;—"Be off," said they, "we will not pay the tax; take it, if you like, (*by force*) and fine (*us*); this is (*our*) order to you."

The Subhêdâr fired up in wrath; house after house, he searched them all; hear! how even small pieces of copper, and the brazier's anvils, and the stone-splitters' tools, were carried away (*for sale*).

(With a change of metre)—All the Musalmâns sat down together, making a conspiracy, inside the mosque;—"Where is the stick? search and bring it here (*that we may beat those who come to levy the tax*); will you now hesitate and back out of the business?" Thus they conspired,—"Undoubtedly we will beat anyone who comes (*to make us pay the tax*): perhaps they may put us in fetters; but, if so, what more could they do?" (*But others said*), —"Ye madmen! is not this a serious matter? it is not right to display any insubordination towards the Government; keep to the habit of falling down at the feet of (*them, your*) parents; there is (*surely*) some little regard (*for you*)."

Fifth Verse.—There came the noble gentleman, Mr. Elphinston; very full of affection for poor people was he; he sat himself down and made inquiries; listen how it befell!

All the Musalmâns then assembled together, and, acting in unison, presented a petition; listen! they all came in company to the bungalow. "It is proper that thou, O lord, shouldest listen to this (*our*) petition; it is right that thou shouldest remit the tax on us." Standing there, he gazed upon the poor men, with compassion in (*his*) reins. The gentleman looked well into the matter, and quickly caused a reply to be written, saying that they should present the petitions (*of regular appeal*); there was trouble in his reins, as if a fire was kindled there. He gazed upon the tattered garments worn by the women, and all their wealth;[15] while they were weeping, (*saying*)—"(*Our*) hands can find no millet[16] in (*our*) houses."

Then the noble gentleman made inquiries; the principal rich men, O brother!, sat down; and the poor people did obeisance (*to him*). With great attention the gentleman listened, (*saying*)—"Declare how much income they have." Hittâḷi-Vîrabhadra wrote it down, putting the estimate at five hundred rupees; and laid it on the ears of the representatives of the village, not to abandon (*their*) duty (*to the villagers*) by saying (*that it was any higher*).

Sixth Verse.—All the people in concert were making up (*their*) accounts, weighing the matter out one with the other; how shall I describe the sorrow of the people?; so the work went on. First the merchant Mâkapaśetti, a very virtuous man, himself sat down and made up the reckoning; thus the minds of all were satisfied. Listen now again! The poor people stood by in restless anxiety, and made supplication to the gentleman; and then the virtuous gentleman caused to be given back to them the tax that they had paid.

The Musalmâns said—"O Allah! it is a year since we have eaten wheat and rice; (the god) Siva (*alone*) knows our straits; what can we give?"

It was in the Pramôdûta *saṁvatsara*,[17] my brother!, that the Government imposed the tax; poor people were full of anxiety to the very cores of (*their*) hearts, (*crying*)—"O Lord! O holy one!" Up to (*the end of*) the Prajôtpatti *saṁvatsara*, the people were in straitened circumstances, and kept saying—"Poverty has stricken the Government; let us go to some

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[15] This, of course, is ironical.

[16] The staple grain of the country.

[17] The Pramôdûta and Prajôtpatti *saṁvatsaras* are the fourth and fifth in Jupiter's cycle of sixty-four years. By the usual reckoning they answered to A.D. 1870-71 and 1871-72, but there are variations in different parts of the country.

other kingdom;" heartily they cursed the disposition of the village-juries, the merchants, and the Subhêdâr.

This song was composed in Hubbaḷḷi, to the sound of a drum decorated with an elephant-goad and a nosegay of flowers; with the favour of (the god) Gurusiddhêśa, the poet Gurusiddha, the charitable one, the son of Hanmantrâô the teacher of singing, made and sang the words; sit and listen, O my brother! to the topic, the predicament that brought such ridicule!

TEXT.

Pallâ.

Yena hêḷali janmada gôḷâ । Iṅgraji upadar=âdita bâḷâ ।
Baḍavara aḷatâro gaḷagaḷâ । maḍatâra chînti ॥ Pallâ ॥

1ne nuḍi.

Madalinda kêḷari majakûrâ । bandâna Gâḍin-Sâheba saradârâ । kunta-koṇḍa tagada wonda hunnârâ । duḍḍa yeḷô igati ॥ Gâḍin-Sâheba hêḷatâna tôri । hasana mâdastêna râ-dâri । idaka nîva yêna antêri । kelasa nimad=atî ॥ Pañchar=ellaru âdâra kabûlâ । mund=hîṅg=âdit=annudu tiḷiḷillâ । duḍḍina garvili teradâra hallâ । illa kakalâti ॥ Châla ॥ Âga hâkidâra keḷa kasta paṭṭi । katiṇa baḍavarda tumbudu hoṭṭi । mâri koṭṭaro nûluva râṭi ॥ Duḍḍin=âśe hattita sarakâraka । chaukâśi bâḷ=âta dina-dinaka । śagaṇi gutti mâḍyara â kshaṇaka । kaṭagi mâratâra mâḍi tûka ॥ Pyâṇḍâreru Lamâṇeru kaṭagi । mâri tamma makkaḷna mâḍatidra jôki । îga bêḍuda bandati bikki । kelasa hîṅg=ati ॥ 1 ॥

2ne nuḍi.

Sarakâraka dorita masalattâ । karapaṭṭi hâkyâra turatâ-turatâ । raitara duḍḍa yeḷuva hikamattâ । mâḍidâra hîṅga ॥ Sarakârada âta balajôri । lôṭisa koṭṭa wâyide mâḍâri । koḍalidra beśaka jôri । naḍasari añjik=ilad-hâṅge ॥ Kalekatara-Sâyeba banda âga । bandu iḷadâna baṅgaledâga । janar=ella hôgi muttidâr=avaṅga । Śivâ iḷad-hâṅga ॥ Wâyide mîridar=hachchari baḍḍi । mani mâra tagoḷri lilâva mâḍi । bala mandi koṭṭâro gôḷy-âḍi । hedari manadâga ॥ Châla ॥ Daivadavar=ellâ kûḍi samastâ । arji koṭṭâro mâḍi masalattâ । chaukaśi mâḍari danéra kuntâ । paṭṭi kuḍo namag=ila tâkattâ ॥ Sâhêba manasige taralillâ । î mâta namma-kaḍe illâ । wôḍy-âḍi hôdava kai-kâlâ । kuḷa nîra bitta kuntar=allâ ॥ Saukâra vast-oḍavi tagad=iṭṭu । haraka dôtara aṅgiya toṭṭu । baṅgaleke hôguva nâchiki biṭṭu । baḍavarâ gati ॥ 2 ॥

3ne nuḍi.

Sâwakâra mâḍyâra yadi-gaṭṭi । bittît=anta namaga karapaṭṭi । bâḷâ baṭṭar=aṇṇâ kaṭapaṭi । baṅgaleka wôḍy-âḍi ॥ Kûḍi kuntar=aṇṇâ sâwakârâ । kunt-âṅga kuntrô kûḷi taḷawârâ । tamma-tammoḷaga hâkatâra usarâ । telaka mâri mâḍi ॥ Ûr-ellâ paṭṭi yetyâru । Kamari-pyâtyâga banda kuntâru । jôrilinda badaka taraśyâru । japti mâḍi ॥ Patigâra hêḷyâra Subhedâraga । nî nama haḍada tandi hâṅga । solpa karaṇa banda hotyâga । biḍo daya maḍi ॥ Tumi[15] khâwanda chhê mâya-bâp । hamâre patte karô tumi mâp ; kât-lâyâ chôḷenu châp । didâ radi-raḍi ॥ Châla ॥ Halagi kurtî resami-paṭṭi । bâṇḍe-sâmânâ jumânu-tâṭi । lilâwa mâḍaśyâru kimmata katti ॥ Châla ॥ Bâḷa keṭṭar=aṇṇâ sarakârâ । baḍavara tandâra kaṇṇîrâ । hentâ yâḷe tandi Îśvarâ । namag=yârad=illa âdârâ ॥ Lai raḍyâ kah tari sabi baiṭi । kâ kare tar-bi chukta nai patti । chuḍai-lâyâ jumânu-tâṭi । kari kah na châti ॥ 3 ॥

4ne nuḍi.

Harpanaḷḷi-Râyappa bara-koṭṭâ । ivarigi huṭâj=aitiri yaṭṭ'shṭâ । baḍavara sutta tandano kashṭâ । uḷilila daramâ ॥ Kamari-pyâṭi Musalar=ole-gaṭṭi ; koḍudila hôg=andâra karapaṭṭi । bêkâra tagôḷri daṇḍâ kaṭṭi । idara nima hukuma ॥ Subhedâra śiṭṭiḥ âda beṅki । mani-mani nôḍyâno yellâ hudiki । tâmbara-chûra karavâyi

[15] This verse is in Hindustânî, of course very corrupt. So, also, are a few passages further on, containing, like this, words put into the mouths of the Musalmans.

sutaki । wodadda kêḷri nêmâ ॥ Châla ॥ Musalara yellâ kuntâra kûḍi । masûti-waḷaga masalatâ mâḍi । kà hai dhunḍ-kar lakâw=are lakaḍi । hindaka saridiri anamâna mâḍi ॥ Masalatta hâkidâra hiṅga । bêśêka hoḍunu bandavaṅga । âdra biḍi hàkyâra namaga । matt=êna mâḍyâra idra myâga ॥ Baḍe katai nave re diwânâ । sarakâr-ke sât masti nâ karnâ । mâ-bâp-ka rakô pâwâ paḍnâ । kayi-to mêr âti ॥ 4 ॥

5ne nuḍi.

Yelapât-Sâheba banda saradârâ । baḍavara myâla idda bala phêrâ । âga kunta mâḍyâna vichyârâ । kêḷari hiṅga ॥ Âga Musalar=ellâru kûḍyâru । masalata mâḍi arji koṭṭâru । baṅgaleka banda yellâra kûḍyâru । kêḷari âga ॥ Tum khâwanda arj yi sunnâ । hamâri paṭṭi mâp tum karnâ । ninta-koṇḍa nôḍidâna baḍavaranâ । karuṇa hotyâga ॥ Sâhêba nôḍidâna sòsi । lagu mâḍi arji kuḍ=antâna baraśi । avana hotyâg=âta kasavisi । beṅki bidd-âṅga ॥ Heṅgasar=uṭr-antâ haraka-paraka śiri । ninta-koṇḍa nôḍidana aiśvari । gar-mê nai kar-kò jâri । aḷatàra âvâga ॥ Âga sardârâ mâḍyâna vichârâ । kuntidar=aṇṇâ doḍḍa sâwakàrâ । baḍavara mâḍyâra namaskârâ ॥ Sâhêba kêḷida kivi-goṭṭâ । ivarigi hutàj=ati heḷri yeshṭâ । Hitâḷi-Yirabadrappâ bara-kottâ । ainûrâ rupaida andâj=iṭṭa । nîva hêḷa-byâḍri kir-suṭṭâ । pañchara kivî-myàg=iṭṭâ ॥ 5 ॥

6ne nuḍi.

Yellara kûḍi mâḍatâra lekkâ । tama-tamoḷaga hàkatâra tûkâ । yeshṭ-anta ali janara dukka । kelasa naḍad-ati ॥ Pratam śeṭṭi Mâkappa puṇivantâ । kka hàki mâḍidâna tà kuntâ । yellara manasa âta sanamantà । kêḷari innâ ॥ Baḍavara nintâra mari-marigi । ninta bêḍi-koṇḍaro dorigi । koṭṭ-antâ paṭṭi koḍisidâna tirigi । Sâyeba puṇivânâ ॥ Musalara antâra are Allâ । warsâta gôdi akki uṇḍillâ । namma paḍipâtla Śivana ballâ । koḍunu nâv=ênâ ॥ Paramadhûta-nama-saṁvachharâ । karapaṭṭi hàkit=aṇṇâ sarakârâ । baḍavara maragidâra maramarâ । swâmi bhagavânâ ॥ Parajôtpatyâ-saṁvachhara tanaka । janara âdaro bâla halâka । baḍatana bant=antâra sarakâraka । hôgun=antâra matt-onda râjeka । bâḷa sarâpśâra pañchara guṇaka । śeṭṭi Subhêdâra kàmdâra-janaka ॥ Î padâ huṭṭita Hubbaḷyâga । aṅkus-turâya ḍabbina myâga । wastâda Hanamantràwana maga । Guraśiddêśâna dayâna myâga । Guraśidda dâna-châturâ । mâḍi hêḷidâna aksharâ । kunta kêḷar=eṇṇâ[19] maja âda pajîti ॥ 6 ॥

THE AGE AND WRITINGS OF NAGARJUNA-BODHISATTVA.

BY THE REV. S. BEAL.

From an examination of Chinese documents relating to Nâgârjuna, it seems evident that he is not the same person as Nâgasèna.

It has been hitherto commonly held that these two names denote one person. But the Chinese version of the *Melinda-Praśna* (Nanjio's *Catalogue*, No. 1358) describes Nâgasèna as a native of North India, and simply terms him a *Bhikshu*: whilst the *Life* of Nâgârjuna by Kumârajîva (*id.* No. 1461) places him in South India, and speaks of him as an eminent *Bôdhisattva*.

Again, the time when these two writers flourished is not the same. Nâgasèna was contemporary with Menander, who flourished about B.C. 140; whilst Nâgârjuna was certainly subsequent to the date of Kanishka, and, according to the latest conclusions, lived towards the end of the second century A.D.

Again, the characters of the two seem to be wholly different. Nâgasêna was a skilful disputant, but a loyal follower of the primitive doctrine of the great Teacher; but Nâgârjuna was the founder of a new school, an ambitious innovator, and an adept in conjuration and magic.

On all grounds, then, we must distinguish these two writers, and be content to let Nâgasêna alone, judging him only by his one work, *The Questionings of Milinda.*

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[19] This is the customary, though irregular, euphonic conjunction of *kêlari* (*kêḷri*) and *aṇṇâ*.

I will, however, make one or two remarks about the Chinese versions of this book. I call them versions, but they are only abridgments of the original work, if that work is fairly represented by the Pàli translation. The first was made by an unknown hand during the Eastern Tsin dynasty, *i.e.* between A.D. 317 and 400; it is called *Na-sien-pi-khu-king* or ' the *Sûtra* of the *Bhikshu* Nâgasêna." After some introductory matter relating to previous births, we are told that there were two Bràhmans, who had practised together their rules of austerity in the same mountain. One of these had expressed a wish that he might be born as a king; the other desired that he might be re-born in a condition to arrive at *nirvâṇa.* Accordingly, the first became the son of a king whose kingdom was by the sea-shore; and w[illegible] time came to name him. he was called *M*[illegible] The other was born in the country of *K*[illegible] ophene) and he was called *To-la;* but, because a royal elephant belonging to the family was born on the same day as the child, he was also called *Na-sin,* "for (the narrative adds) the Indian word for 'elephant' is *Na*" (? Nâga). Having become a *Bhikshu,* he attained celebrity, and after a while came to the country of *She-kie* in India, and took up his residence in the *Shi-ti-kia* temple. We must restore *She-kie* to Sàkala,[1] and *Shi-ti-kia* to Jêtika. So that the plot of the discussion which follows, is laid in the same place as in the Southern or Pali account. Meanwhile, the Prince *Mi-lan* had succeeded to his father's maritime kingdom, and, being an adept in religious and philosophical questions, he requested his ministers to inquire for one worthy to enter the lists with him in disputation. The reply was that in the Northern region, in the country *Ta-ts'in,*[2] in the kingdom of *She-kie,* and in the palace of an old king of that country, there was dwelling a *Shaman* well able to dispute with the royal scholar. Then follows a description of the city of Śàkala, the noble character of the people, the richly ornamented gates, the sculptured palaces, the apartments of the court ladies, the streets and suburbs, the elephants, horses and chariots, the artizans and scholars, and the tribute paid to this city by all the small countries round about.[3] The clothing of the people is described as being of the five colours, glistening and bright,—the women, of white complexion, and wearing jewels and costly ornaments,—the soil, rich and productive, &c., &c. This was the capital of the country of *Mi-lan.* The king, therefore, proceeds thither, and the disputation is narrated in two long chapters of twenty and fourteen double pages respectively.

From a superficial examination, the description appears to be, in its general character, identical with that found in the *Milinda-pañho*: but, as I do not possess the English translation of this work, published, I understand, by Mr Trenckner, I have not been able to make any exact comparison.

The only remark on the foregoing that need be made, is that the kingdom of Menander may properly be described as a maritime one, as the conquest of Pattalene is ascribed to him: and, as "he reigned over an extensive tract from the foot of the Paropamisus to the sea,"[4] we may accept the Chinese account that, whilst his kingdom bordered on the sea, its chief city was Sàkala. This country the Chinese writer identifies with *Ta-ts'in,* which is generally referred to the Roman Empire, but may, I think, be also equivalent to the countries ruled by the Baktrian satraps. On all sides, at least, this Chinese book supports the identification of Melinda (*Mi-lan*) with the Menander of the Greeks.

There is another short work, in the Chinese collection of books, relating to this subject. It comprises the 101st tale, or story, in the *Tsah-pao-ts ang-king* (the *Saṁyuktaratnapiṭaka-sûtra*).[5] The tale is called *Na-sien-Nan-to-wang-king, i.e.* "the *Sûtra of* Nâgasêna and Nandaràja." The contents are similar to the former work noticed. The king's name is given as Nanda, instead of *Mi-lan.* But I see no difficulty in supposing Nanda to be a contraction of Menander, or of the Pâli Minanda.

On the whole we may conclude that Nâgasêna, the *Bhikshu,* was contemporary with Menander, and that his discussion with the

[1] The modern Sangala or Lāhōr in the Pañjab; see page 246 above, note 9.—J.F.F.

[2] *Ta-ts'in* in this place must denote the Græco-Baktrian Empire.

[3] Śàkala, t[illegible] at this time was the seat of Greek influence and [illegible] in North India.

[4] Wilson [illegible] page 280

[5] Nanjio's Ca[illegible] No 1329.

Greek ruler may have given rise to the story of Plutarch about the distribution of his (Menander's) relics and the monuments placed over them.

We now come to Nâgârjuna, respecting whom there is abundance of information, of a mixed character, to be found scattered throughout the Buddhist literature of China. The chief difficulty is how to connect these scattered notices into anything like a reliable narrative.

Taking Hiuen Tsiang's notices first,[6]—we find that, according to him, Nâgârjuna lived during the time of a king called *So-to-p'o-ho*,[7] in Southern Kôsala. He practised the art of converting inferior substances into gold, and also gained a knowledge of the elixir of life. By means of the latter, he had extended his own and the king's years over several centuries. The king built for him, or excavated from the rock, a *saṅghârâma*; the rock or mountain was called *Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li* and it was 300 *li* south of the country.[8] We cannot fix the site of the capital city, visited by Hiuen Tsiang; and so the *Po-lo-mo-lo* hill is not known for certain. One thing, however, we know that it must be restored to Bhramara, or "the black bee," and was called after Durgâ or Pârvatî; and that it is the same as the Śrî-parvata-Paramalagiri named by Scheifner in his Translation of *Târanâtha*, p. 304. On this hill Nâgârjuna is said to have passed one hundred and twenty-nine years of his life (Scheifner, *Târanâtha*, p. 73). We must then, it appears, give up the old story of Fa-hian[9] about the pigeon (*pârâvata*) monastery, and substitute for it the Sriparvata dedicated to Durgâ. I have been told by Dr. Burgess that he has good reason for identifying this rock with the celebrated Śrîśâila, on the river Krishṇâ.[10]

But now the question arises who was this king *So-to-p'o-ho*, and what his probable date?

The Chinese explanation of the king's name is, "he who draws, or pulls well."[11] This, however, gives us but little help, beyond suggesting, as the original Sanskrit word, Sadvaha,—a name which we do not know of from Sanskrit sources, and which does not seem a very probable one. But we are told by I-tsing[12] that this monarch was also called *Shi-yen-te-kia*, which might be restored to Sindhuka; moreover, the same writer says that Nâgârjuna wrote to him as the king of a country called *Shing-t'e* (Sindh?). All this is obscure; it is true the *Vâyu-Purâṇa* gives us the name Sindhuka as the first of the Andhras; but his date is much too early for Nâgârjuna. Under these circumstances, I can find no clue to the settlement of the date from this part of my enquiry: and must rest satisfied with the suggestion that the Chinese translation of the Sanskrit name is wrong,—that the original name was Śâtavâha(na), which is equally deducible from the transliteration, and the sound of which might easily be confused by the Chinese with the sound of Sadvaha,—and that the king is to be identified with one of the Sâtavâhana or Andhra kings, and possibly with the Yajñaśrî-Śâtakarṇi, who seems to have flourished about A.D. 178 to 207.

If we come now to consider the succession of Buddhist Patriarchs as they are named in the Northern Books, we find that Nâgârjuna is the thirteenth in the order, and Pârśva the ninth. If this Pârśva was the one who presided over the council summoned by Kanishka, then we may reasonably place him about 300 years after Aśôka, or A.D. 70 or 75; for this seems to be the meaning of the 400 years after the *nirvâṇa*, alluded to by Hiuen Tsiang.[13] His successors were Puṇyayaśas, Aśvaghôsha, Kapimala, and then Nâgârjuna. Respecting these, there is no reliable observation found in Chinese Books, except that Aśvaghôsha was contemporary with Kanishka. As there has been some

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[6] *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. II. p. 210 ff.

[7] This is a phonetic representation, and is explained as meaning "he who draws the good," which of course suggests Sadvaha or Sadvahana as the original Sanskrit word.

[8] This expression probably means that it was 300 *li* from the capital of the kingdom.

[9] *Buddh. Rec. West. World*. Introd. p. lxviii ff.

[10] [It seems worth noting that a Buddhist *Bhadanta* named Nagârjunacharya is mentioned in one of the inscriptions at the Jaggayyapeta *Stûpa*, thirty miles north-west of the well-known Amarâvatî in the Kistna (Krishṇâ) district (*Archæol. Surv. South Ind.* Vol III p. 57). This inscription, however, is in Sanskrit; and, partly for that reason, partly on palæographical grounds, has to be allotted to about the beginning of the seventh century A.D., and it thus gives about A.D. 650 as the date of this Nâgârjunâcharya.—J.F.F.]

[11] *chan t yin*, *lit.* 'right-drawing.' At one time I thought this was equivalent to the Greek Σωτηρ

[12] *Nan-hai-ki-kwei-chuen*, K. iv. p. 5. b. I-tsing tells us that the king's title (*ho*) was *Shi-to-po-han-na*, his private or personal name (*wang*) being *Shi-yen-te-kia*.

[13] *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol I. p. 151.

doubt expressed about this, I will refer to stories 93 and 94 in the abovenamed work called *Samyuktaratnapiṭaka*. In these stories we have mention made of the king called *Chandan-Kanika*, which I can only restore to Kanishka of Gândhâra. He was a great conqueror, and was converted to Buddhism. In story 94 he is said to have had three friends,—Aśvaghôsha, his spiritual adviser;—*Mo-cha-lo* (Madra), his great minister;—and *Chay-lo-kia* (Jurka ?), his chief physician. We are then told how Kanishka, after a great slaughter of his enemies, relented and desired to pursue a more peaceful life: on which his chief minister intimated that such a desire could scarcely be carried out by such a man as he had been. The king then orders a caldron full of water to be heated to the boiling point, and this is done, he flung into the water his ring, ordering his minister immediately to take it out with his hand. The officer begs to be excused, but in vain; at last, on condition he would take it out, the king permits him to adopt his own method. Of course he takes from under the caldron the fire, and allows the water to cool. Then he removes the ring. "And so," replied the monarch, "even I may gain the treasure of the Law, by extinguishing within me the three fires of lust, hatred, and doubt."

I only refer to this story to shew that Aśvaghôsha was contemporary with Kanishka. But he was probably a young man, and may have succeeded Puṇyayaśas in his old age. At any rate, we cannot accommodate this succession to any date for Nâgârjuna earlier than the latter end of the second century A.D.

According to Tibetan accounts, Nâgârjuna lived some 600 years after Buddha; for this is the only reasonable way of explaining the statement that according to some his life was 71 years short of 600, and according to others 29 years short of that period.[14] This is supposed to be a mistake for 71 or 29 years short of 600 years after Buddha; and if we assume the date of Buddha (according to Tibetan accounts) to be 100 years before Aśôka, this again would give us a date for Nâgârjuna from about A.D. 166 to A.D. 200.

I think we may safely regard this as the nearest approximate date to be got from Chinese or Tibetan sources. I will merely add that the change introduced by Nâgârjuna into the code of Buddhist doctrine was so great that it is said he claimed himself to be the "all-knowing one" (the Omniscient), and that, after his death, *Stûpas* were raised to him, and he was worshipped as Buddha.[15]

[14] Vassilief (French Ed.) p. 205 n

[15] Records of the Patriarchs (*Nanjio's Catalogue*, No 1340) K. v. p. 20. b.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

By J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

(*Continued from p. 258.*)

No. 166.—BODH-GAYA INSCRIPTION OF MAHANAMAN.—THE YEAR 269.

This inscription, which is now published for the first time, is from a stone-tablet that was discovered in the course of the excavations made by General Cunningham and Mr. J. D. M. Beglar at Bôdh-Gayâ,[1] the famous Buddhist site about five miles due south of Gayâ, the chief town of the Gayâ District, in the Bengal Presidency. The original stone is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The stone has the appearance of having been originally set in a socket about three inches deep, and morticed at the sides into a building. The front surface measures about 1′ 7½″ broad by 1′ 6″ high. Below the inscription, towards the proper right side of the stone, there are engraved in outline a cow and a calf, standing towards, and nibbling at, a small tree or bush; the tips of the ears of the cow are discernible in the lithograph, below the commencement of line 14.—The writing, which is in the upper part of the stone, and covers a space of about 1′ 7½″ broad by 1′ 0″ high, including a margin of about an inch all round, is in a state of perfect preservation almost throughout.—The average size of the letters is about ¼″. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include, in the last line, forms of the numerical symbols

[1] The 'Bodh-Gya' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No 104 Lat. 24° 42′ N., Long. 85° 3′ E

for 8, 9, 60, and 200. In the conjunct letter *ry*, in *yatir=yataḥ*, line 7, we have to note that the *r* is formed on the line, with a single *y* below it.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening symbol representing *Ôm*, and for the date at the end, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only points calling for notice are (1) the occasional doubling of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, *e.g.* in *chakkrais*, line 13; *tanttram*, line 2; and *chaittra*, line 14; and (2) the use of *v* for *b* throughout, *e.g.* in *vandhu*, lines 2 and 8; *vabhûva*, line 6; and *vôdhi*, lines 10 and 12.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king. It is dated, in numerical symbols, in the year two hundred and sixty-nine (A.D. 588-89), on the eighth day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra (March-April). It is a Buddhist inscription. And the object of it is to record the erection, by a certain M a h â n â m a n,—the second of that name mentioned in this inscription,—of a mansion of Buddha, *i.e.* a Buddhist temple or monastery, at the B ô d h i m a ṇ ḍ a, or, rather, within the precincts of it; *i.e.* at the modern Bôdh-Gayâ.

With regard to the places mentioned in this inscription, L a ṅ k â is, of course, one of the most well-known names of Ceylon. And Gen. Cunningham tells me that Â m r a d v î p a, 'the mango-island,' is another of its names, derived from its resemblance in shape to a mango. B ô d h i m a ṇ ḍ a is the name of the miraculous throne under the *bôdhi*-tree at Bôdh-Gayâ, also called the *vajrâsana* or 'diamond-throne,' on which Buddha and his predecessors sat, when attaining *bôdhi* or perfect wisdom.[2] And Professor Childers, in his *Pâli Dictionary*, added that he inferred that the term was also applied to the raised terrace built under the *bôdhi*-tree within the precincts of any Buddhist temple, in imitation, presumably, of Buddha's throne. This, rather than the throne itself, seems to be its meaning in the present inscription.

The chief interest of this inscription, lies in the probability that the second M a h â n â m a n mentioned in it, is the person of that name who composed the more ancient part of the Pâli *Mahâvaṁso*, or history of Ceylon. If this identification is accepted, it opens up a point of importance in the question of *mitra*. On the one hand, there can be no doubt that the date of the present inscription has to be referred to the Gupta era, with the result of A.D. 588-89. On the other hand, from the Ceylonese records Mr. Turnour arrived at A.D. 459 to 477 as the period of the reign of Mahânâman's nephew (sister's son) D h â t u s ê n a;[3] and it was during his reign that M a h â n â m a n compiled the history. The recorded date of the present inscription, therefore, shews,—if the identification suggested above is accepted,—either that the details of the Ceylonese chronology are not as reliable as they have been supposed to be; or else that a wrong starting-point has been selected in working them out, and that they now require considerable rectification.

TEXT.[4]

1 Ôm [॥*] Vyâptô[5] yên=â-pramêyaḥ sakala-śaśi-ruchâ sarvvataḥ sat[t*]va-dhâtuḥ kshuṇṇâḥ pâshaṇḍa-yôdhâs=sugati-patha-rudhas=tarkka-śâstr-âbhiyuktâḥ. sampûrṇṇô
2 dharmma-kôshaḥ prakṛiti-ripu-hṛitaḥ sâdhitô lôka-bhûtyai[6] śâstuḥ Śâky-aika-va(ba)ndhôr=jjayati chirataraṁ tad=yaśas-sâra-tanttram ॥ Nair-ôdhimi[7] śubha-bhâvanâ-
3 m=anusṛitaḥ saṁsâra-saṁklêśa-jin=Maitrêyasya karê vimukti-vaśitâ yasy=âdbhutâ vyâkṛitâ । nirvvâṇ-âvasarê cha yêna charaṇau dṛishṭau munêḥ
4 pâvanau ।[8] pâyâd=vaḥ sa munîndra-śâsana-dharaḥ stutyai Mahâ-Kâśyapaḥ ॥ Saṁyukt-âgaminô viśuddha-rajasaḥ sat[t*]v-ânukamp-ôdyatâḥ śishyâ
5 yasya sakṛid=vichêrur=atulâṁ Laṅk-âchal-ôpatyakâṁ têbhyaḥ śîla-guṇ-ânvitâś=cha śataśaḥ śishya-praśishyâḥ kramâj=jâtâs=tuṅga-narêndra-
6 vaṁśa-tilakâḥ prôtsṛiyya râjya-śriyam ॥ Dhyân[9]-ôday-âhita-lalitaḥ śubh-âśubha-vivêka-kṛid=vihata-môhaḥ sad-dharmm-âtula-vibhavô Bhavô va(ba)bhûva

[2] See, amongst other authorities, Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II. p. 116.

[3] See Turnour's *Mahavanso*, pp. ii. liv. lxii. 254ff.; and *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 922.

[4] From the original stone.

[5] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[6] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[7] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the following verse.

[8] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[9] Metre, Âryâ.

7 śramaṇas=tataḥ ‖ Râhul[10]-âkhyaś=cha tach-chhishya U[11]pasênô yatir=yataḥ Mahâ-
nâmâ kramâd=êvam=Upasênas=tatô=paraḥ ‖ Vâtsalyaṁ[12] śaraṇ-â-
8 gatasya satataṁ dînasya vaiśêshikaṁ vyâpṛit-sâyaka-santati-kshata-dhṛitêr=ârttasya
ch=âpatyakaṁ | krûrasy=âhita-kâriṇaḥ pravitataṁ va(ba)ndhôr=yathâ-
9 bhâvataḥ êvaṁ sach-charit-ôdbhavêna yaśasâ yasy=âchitaṁ bhûtalaṁ ‖ Âmradvîp[13]-
âdhivâsî prithu-kula-jaladhis=tasya śishyô mahîyân
10 Laṅkâ-dvîpa-prasûtaḥ para-hita-nirataḥ san-Mahânâma-nâmâ | tên=ôchchair-Vvô(bbô)-
dhimaṇḍê śaśi-kara-dhavalaḥ sarvvatô maṇḍapêna |[14]
11 kântaḥ prâsâda êsha Smara-va(ba)la-jayinaḥ kâritô lôka-śâstuḥ ‖ Vyapagata[15]-
vishaya-snêhô hata-timira-daśaḥ pradîpa-vad=a-saṅgaḥ
12 kuśalên=ânêna janô vô(bô)dhi-sukham=anuttaraṁ bhajatâm ‖ Yâvad[16]=dhvânt-
âpahârî pravitata-kiraṇaḥ sarvvatô bhâti bhâsvân=yâvat=pûrṇṇô=mvu(mbu)-
13 râśiḥ phaṇi-phaṇa-kuṭilair=ûrmmi-chakkrais=samantât yâvach=ch=Êndr-âdhivâsô
vividha-maṇi-śilâ-châru-śriṅgaḥ Sumêruḥ śôbh-âḍhyam
14 tâvad=êtad=bhavanam=uru-munêḥ śâśvatatvam=prayâtu ‖ Samvat 200 60 9 Chaittra
śu di 8 ‖

TRANSLATION.

Victorious for a very long time is that domicile, replete with fame, of the Teacher, the chief kinsman of the Śâkyas, by which, lustrous as the full moon, the inscrutable primary substance of existence has been pervaded in all directions; by which the warriors, who are heretics, obstructive of the path of beatitude, have been broken to pieces, being assailed with the weapon of logic; (*and*) by which the whole treasure of religion, that had been stolen by the enemy which is original nature, has been recovered for the welfare of mankind!

(L. 2.)—May he, M a h â-K â ś y a p a, protect you, who, for the purposes of praise, observed the precepts of (Buddha) the chief of saints; who practised that auspicious habit of abstract meditation which is of the nature of a trance; who overcame the anguish of successive states of existence; whose wonderful subjugation of the passions in final emancipation (*is to be*) displayed in the hand of Maitrêya,[17] and by whom the two pure feet of (Buddha) the saint were beheld at the time of attaining *nirvâṇa*![18]

(L. 4.)—His disciples, endowed with a connected tradition of doctrine, purified as to (*their*) emotions, (*and*) active in compassion for existing beings, roamed at one time over the unrivalled country at the feet of the mountains of L a ṅ k â; and in succession from them there were born, in hundreds, disciples and disciples' disciples, possessed of the virtue of (*good*) character, who, without the glory of (*actual*) sovereignty, were the ornaments of a lofty race of kings.

(L. 6.)—Then there was the *Śramaṇa* B h a v a, whose welfare was effected by the development of abstract meditation; who discriminated between good and evil; who destroyed error; (*and*) who possessed an unequalled wealth of true religion.

(L. 7.)—And his disciple (*was*) he who had the name of R â h u l a, after whom (*there came*) the ascetic U p a s ê n a (I.): then in succession (*there was*) M a h â n â m a n (I.); (*and*) after him another U p a s ê n a (II.), whose special characteristic of affection, of the kind that is felt towards offspring,—for any distressed man who came to him for protection, and for any afflicted person whose fortitude had been destroyed by the continuous flight of the arrows of adversity,—extended, in conformity with the disposition of a kinsman, (*even*) to any cruel man who might seek to do (*him*) harm: (*and*) by whose fame, arising from good actions, the whole world was thus completely filled.

[10] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[11] From the vowel *ê* being partially engraved over this *u*, the engraver seems to have begun to form the *s* here.

[12] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[13] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[14] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[15] Metre, Âryâ.

[13] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[17] Maitreya is a Bôdhisattva, at present in the Tushita heaven, who is to be the next Buddha. And the present passage, which is rather obscure, is perhaps explained by the injunction which Buddha, when on the point of attaining *nirvâṇa*, gave to Mahâ-Kâśyapa, to deliver over his *kâshâya* or yellow robe (and with it the transmission of the Buddhist doctrine) to Maitreya, when he should attain the condition of a Buddha (see Beal's *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol II p. 142ff.)

[18] Mahâ-Kâśyapa was seated in meditation, when suddenly a bright light burst forth, and he perceived the earth shaking. And then, exerting his divine sight in order to ascertain what wonderful event was indicated by this portent, he saw Buddha in the act of entering on *nirvâṇa* (see *id.* Vol. II. p. 161.)

(L. 9.)—His disciple, greater (*even than himself*), (*is*) he who has the appropriate name of Mahânâman (II.); an inhabitant of Âmradvîpa; a very ocean of a mighty family; born in the island of Laṅkâ; delighting in the welfare of others;—by him this beautiful mansion of the Teacher of mankind, who overcame the power of (the god) Smara,[19]—dazzling white as the rays of the moon, with an open pavilion on all sides,—has been caused to be made at the exalted Bôdhimaṇḍa.

(L. 11.) — By means of this appropriate (*action*) let mankind,—freed from attachment to worldly things; having the condition of (*mental*) darkness dispelled; (*and*), like (*the flame of*) a torch, having no adhesion (*to material objects*),—enjoy the supreme happiness of perfect wisdom!

(L. 12.)—As long as the sun, the dispeller of darkness, shines in all directions with diffused rays; as long as the ocean (*is*) full on all sides with its circles of waves that are curved like the hoods of hooded snakes; and as long as (the mountain) Sumêru, the abode of (the god) Indra, has its summits made beautiful by various jewelled slabs, in such a way as to be full of lustre,—so long let this temple of the great saint attain the condition of being everlasting!

(L. 14.)—The year 200 (*and*) 60 (*and*) 9; (the month) Chaitra; the bright fortnight; the day 8.

No. 167.—Bodh-Gaya Image Inscription of Mahanaman.

This inscription, which also is now published for the first time, is from the pedestal of a Buddhist image that was discovered in the

excavations made Cunningham and
Mr. Beglar â, in the Gayâ
District in tl icy.
The writi a space of about
1′ 8¾″ broad a state of almost
perfect pres rage size of th
letters is al ters belong
the norther —The langu
is Sanskrit n is in pro
The ortho aning calli
remark.
The ins he
reign of the
characte with
the pre It
is a Bu of
it is t ie
on th a
Stha i-
ously the seco ie
preceding ins ning-
As pointed nanâman
ham, this inscript s old when
must have been at lea ddhist rules,
he visited Bôdh-Gayâ *dâ*-ordination,
he could not receive the ty years; and,
before attaining the age ait at least ten
after that, he would ha uld be invested
or twelve years, before *Thêra*. A further
with the title of *Sthavi* Mahânâman's visit
point to be noted, is, th ccurred before the
to Bôdh-Gayâ probably ame king of Ceylon,
time when Dhâtusêna be e uncle and nephew
—during the flight of t f the usurper Pâṇḍu;
to avoid the persecution our's deductions, this
according to Mr. Turn and 439.
was between A.D. 434

TEXT.[20]

1 Ôm Dêya-dharmmô=yaṁ Śâkya-bhikshôḥ Âmradvîpa-vâsi-stha vira-Mahânâmasya[21] [‖*] =anuttara-jñân-âvâptayê=
Yad=atra puṇyaṁ tad=bhavatu sarvva-sat[t*]vânâ
stu[22] [‖*]

TRANSLATION.

Ôm! This (*is*) the appropriate religious gift of the Śâkya *Bhikshu*, the *Sthavira* Mahânâman, a resident of Âmradvîpa. Whatever religi s merit (*there is*) in this (*act*), let it be f the acquisition of supreme knowledge by a sentient beings!

[19] This refers generally to the subjugation of the passions; but also specially to the temptation by Mâra, or Love as the Destroyer, which is referred to in *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. II. p. 69 ff.

[20] From Mr. J. D. M. Beglar's ink-impression: so also the lithograph
[21] Read *Mah n*
[22] This *stu* was) is redundant, as we have already had *bhavatu*.

HATH[…]CRIPTION OF THE MEHARA CHIEF THEPAKA.

[…]NKAR GAURISHANKAR; BHAWNAGAR

Hâthasnî […] bute-paying
State, held by […] jputs, in the
Und-Sarvaiyâ […] e Gôhilwâḍ
Prânt in Kâthi[…] situated at
he foot of the […] the north
bank of the rive[…] rteen miles
in a south-wes[…] Pahtâṇâ.
Th[…] ins[…] stone that
was […] he collec-
tion
Th[…] pieces:
but […] en lost
ther […] nd five

in line 13, which do not seem to have contained anything of importance, and, in line 17, the third figure in the date, which however is supplied by the ordinal word in the same line. —The writing covers a space of about 1′ 6¼″ broad by 1′ 0¾″ high. The average size of the letters is about ⅝″. The characters are Dêvanâgarî, of the period to which the inscription refers itself. In *khagâra*, line 2, *vâkhala*, line 5, and *akhaṁḍa*, line 16, the *kha* is represented by the sign for *sha*. The *avagraha* occurs in several places.—The verses are numbered in the original.

TEXT.

1 […] भारती । यस्याः प्रसादमासाद्य मूढोऽपि विबुधायते १ [॥*]
2 […] ताभूना[2] मंडनमादिभानां तेषां कुले पुण्यकृतां वरिष्ठः खगार नामा
3 […] ामा तस्य वंशेऽथ जज्ञे सकलगुणनिधानं रूपविख्यातकीर्तिः प्रियम-
4 […] ा विजयसुभटपुत्रै[3] सूर्यवंशप्रसूता ३ [॥*] यशोधवलदेवस्य सुषुवे
5 तनया[…] वृक्षस्य मल्लमंडलमेलिगान् ४ [॥*] अत्रांतरे वाखल[4]राजवंशे कंडु-
6 लर्शमंडल[…] रगार्जुनो[7] नाम बभूव वीरः श्रीमंडलीकस्य सहायकारी ५ [॥*] सुतस्तस्य म-
7 हानंदः संज[…] ले येन कौ जातसारेण जहर्षु पूर्वजा मुदा ६ [॥*] सुता मंगलराजस्य
8 रूपा रूपमतो[…] तं देवकं वीरं – – यं स्वामिवत्सलं ७ [॥*] अपि वाचस्पतिर्मूकः के वयं तद्गु-
9 णस्तवे दत्ता[…] णानां संख्या कर्तुं[8] न सक्यते[9] ८ [॥*] कुलेन शौर्येण नयेन कीर्त्या प्रजा-
10 भिरामो भु[…] मेहरोऽथ तालध्वजे विप्रजनाभिरामे महीशभूपेन नियोजितश्रीः
11 ९ [॥*] राज्यं[…] तस्य चतुर्भिस्तनयैः समं धर्मबुद्धिरियं जाता देवकस्य महात्मनः १० [॥*] कार-
12 यामि महावार्पी[…] तुतृपापर्हा अगाधे निर्जले देशे कुंतराजं ततोऽब्रवीत् ११ [॥*] वज्रा-
13 दित्यकुले सुर्यवीत्र[…] ान्वयोद्भव – – – – – मे वाक्यं शृणु धर्ममयं हितं १२ [॥*] यथा
14 मम पितृव्येन जी[…] दुर्गनिवासि[ना] कारिता संगवार्पीति देवावार्पा प्रकाश्य १३ [॥*] म-
15 हेण समादिष्टो[…] धर्मबुद्धिः स कौ नरः कारयामास सहसा वापीं जलमनोहरां
16 १४ [॥*] अखं[ड][5][…] [10]मायुर्लभतां मेहरो द्विजवल्लभः सहितः पुत्रपौत्रैश्च परिवारजनैः समं [॥*]
17 संवत् १३[८]६ व[…] र्षे ॥ भावे संवत्सरे पूर्णे आषाढे षडशीतिके सप्तम्यां सोमवारेण
18 वापीयं पूर्ण[ता] ग[…] ता ॥ १६ [॥*] श्रीप्रभातिडवास्तव्यसूत्रवाच्छासुतसांडाकेन कारापिता [॥*]

TRANSL[A]TION.

Ôm! Success! Victori[…]ous be (the goddess) Bhârati, whose abode is th[e] mouth of Virañchi, and by whose blessings e[ve]n a fool becomes intelligent!

(L. 2.)—The lunar dynas[ty …] has achieved a world-wide fame; in the fa[mi]ly of the meritorious kings of that dyna[sty], there was a king named Khagâra,[11] the [o]rnament of his predecessors who were end[ow]ed with the virtue of forbearance.

(L. 3.)—In his family was bo[rn …] one who bore the excellent name of Jasadhavala, who was the treasure of all virtues, and whose fame became all the more renowned on account of his beauty; and whom a lady named Priyamala, born in the solar dynasty with the sons of Vijaya and Subhaṭa, married on account of his beauty.

(L. 4.)—Like a creeper of the *kalpa*-tree, she bore to Yaśôdhavala three excellent sons —Malla, Maṇḍala, and Mêliga.

(L. 5.)—At this point,—there flourished in the family of Vakhalarâja,[12] a hero named

[1] Read *śrî-s[…]ma-yan[…]*. [2] Re[ad …] *bh[…]â*.
[3] In this word, the *kha* is represented [as in …] *vâkhala*, line 5, and *akhaṁḍa*, line 16. […] *v[…]ś[…]*; so also
[4] Read *n[…]yatvr-bubh[…]*. [5] Rea[d …] *putrai[…]*.
[6] See note 3 above. [7] Read *a[…]*.
[8] Read *kartuṁ*. [9] Read *śa[…]*.
[10] See note 3 above. [11] See note 3 above.
[12] See note 3 above.

Nâgârjuna, who was the companion of the illustrious Maṇḍalika, and who had subdued the circle of his enemies with the prowess of his arms which were always itching to strike.

(L. 6.)—His son was Mahânanda, at whose birth on the earth the joy of his elders knew no bounds.

(L. 7.)—The daughter of Maṅgalarâja, named Rûpâ, who was possessed of a charming beauty, gave birth (*by this Mahânanda*) to a son named Ṭhêpaka, who was brave . . . . . . and dear to his master. Even Vâchaspati is powerless to describe his virtues; so how shall we?; it is impossible to make an enumeration of his charities.

(L. 9.)—Then (*this*) Mêhara, who won the hearts of his subjects by his nobility, valour, [illegible]e of justice, and glory, had the royal d[illegible]y conferred upon him by king Mahîśa at Taladhvaja,[13] a place dear to Brâhmans.

(L. 11.)—While that high-minded Ṭhêvaka was reigning, with his four sons, a benevolent idea occurred to him, of building a large tank, capable of quenching the thirst of all beings in a country where water was scarce and very deep; then he spoke to Kûntarâja:—

(L. 12.)—"O (*king, born*) in the family of Vallâditya, and descended from Sûrya-Vikala, listen to my . . . . . . virtuous and beneficial advice. Just as my paternal uncle, who lived at Jîrṇadurga, built a tank called (*after him*) the Saṅgavâpî, so also do thou get a tank built, (*called*) the Ṭhêvavâpî (*after me*)."

(L. 15.)—That virtuous earthly hero, having been thus instructed by the Mehara, immediately had a tank built, full of charming water.

(L. 16.)—May the Mêhara, the beloved of Brâhmaṇs, with his sons, grandsons, and followers, live a very long life!

(L. 17.)—The year 1386, the Bhâva *saṁvatsara* being complete, in (the month) Ashâḍha; in the eighty-sixth (*year*); on the seventh lunar day; on Monday; this tank was finished.

(L. 18.)—(*This inscription was*) engraved by Sâṇḍika, the son of Sûtra-Vâchâ, an inhabitant of the famous Prabhânishṭha.

NOTE BY MR. FLEET.

The chief interest of this inscription lies in its being a historical record of the Mêr or Mêhar tribe, the modern representatives, as was suggested to me some three years ago by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, of the Maitrakas, who are mentioned in the Valabhî grants in connection with the *Sênâpati* Bhatârka.

His suggestion was that Maitraka is the Sanskṛitised form of the original name of the tribe. In endorsing it, I have to point out that the original name was Mihira; which again is the Sanskṛitised form of the Persian *mihr*, 'the sun,' and is no doubt to be attributed, as a tribal name, to a special predilection for sun-worship. The Sanskṛitised form Maitraka also preserves this connection in a very happy way: since it is a regular derivative from *mitra*, which again, as denoting the sun or the god of day, is an adaptation of the Persian Mithra. The Mihiras were a branch of the Hûṇas, who, under the leadership of Tôramâṇa and and Mihirakula, overthrew the power of the Early Guptas and established themselves in Kâṭhiâwâḍ and other parts of Northern India, and were then, in their turn, conquered in Kâṭhiâwâḍ by the *Sênâpati* Bhatârka.

Other epigraphical references to them have been obtained. Thus, a Mihira king, or a king named Mihira, is mentioned as being defeated by the Rashṭrakûṭa chieftain Dhruva III. of Gujarât, in line 45 of the Bagumra grant[14] dated Śaka-Saṁvat 789 (A.D. 867-68). And the Ṭimâṇâ grant[15] of the Chaulukya king Bhîmadêva II., dated Vikrama-Saṁvat 1264 (A.D. 1207-8), mentions, in lines 6, 7, 8, 25, and 26, two Mêhara *Râjas* named Jagamalla and Âna.

The present inscription gives us a third reference, in being a record of a Mêhara chief named Ṭhêpaka or Ṭhêvaka, with the date of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1386 (A.D. 1329-30).

And a fourth reference is furnished by a short inscription[16] on the pedestal of a Jain image, stored with several others in a place called Gôrakhmaḍhì on the island of Śiâḷ-Bêt, off the south-eastern coast of Kâṭhiâwâḍ. It records that, in (Vikrama)-Saṁvat 1272

13 The modern Talâja in Kâṭhiâwâḍ.
14 Edited by Dr. Bühler; *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 179 ff.
15 Edited by Dr. Hultzsch; *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 337 ff.
16 Mentioned in the Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. VIII. Kâṭhiâwâḍ, p. 652.—In the absence of an ink-impression, I describe it from a transcript sent to me by Mr. Vajeshankar Gaurishankar. The images are said to have been transported to the island from the mainland, to save them from violation, when the Musalmâns invaded the peninsula.

(A. D. 1215-16), on Ravi(vâra) or Sunday, the fifth day of the dark fortnight of the month Pausha (December-January), the image, one of Mahâvîra, was made by the order of the whole *Saṁgha*, and was installed by the *Sûri* Hariprabha, of the Chandra *gachchha*, a disciple of the *Sûri* Śântiprabha, at Ṭimbâṇaka (Timâṇâ), the estate (*pratipatti*) of the Mêhara *Râja*, the illustrious Raṇasiṁha. The corresponding English date is, with a difference of one day. Monday, the 11th January, A. D. 1216.

The Mêrs or Mêhars are to the present day a tribe of considerable importance in Kâthiâwâḍ. According to the Bombay Gazetteer,[17] they are nearly 24,000 strong, and are a race which has attached itself from time immemorial to the Jêṭhwâ Râjputs. Colonel J. W. Watson tells me that the Jêṭhwâs are said to be only the *râjakula* of the Mêhars, i.e. the branch of the tribe in which the ruling power is vested; and that there are grounds for thinking that this is probably correct. He also informs me, in addition to the miscellaneous information given in the Gazetteer, that the Mêhars follow the custom of a younger brother marrying his elder brother's widow.

Another settlement of the Mêhars was in Mêrwâḍâ, in Râjputânâ; in connection with which a good deal of interesting information about the tribe may be found in Tod's *Annals of Râjasthân*,[18] Chapter xxvi.

Traces of them seem also to be found in Mêharaulî or Mêṁharaulî, a corruption of Mihirapurî, the village, close to Dehli, in which there is the iron pillar inscription of the emperor Chandra.

Mêhar on the Indus, in Sindh, is probably another early settlement of the tribe. And, if indexes were only forthcoming of the Trigonometrical Survey Maps, we might doubtless find many other interesting records of the extent to which they spread, and the chief localities in which they settled.

The full details of the date of this inscription are Vikrama-Saṁvat 1386, the Bhâva *saṁvatsara*; Sômavâra or Monday, the seventh lunar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Âshaḍha (June-July). By the Tables, however, Vikrama-Saṁvat 1386 was the Śukla *saṁvatsara*: and the Bhâva *saṁvatsara* was the year 1391. Whether we treat the year as current or expired, this date, by General Cunningham's Tables and by Cowasjee Patell's, does not work out correctly. For Vikrama-Saṁvat 1386 current, the result for the first seventh day in Âshâḍha (in this instance Pûrva-Âshâḍha) is Saturday, the 23rd June, A.D. 1330; for 1387, (or 1386 expired), Thursday, the 13th June, A D. 1331; for 13?1 current, Wednesday, the 28th June, A.D. 1335: and for 1392 (or 1391 expired), Sunday, the 16th June, A.D. 1336. These calculations are according to the Gujarât reckoning, with the year commencing on th[illegible] day of the bright fortnight of the month [illegible]ka, and with the dark fortnight coming after the bright. I suspect, especially as the Bhâva *saṁvatsara* is described as being *pûrṇa*, 'full or completed,'[19] that the last result is the proper one, and that in this, as probably in other instances, the discrepancy may be due to the *tithi*, or lunar day, not coinciding exactly with the *vâra* or *divasa*, the week-day or solar day. The seventh *tithi* of Âshâḍha possibly began after sunrise on Sunday, and ran over into Monday. The only other way to adjust the date with the result would be to look upon Sômavâra, Monday, as a mistake of the composer for Saumyavâra, Wednesday; in which case the third result might be taken as correct. The ink-impression, however, distinctly reads Sômavâra.

The number of the year is expressed in such a way as possibly to be quoted as an instance of the use of the *Lôkakâla*, or method according to which the centuries are omitted. This question of the *Lôkakâla*, as used in comparatively modern times, requires to be worked out. But I should think that, in the present case, the omission of the centuries is due only to the inability of the composer to introduce them into his verse. To supplement the verse, he has given the full date in figures just before it.

[17] Vol. VIII. Kâthiâwâḍ, p. 138f

[18] Calcutta Reprint, Vol. I. p. 717ff.

[19] The word *pûrṇâ*, in line 17, is very distinct. there are no grounds for suggesting that, as otherwise we might be tempted to do, we should read *pûrvâ*, qualifying *Âshâḍha*.

THE BRITISH NATIONAL ANTHEM TRANSLATED INTO SANSKRIT.

BY PRAMADA-DASA MITRA; BENARES.

On the occasion of the Queen's Birthday, 24th May 1886.

TEXT.

I

God save our Gracious Queen!
Long live our Noble Queen!
God save the Queen!
Send her victorious,
Happy and glorious,
Long to reign over us!
God save the Queen!

II

O Lord, our God! arise;
Scatter her enemies,
And make them fall!
Bless Thou the brave that fight,
Sworn to defend her right,
Bending, we own Thy might;
God save us all!

III

Thy choicest gifts in store
Still on Victoria pour—
Health, peace, and fame!
Young faces, year by year,
Rising her heart to cheer,
Glad voices, far and near,
Blessing her name

IV

Saved from each traitor's arm—
Thou, Lord, her shield from harm
Ever hast been.
Angels around her way
Watch, while by night and day
Millions with fervour pray—
"God save the Queen!"

TRANSLATION.

१

राज्ञीं दयावतीम्
शश्वज्जयां सतीम्
ईशाऽव ताम्।
लक्ष्मीं दिशोज्ज्वलाम्
कीर्त्तिं सुनिर्म्मलाम्
उर्ज्जस्वलामिलाम्
ईशाऽव ताम्॥

१

राज्ञीं कृपान्विताम्
शीलैरलङ्कृताम्
पाहीश ताम्॥
भूत्या प्रभूतया
कीर्त्याऽवदातया
लक्ष्म्या प्रदीप्तया
सा भ्राजताम्॥[1]

२

विश्वेश रक्ष ताम्
शत्रुर्निपात्यताम्
एह्येहि नः।
राज्ञीमनुव्रतान्
प्राणैः समुद्यतान्
रक्षेर्बलोद्धतान्
शं धेहि नः॥

२

प्रोद्यज्जयध्वजम्
सौदद्रिपुव्रजम्
सा राजताम्।
वीरान् बलोद्धतान्
युद्धे धृतव्रतान्
सन्त्यक्तजीवितान्
रक्षाऽनु ताम्॥

३

कल्याणधारया
वर्षेरुदारया
विक्टोरियाम्।
प्रोद्यत्प्रजामुखम्
गायेद्यशःसुखम्
सारोग्यसम्मुखम्
देवाऽव ताम्

३

हृष्यत्प्रजाततम्
नश्यद्रिपुव्रताम्
उर्व्वीशताम्
कुर्व्वीश सन्तताम्
देव्याः सदा हिताम्
दूरेऽन्तिके नुताम्
रक्षेश ताम्॥[2]

४

त्वद्वाहुपालिताम्
पापाच्छिवेहिताम्
देवैर्वृताम्।
विश्वेश रक्ष ताम्
इत्येव शंसताम्
सिद्ध्यत्समीहिताम्
कुर्य्याः सताम्॥

---

[1] An optional rendering of verse 1:—

राज्ञीं कृपान्विताम्
शुद्धैर्गुणैर्युताम्
कुर्व्वीश ताम्।
जिष्णुं यशःसिताम्
सर्व्वैः सुखैर्भृताम्
नित्यं त्वयाऽविताम्
भूयोऽव ताम्॥

One special point in the present translations is to be found in the rhyming ends of the lines throughout.—ED.]

[2] Optional renderings of verse 3:—

कीर्त्त्यंशुमालिनीम्
आरोग्यशालिनीम्
कुर्व्वीश ताम्।
शीलाभिवान्दिताम्
लोकाभिनन्दिताम्
आशीर्भिरन्विताम्
उर्व्वीशताम्॥

शंधारयाऽऽप्लुताम्
नन्दत्प्रजास्तुताम्
कुर्व्वीश ताम्।
संदीर्घजीविताम्
सन्तानतर्पिताम्
रोगैर्विवर्ज्जिताम्
रक्षेश ताम्॥

SOME FANTASTIC CHARACTERS.

BY J. F. FLEET, BO.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

Most archæologists are familiar with the so-called 'shell-characters,' which exist on several of the ancient monuments of India, and the clue to the interpretation of which has not yet been obtained. Published instances of them will be found in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 968, Plate lvi. No. 16. from the Aśôka column at Allahâbâd: in the *Paṇḍit*, Vol. IV. (1869) p. 43, Plate, from the Pahlâdpur column at Benares: in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 37, Plate xvii., from Skandagupta's pillar at Bihâr; and in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 154, Plate xlv. No. B2, from a pillar at 'Rajaona' or 'Rajjhâna.'[1]

Another class of curious characters is very well illustrated by the highly floriate letters on a pillar in the temple of Râjîvalôchana at Râjim in the Central Provinces, reproduced by General Cunningham in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVII. p. 19, Plate x. No. 3, which contain the name of Śrî-Purṇṇâditya,—rather difficult to make out, perhaps, by itself; but easily recognisable when compared with the name as written in ordinary characters at another place in the same temple, No. 2 in the same plate.

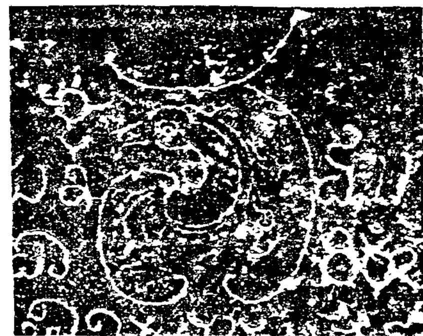
On one of my visits to Calcutta, I noticed in the Imperial Museum an inscribed stone from Kurgôḍ or Kurugôḍu, in the Baḷḷâri District of the Madras Presidency, which gives some fantastic characters of a new kind.[2] There are Old-Kanarese inscriptions on both the front and back faces of the stone. On one side, the inscription is of the time of the Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara IV. It commences—



Śrî-Svayaṁbhûnâthâya namaḥ,—"Reverence to the holy (god) Svayaṁbhûnâtha!" The word *śrî*, which in Old-Kanarese inscriptions is often given in various elaborate and ornate forms, is here represented by an initial in which, on the right side, can be made out the front half of an elephant; the rest of the design seems to contain nothing in particular. These words are followed by the verse—Namas=tuṁga-śiraś-chuṁbi-chaṁdra-châmara-châravê trailôkya-nagar-âraṁbha-mûla-staṁbhaya Saṁbhavê,—"Reverence to (the god) Śaṁbhu, who is decorated with a *chauri* that is the moon that lightly rests on (*his*) lofty head: and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds!" This verse introduces two ingeniously devised 'bird-characters.'



The first is the *dra* of *chaṁdra*; in the centre there is the ordinary character *da*, and the bird is formed by an elaboration of the *r*, which is often turned completely round the letter, as here.



The second is the *bha* of *Śaṁbhavê*, in which the head of a bird is introduced by an elaboration of the first part of the letter.

[1] I owe this last reference to Mr. V. A. Smith. His forthcoming Index to Gen. Cunningham's Reports will be an invaluable acquisition for references.

[2] Since the preparation of the present lithographs, I have found that the first five lines of the Kurgôḍ inscription, including these three characters, have been represented,—but not at all perfectly,—in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 663ff. Pl. xxxii.

FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

VI.—*Sunâbâî Jâî.*

There was once a great merchant named Dantâ Sêṭh, who had seven sons, but no daughter. So he and his wife prayed to Îśwara incessantly to bless them with one, till at last he heard their prayers and a daughter was born to them. They were so overjoyed at this that they made the occasion one of great rejoicing,[1] gave away large sums of money in alms to Brâhmaṇs, and regularly afterwards, every morning, the mother waved a string of pearls over the little girl's head and gave it away to the poor.[2]

They had also a golden swing made for her, on which her seven sisters-in-law[3] were made to swing her all day long. Thus Sunâbâî Jâî, as she was called, grew up in great happiness and comfort, and was petted by all the friends and relations of her parents. But alas! this state of things did not last long. Before she was seven or eight years old, her parents died, leaving her under the care of her seven brothers, and their wives. The demeanour of the latter instantly changed towards her, and they who during the life-time of her parents had vied with one another in showing their love for her, now not only refused point blank to swing her, or to do any other service for her, but often told her to get out of the swing, and perform the household duties with them.

Not long after the old people had gone to their rest, the young men, their sons, bethought themselves of going to distant parts for the purpose of commerce; and getting ready a ship they sailed away in it, leaving Sunâbâî Jâî to the tender mercies of their wives. Before taking their departure, however, they bade them take great care of the little girl, and told them not to let her want for anything during the time they were away. But as soon as their backs were turned and the sisters-in-law found the child fully within their power, they disregarded the parting injunctions of their husbands, and set her to do all the household work they had been made to do when their mother-in-law was alive. Not content even with this, they often beat and scolded her, and, in short, tried to make her life as miserable as possible.

One day, one of them ordered her to go and bring dry wood for fuel from the jungle, and when the girl looked about for a rope with which to tie the bundle, they all scolded her and would not let her take any.

"Don't tie the dried sticks into a bundle," they said, "and yet, mind you bring as many as we used to do, when you were swinging at your ease in your golden swing."

The poor girl went out without a rope, and after she had collected a large number of sticks, she found that she could not carry more than three or four sticks on her head at a time without tying them together, so she sat down in a corner and began to cry. At this a large serpent crept out of its hole and said to her :—

"Well, Sunâbâî Jâî, what is the cause of your tears?"

Then the little girl replied :—

"Dantâ Sêṭh had seven sons and after them came
Sunâbâî Jâî,
Over whose head a string of pearls was waved
every morning;
But now, all the seven brothers have gone away
in a ship, leaving her alone,
And all the seven sisters-in-law ill-treat Sunâbâî
Jâî."[4]

"And they have bade me," she continued, fetch firewood, but have given me no rope with which to tie the sticks together, and I find that I cannot carry more than two or three sticks on my head, while they have ordered me to bring home a large bundle."

The serpent felt pity for her and said—"Fear not, good Sunâbâî Jâî, I shall instantly remove the cause of your grief. See here: I will stretch myself at full length upon the

[1] Note that the birth of a daughter would not, in India, be ordinarily an occasion for rejoicings.

[2] On auspicious occasions rice, cocoanuts, sugar, betel-nuts, dates (dried), are waved over a person's head and then thrown or given away, for they are believed to carry away all the misfortunes that might be in store for the person in question. Sometimes rich people wave such precious things as pearls over their children's heads with the same object.

[3] *i.e.* the infant brides of their seven infant sons.

[4] In Gujarâtî these verses run as follows :—

दंता सेठना सातज दीकरा
सात दीकरा पर आवी सुनाबाई जाईरे
सुना बाई जाई तो मोतीण वधाईरे
साते भाईओ वहाणे चढी गीया
साते भोजाई काहाणी पाडेरे

ground, and you must place your sticks in the middle of my body; and then, when you have piled up as many as you can carry, I will wind myself round them like a rope, and you will thus be able to carry the bundle easily."

Sunâbâî Jâî thanked the serpent, who soon wound himself round the sticks she placed upon his body, and the little girl walked homewards with the bundle on her head. As she threw down the bundle in the yard all the seven sisters-in-law came running out of the house to scold her for bringing only a few sticks from the jungle, as they thought. But what was their astonishment to see as a large a bundle on the ground as one could fairly carry. They were struck dumb with surprise, and could not for the life of them comprehend how the little child could have carried so many sticks on her head without tying them together: for the serpent, it must be mentioned, had glided gently away, before they could observe it.

They were, however, very much provoked, and resolved to subject her to severer ordeals. So one day one of the worthy ladies covered a large heavy quilt with *ghî* and oil, and bade Sunâbâî Jâî go to the sea-shore and wash it clean, firmly believing that this time she would either be drowned in the attempt or return home to get a good caning. Poor Sunâbâî Jâî dragged the quilt to the sea-side, and sitting down upon a stone began to cry at the utter impossibility of washing such a dirty, oily, heavy thing single-handed, and without the aid of soap or anything. However, she went to work after a time, but though she used all her strength till she was quite exhausted, the quilt remained as dirty as ever. So she again sat down in disappointment and cried more bitterly than ever.

There was nothing near her but a few cranes, who had all along been watching the poor girl When they heard her cry they all flew towards her, and one of them asked her why she was crying. Sunâbâî Jâî replied:

"Dantâ Sèth had seven sons and after them came
Sunâbâî Jâî,
Over whose head a string of pearls was waved
every morning;
But now all the seven brothers have gone away
in a ship leaving her alone,
And all the seven sisters-in-law ill-treat Sunâbâî
Jâî."

She then related to them how she had been sent to wash the dirty quilt by her sisters-in-law.

"Is that all?" said the crane, who acted as spokesman: "then dry your tears, and we shall wash it for you in a trice."

Sunâbâî Jâî agreed, and immediately the cranes set to work, flapping their wings backwards and forwards upon it, and dipping it now and then into the water, till they had made it in a short time as white as their own plumage. Sunâbâî Jâî was very grateful to them for this, and carried the quilt home to her sisters-in-law in triumph.

They were very much chagrined, not only to see Sunâbâî Jâî return home safe and sound, but to find that she had brought back the quilt, clean and white beyond their expectations. So they said nothing at the time, but inwardly swore to subject her to still greater hardships, to see how she came successfully through them all. So after a few days they mixed a *pharâ*[5] of rice and a *pharâ* of *dâl* (pulse) together and ordered her to go into the yard and separate them.

"Be careful," said they, "not to lose a single grain out of these two *pharâs*, for we have counted every one!"

The poor girl carried the mixture into the yard as desired, and sat down to her work, but she had no idea how she was ever to separate so many small things as the grains of rice from the *dâl*. So she cried and cried till even the sparrows on the large trees in the yard were moved by her tears, and they came down to her to inquire into the cause of her grief. Whereupon Sunâbâî Jâî repeated to them how

"Dantâ Sèth had seven sons and after them came
Sunâbâî Jâî,
Over whose head a string of pearls was waved
every morning;
But now all the seven brothers have gone away
in a ship leaving her alone,
And all the seven sisters-in-law ill-treat Sunâbâî
Jâî."

And she informed them of what her sisters-in-law had set her to do, when forthwith a large flock of sparrows set to work, and separated the rice from the *dâl* with their beaks, making two large separate heaps in no

[5] A *pharâ* (फरा) is a corn-measure of 16 *páyalîs* (पायली) or 64 *śêrs*.

time. Sunâbâî Jaî joyfully took the separated grains into the house. Her sisters-in-law could not believe their eyes, so astonished were they to see the job done so quickly. One of them, however, making a pretence of counting the grains, said:—

"Stop, stop! Sunâbâî Jâî, is that the way you do your work? I find the rice short just by one grain; pray how do you account for that? Go and fetch it this instant, or we shall beat you within an inch of your life."

The poor child went back into the yard, and began to look for the missing grain of rice, with eyes full of tears; when she beheld a sparrow flying into the house. She followed it, and to the surprise of all the bird dropped a grain of rice into the heap, and flew away.

At this the women grew very jealous of the poor child, and bethought themselves of some sure method of getting rid of her. They therefore ordered her one day to go into the jungle and get for them some tigress's milk, firmly believing that she would meet with her death in the attempt. Little Sunâbâî Jâî had no conception of the dangerous nature of the errand she was sent upon, and so she fearlessly wandered here and there into the jungle in search of a tigress, but fortunately for her she did not find one. So, fatigued and utterly prostrated, she sank down on the ground in a thick part of it, and cried for help: when lo! a tigress sprang out of a bush hard by, and seeing Sunâbâî Jâî, said:—

"Well, Sunâbâî, what are you doing here, and why are you crying?"

Then Sunâbâî Jâî told her tale in the following words:—

"Dantâ Sêṭh had seven sons and after them came Sunâbâî Jâî,
Over whose head a string of pearls was waved every morning;
But now all the seven brothers have gone away in a ship leaving her alone,
And all the seven sisters-in-law ill-treat Sunâbâî Jâî."

"My sisters-in-law have sent me," she continued, "to fetch the milk of a tigress, and of a surety I don't know where to find it."

At this the tigress took pity on her and gave her some of her own milk, which she carried home in the pail she had brought for the purpose.

Great was the surprise and disappointment of the seven women on seeing Sunâbâî Jâi come home alive and unhurt once more, and when she placed before them the pail with the tigress's milk in it, their astonishment knew no bounds. They now clearly saw that she was under the special protection of Fate, and that, therefore, every attempt of theirs to get rid of her would come to nothing. Still, however, they persevered and one day told her to take a large piece of cloth, go to the sea-side, and bring in it the foam of the ocean. Not suspecting the uselessness of making such an attempt, the little girl went to the sea-side, and passed nearly the whole day up to her knees in the water, trying to catch some at least of the foam that floated by her, but to her great dismay she found how utterly impracticable such a thing was. Her tears fell fast when she saw that it was getting dark, and thought how far she had to go, and how, if she went home empty handed, her sisters-in-law would visit her with the severest punishment they could inflict, when her attention was attracted by a solitary sail. She felt great interest in watching the movements of the ship which was fast making for the shore; when it neared her she recognised it to be that of her brothers, and her delight was unbounded.

Being seized with a desire to give her brothers a surprise, little Sunâbâî Jâî hid herself behind a rock till they landed. The vessel anchored in due time, and the seven young men put off in a boat for the shore. As soon as they stepped on dry land, the little girl, unable to restrain herself any longer, ran up to them and was clasped in their arms. When the excitement of this most unexpected meeting was over, the brothers inquired of her what she was doing on the sea-shore so far away from home. She related to them all that had befallen her since their departure, and told them how that day she had been sent to fetch foam from the sea. The brothers were greatly enraged on learning of the inhuman conduct of their wives, and resolved to punish them as they deserved. So they took Sunâbâî Jaî on board their ship, and kept her there till the following morning: when one of them, cutting open his thigh with his knife, put his little sister into it and sewed up the rent! They then went ashore and walked

leisurely home. When they arrived there, their wives were greatly surprised to see them, for they had not expected them to return so soon. Pretending to know nothing of Sunâbâî Jâî, they demanded of them where she was, when the wicked women replied that she had behaved very badly after their departure, and had taken to wandering about at pleasure, regardless of their admonitions, and that that morning, too, she had gone no one knew where, without their permission; but would come back, sure enough, in the evening, as was her wont.

"Very well," said the men, let us have something for our breakfast now, and mind, if Sunâbâî Jâî does not return by dusk we shall hold you answerable for her life."

The seven women, who had not seen the poor girl all the previous day and night, began to tremble at these words, and devoutly prayed that she would return home in safety. When they were at their meals, however, they noticed that one of the men every now and then placed a morsel of food upon his thigh, and that it soon disappeared therefrom, to be replaced by another; but, seeing their husbands were in an angry mood they dared not ask them any questions. At last, when night came and there were no signs of Sunâbâî Jâî, the brothers were furious and bade their wives on pain of death to tell them what they had done with her. Seeing further prevarication useless, they all confessed their guilt, and expressed their fear that Sunâbâî Jâî was drowned in the sea; when, to their great dismay, one of the brothers opened the rent in his thigh, and pulled out Sunâbâî Jâî, as large as life and as well as ever. Upon this, the wicked women fell on their knees, and begged loudly to be forgiven, but their husbands were inexorable; they shaved their heads and cut off their noses and mounting them upon donkeys, sent them away to their parents' houses, to live there in disgrace for the rest of their lives!

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY S. M. NATESA SASTRI.

No. XIII.—The Four Good Sisters.

In the town of Tañjai there reigned a king named Harijî, who was a very good and charitable sovereign. In his reign the tiger and bull drank out of the same pool, the serpent and peacock amused themselves under the same tree; and thus even birds and beasts of a quarrelsome and inimical character lived together like sheep of the same flock. While the brute creation of the great God was thus living in friendship and happiness, need it be said that this king's subjects led a life of peace and prosperity unknown in any other country under the canopy of heaven?

But, for all the peace which his subjects enjoyed, Harijî himself had no joy. His face was always drooping, his lips never moved in laughter, and he was as sad as sad could be, because he had no son. After trying in vain the various distributions of charitable gifts, which his elders and priests recommended, he resolved within himself to retire into the wilderness, there to propitiate Mahêśvara, the great god of gods, hoping thus to have his desires fulfilled. No sooner had this thought entered into his mind than he called his ministers to his side, and, informing them of his intention, made over to them the kingdom of Tañjai. He gave strict orders to them to look after the interests of his subjects, warning them that, if they failed in this, they would have to pay forfeit with their heads. Thus appointing his ministers in his place, to order his realm during his absence, Harijî retired to the nearest jungle as a hermit.

The monarch of Tañjai, who had been attended with innumerable servants, now became his own servant and master. He removed all his royal garments and clothed himself with the bark of trees. To him, whose bed had been till then the softest of cushions made of the finest and most delicate cotton, the dried leaves now furnished a mattress. Roots and fruits were now his only food, in the place of a thousand different dishes, which had at one time been daily spread before him. Every morning he rose from his bed of leaves, bathed in the coldest water, and sat meditating on Mahêśvara till about the twentieth *ghaṭikâ*.[1]

[1] 2 p.m.; a *ghaṭikâ* is twenty-four minutes, 30 *ghaṭikâs* make one day, and 30 one night. Thus 60 *ghaṭikas* make a day and night.

Then he would rise up and taste something of the roots or fruits he happened to see near him. In the evening again he would bathe and sit meditating till midnight. Then thrice sipping water only he would retire to rest (if rest it deserves to be called) for ten *ghaṭikás*.[2] Such was his daily routine, and in this most severe penance he wasted away by degrees for nearly two years. All his ribs began to project from his sides, his skin dried up, and one could count his nerves and veins. For all that, he never wavered in his penance.

On the first day of the third year after Harijî commenced his penance, the great god Mahêśvara came to recognize the monarch in his devotee. Mounting his bull, with Pârvatî, his goddess, on his left, he appeared before the royal hermit who literally danced with joy at the sight of his long-looked-for god!

"Thy prayers and praises, my good son, have been rising before our throne in Kailâsa,[3] for the past two years, like a pillar of virtue, and have brought me down to thee to grant thy boon. Ask and thou shalt have." Thus spake Mahêśvara with a smile on his face and his right arm raised to bless.

"My great God," replied the king, "language has no words to express the great joy and pleasure I have had to-day in that thou in thy holiness hast condescended to visit thy poor dog. This slave of thy most divine righteousness has had no child conferred upon him, though his beard has whitened with age. To gain this boon, and thus sweeten the few more years he has to drag out in this world, he has been propitiating thy divine holiness."

"All men must undergo the miseries of a former life in this one," replied the god. "However, for thy long penance we have been pleased with thee, and grant thee this request. Choose then:—A son who shall always be with thee till death, but who shall be the greatest fool in the whole world; or four daughters who shall live with thee for a short time, then leave thee and return before thy death, but who shall be the incarnation of learning. To thee is left to choose between the two." Thus spake Mahêśvara; and Harijî the hermit chose the daughters. The god gave him a mango-fruit to be presented to his queen, and disappeared.

The fruit of his long penance Harijî thus held in his hand. He cared nothing for the prospect of having only daughters. Daughters or sons, he wanted to have children, and so his desire had been crowned with success. A thousand times happy he felt himself in the prospect before him, as he returned to his country. Great was the joy of his subjects and ministers, to see among them again their beloved sovereign.

The king called for his priests, and, fixing an auspicious hour for the presentation of the fruit, gave it to his queen. She became pregnant, and in due course gave birth to four daughters as beautiful as Rati.[4] And thus Harijî obtained four daughters by the grace of God in his old age. Their names were Gaṅgâbâî, Yamunâbâî, Kamalâbâî, and Nîlâbâî.

He left no stone unturned to give them a liberal education. Professors for every branch of learning were appointed, and the girls, before they were in their tenth year, had been taught the four *Vêdas*, the six *Śâstras*, the the sixty-four kinds of learning, and all the rest of it. They became great *Paṇḍitâs*, and were like four great jewels among the womankind of those days.

One day the old king was seated in the first storey of his palace to be rubbed over with oil.[5] The oil-rubber began to apply the oil to his head so irregularly and in such a stupid way, that his daughters, who were looking on at a distance, were highly vexed, and calling to their mother asked her to interfere, and send the man away. Then they themselves applied the oil to their father's head, in so delicate a way that the old king did not in the least feel that anything was being rubbed over it. He was exceedingly pleased with them, and after sending them away finished his bath.

He now bethought him of Mahêśvara's condition when granting his desire for children,—that his intelligent daughters should leave him before they had been long with him. "How will they leave me? If I give them away in marriage, then, of course, they will leave me: but if I prevent this, and make some other arrangement for them I shall avert the

[2] Four hours.
[3] The abode of Śiva.

[4] The wife of Kâma (the god of Love) and goddess of beauty.
[5] A South Indian custom, corresponding to a bath.

unhappy prophecy of the god!" So thought Hariji, and so has many another fool thought, only to bring down swift retribution on his head.

After finishing his ablutions the king did not go into the dining hall, but retired to his couch and lay down sulkily. According to the ancient customs of Hindu monarchs this was a sign of a great uneasiness of mind, and the news that the king had not taken even a grain of rice after his oil-bath spread throughout the palace. The queen came flying to know the reason of her lord's displeasure. "Call my minister at once," was his order, and the queen sent word to that officer.

As soon as the minister arrived the king ordered him to summon a great council within a *ghaṭikâ*, as he had an important question which could be solved only by that learned body.

The assembly was hastily called, and the members collected, anxiously waiting for the matter to be set before them. The king came and took his seat, and after looking gravely round him rose up and said—"My learned councillors that have met here to-day, I have a great question to put before you for your opinion. Many of you are traders, and occasionally, for various reasons, travel to different countries. When you procure a rare object, or a very precious jewel, or a valuable ornament, do you keep it for your own use, or do you give it away to somebody else? Kindly think over the matter well before you give me your answer."

Thus spoke Hariji, and all present exclaimed that, if the object were very rare they would prefer keeping it to themselves.

"Exactly! well said!" vociferated the king. "Even so do I wish to act! After great hardship and severe penance I obtained through the grace of Mahêśvara four daughters. They are my gems, my jewels, and my ornaments. Why should I give them away in marriage to another? Why should I not myself marry them and retain them under me? If you would keep the rare things you acquire to yourselves, why should not I also do the same?"

All his councillors hung their heads for very shame. They were disgusted at the turn which their generalization had been made to take and saying, "As it pleases Your Majesty," took leave of their sovereign, all thinking that their king had gone mad.

It was not from any insane tendency that the old king spoke in that shameless manner before so learned and respectable an assembly. He had firmly resolved within himself to marry all his four daughters himself; and as soon as his councillors had left him, he called his minister to his side, and asked him to go and consult his daughters about it. By this means the king foolishly thought that he would reverse Mahêśvara's prediction that his daughters should leave him early, and see him no more till just before his death.

The minister was in a delicate position. If he objected to take the news to his daughters, the old king might be enraged and punish him: and if he boldly stood before the girls and spoke to them shamelessly about their father's intention to marry them himself, they might become enraged and murder him! Of the two alternatives he chose death at the innocent hands of the princesses, rather than at the guilty hands of a king, who had become so mad as to be in love with his own daughters. So he went to them.

The princesses had as great a regard for their father's minister as they had for their father: and when they saw him approaching their mansion they welcomed him, and, making him sit in their midst, wished to hear whether he had any special reason for his visit that day. When he heard the innocent talk of these children, who had not even commenced their teens, his eyes began to swim with tears at the thought of the unwelcome news he had to communicate to them. The girls, who were naturally intelligent, at once guessed from his tearful countenance, that it must be some very bad news that he had to tell and so the eldest broke silence by sweet and well chosen words:—

"Our kind father, for so we regard you, what is the matter with you, that you have put on such a dismal face? Disclose to us the burden of your heart, that we also may share in your woes."

The minister could no longer contain his sorrow. He sobbed aloud and told them all the proceedings that had taken place during the day, and how very sorry he was that they should have that morning showed their skill to their father in the oil-bath affair. The girls were greatly affected at what they

heard, and the eldest, Gaṅgâbâî, spoke as follows:—

"From this minute our father is no more our father, since he has become so depraved as you represent him to be. We all now regard you as our father, and request you to oblige us in this delicate business. It is of no use to you to say 'no' to the king's question. I shall give my consent to the marriage, and tell him at the same time that I have vowed to undergo a penance for six months, after which the marriage may be duly performed. For the present I request you to oblige us with a seven-storied mansion made of lacquered wood. In each storey I request you to store up provisions sufficient for all of us for six years. The seventh storey must contain water: the sixth, vegetables; the fifth, rice; and so on: while we must occupy the first two stories and proceed to carry on our penance. You must come here with the king on the first day of the seventh month, and then you shall see a wonderful thing! For the present, please go and inform the king of our consent to the marriage and of the penance we have resolved on for six months, during which period we must be allowed to live unobserved."

The minister was delighted to see that the princesses, though they were young in years, had a very sound knowledge of the world. He promised to oblige them most willingly, and gave orders, with the permission of Harijî the king, for the building of the lacquered mansion and for the storage of provisions. As for the king, when he heard that his daughters had given their consent, he was overjoyed, and eagerly waited for the seventh month to come. He even took special care to see the mansion was built without delay. The minister, too, left no stone unturned to supply the provisions requisite for half a dozen years. The mansion was built, and the princesses took up their abode in it for their penance. As soon as they entered they bolted the door inside, and began to meditate upon the boon-conferring goddess, Varalakshmî. For six months they meditated, and on the last day of the last month secured her favour. She appeared before them in a dream, robed in pure white silk, and applied *kuṅkuma* (red powder) to their foreheads in token that she had favoured them, and that from that day they might depend upon her for assistance.

Now outside this mansion, which had been built in the city of Tañjai, Harijî was counting the days, and, to occupy his time meanwhile, had decorated the city for the coming wedding of himself with his daughters, and had sent invitations to all the corners of the world. Several kings, out of simple curiosity to see the mad performance—for the old Sovereign had proclaimed to the world that he was going to marry his own daughters!—came to Tañjai, and were waiting for the wedding day.

At last, the long expected first morning of the seventh month arrived, and Harijî sent his minister again to his daughters to ascertain their wishes. Again the daughters returned word that they gave their full consent to the marriage. Harijî was overjoyed at the second intimation of compliance, and decorated himself with all his choicest ornaments. With music before him he marched towards the lacquered mansion, the kings and the other guests following him to see how matters would terminate. When the processional music fell upon the ears of the princesses, they contemplated Varalakshmî and prayed:—

"O benign Goddess, if thou wouldst have us become the wives of a suitable husband,—a noble prince,—let this mansion rise from its present position and fall again in the midst of a jungle untrodden by human feet! Let the gates of this mansion be shut to all that may desire to open them, except to him only whom thou hast appointed to be our husband!"

The eldest led the prayer, and had scarcely finished, when the procession stopped before the mansion. And lo! a crack was heard and the lacquered mansion, as if it had wings, began to soar into the sky! In a moment it vanished out of the sight of the sinful father, and all around him with one voice cried out that he was well repaid for his wicked thoughts. At last Harijî saw the guilt of his intentions, the just punishment with which the god visited him, the fulfilment of his prophecy, and his personal share in the early fulfilment of it. He was buried in the ocean of shame and sorrow, till those around him consoled him with that part of the prophecy, which promised that his daughters should come back to him before his death.

Within the mansion the four sisters continued to live as if it were their home. They had

everything they could desire, and, excepting the time they were obliged to spend in cooking and eating, spent their days in study and music. Their evenings they invariably spent most happily in playing the *sitâr*, and thus forgetting their sorrows. In this way they lived a life of innocent enjoyment, in the expectation that the goddess Varalakshmî would soon relieve them of their troubles by sending them a suitable husband.

At a distance of a hundred *kôs* from where the princesses' mansion had been located by the will of Varalakshmî, was a kingdom named Śivapurî. In it reigned a most just king named Isabhajî. He had an only son named Thâṇujî, who was twenty years old,—an age which fitted him for taking the reins of the kingdom into his own hands. His royal father wished, therefore, to have his marriage celebrated. The bride chosen was the daughter of Isabhaji's own sister, and therefore Thâṇujî's first cousin. All liked the proposed marriage, except the prince; for though the bride was as beautiful as the moon, she was blind of one eye!

"A one-eyed wife I will *never* marry!" was his reply to the several representations his relatives made to him.

Isabhajî was already very old, and his sole object in life was to see his son married, and to fondle a grand-child before his death. He had tried his best previously, on several occasions, to choose a young lady of noble family as a bride for his son, but Thâṇujî would have none of them. However, the king's sister, having great influence with him, compelled her brother to fix on an auspicious day for the marriage of his son to her one-eyed daughter Kuruḍi. Finding it hopeless to convince his father of his disinclination to marry a lady who was defective by nature, Thâṇujî outwardly consented, and the preparations for the celebration of the marriage were commenced on an enormous scale.

Two days before the time appointed for the marriage the prince desired to go out hunting in a neighbouring forest. His object was not really to hunt, but to disappear in the thick wilderness, and to run away in order to evade the marriage.[6] The hunting expedition started in the early morning and reached the forest by about the sixth *ghaṭikâ*. The hunting proceeded as usual till about the eighteenth *ghaṭikâ*, when the prince was seen to run to a corner of the hunting ground, to disappear for a time, and then to emerge again from his place of concealment. The hunters, thinking that it was his pleasure, left him to himself, and engaged themselves in a different portion of the forest. Thâṇujî now found it a good opportunity to escape, and changing his horse for a fresh one, galloped towards the East and vanished from the sight of his vast army of hunters. Just about this time the hunt was brought to a close. "Where is the prince? Have you seen His Highness?" were the questions which the hunters put to each other. But the prince was nowhere to be found! They searched for him in the wood till darkness overcame them, and at last returned to Śivapurî, late at night, without him!

The old king was waiting the return of the prince with a sumptuous dinner; and when the hunters informed him of his disappearance he fell down in a swoon, as it were a tree cut at the roots! His sister and other relatives flew to his side to console him, and he was slowly brought back to his senses. It now became more than plain to him that he was himself the cause of the prince's flight, by having tried to force him to marry Kuruḍi against his will. He cursed Kuruḍi and her mother, he cursed himself, and he cursed every one involved in the proposed marriage! He at once sent for the palace soothsayer to consult him as to the safety of his son, and as to the probable date of his return. The soothsayer made his appearance and took his seat before the king with a palm-leaf book on his left and a square dice of sandal-wood on his right. When His Majesty explained to him the disappearance of the prince, and wished to know all about him, the soothsayer contemplated Gaṇêśa, cast the sandal-wood dice thrice, and turned up a leaf of his palm-book, guided to the particular page by the number thrown by the dice. He then proclaimed:—

Śukra[7] now reigns supreme; and Śukra's course is a happy course! A marriage will be gained in the East! Be cheerful, my son, for

[6] This is a notable incident, as giving a *rational* explanation of the common disappearance of a prince on a hunting expedition in Oriental folktales. It usually takes place in a miraculous manner.—Ed.]

[7] The planet Venus, which is *male* in India.

the lost thing will surely be found within the space of two years. Meanwhile give sumptuous dinners and fees to several Brâhmaṇs every day, and Paramêśvara will help you!"

The faces of the king and of every one present glowed with joy as the soothsayer proceeded in his reading of the secret lore.

"A pair of shawls for the good soothsayer!" cried out Isabhaji; and the present was accordingly given. The king fully believed that his son was to return to him in two years, and in this belief he forgot all his sorrow at his disappearance.

Let us now see what happened to the prince after his escape from the hunters. He left them about noon and galloped towards the East. By about twilight fortune conducted him towards the mansion of lacquer. The appearance of the splendid building made of strange materials, and not of brick or stone or *chunam*,[8] awakened his curiosity, and, made him approach it. In addition to this, he was already dying of hunger, and wished for at least a mouthful of water. Being sure that he had left his hunters far behind, he approached the mansion and sat down in the marbled lacquer pavement of the outer verandah. The god of day was sinking down in the West, and the golden rays of his evening beauty seemed a thousand times more beautiful than he had ever seen them as they glittered on the lacquered covering of the grand palace, which by its loveliness struck awe into his mind. Before the mansion ran a rivulet from which our hero drank a handful[9] or two of water, and overcome by fatigue stretched himself on the cool surface of the palace verandah, leaving his horse to get his water and grass himself.

It has been already said that the princesses inside the mansion used to spend their evenings in playing upon sweet musical instruments and in singing. Now as soon as Thâṇuji had stretched himself on the verandah to sleep, sounds of sweet music fell upon his ear. They were the most exquisite notes he had ever heard in his life. Like evening zephyrs in the spring they came gently to soothe his weariness. He sat up and listened for a while to the sweet flow of music above.

"Is there a heaven in this life?" said he to himself; "have some nymphs from the divine world made this mansion their abode? or do wicked devils dwell here to feast upon night-stricken passengers?[10] However, whether they be good or bad, I *must* see the inhabitants of this palace, and leave to fate what it may bring upon me!"

The music now suddenly ceased, for it so happened that the *sitár* had to be adjusted for a different tune. Meanwhile the prince rose, and went round the mansion to see whether there where any gates to it. On the North side of it he discovered a large gate-way, and inside it a gate. This he approached and gently touched, to see if it was shut or not. Now, since Varalakshmî had fixed upon prince Thâṇuji as the husband of the four princesses, the gate of the mansion flew open,—as the gates of a river dam unlock to the rapid rush of released waters,—and discovered to him four beautiful maidens made a thousand times more beautiful by the strange and unexpected meeting, by their evening attire, and by the lovely *sitárs* in their hands.

When the princesses saw the door open and their handsome visitor standing outside it, fearing to enter in, they breathed a thanksgiving to their goddess for the fair gift, and laying down their *sitárs*, approached Thâṇuji with due respect. All four humbly prostrated themselves before him and then rose up. The eldest began to speak, while the other three sisters eagerly watched the movements of the visitor's face.

"Lord and husband of us all," said she, "glorious is this day to us as it has brought here our partner in life. Strange and sad is our history, but nevertheless we are all mortals, warmed by the same human blood that circulates through your Lordship's veins and equally affected by the same joys and sorrows. We will reserve our story, however, till your Lordship has dined, as we see plainly by your face that you are greatly tired. Accept us as your Lordship's wives, and we for our part have

[8] A strong plaster made of sea-shell lime.

[9] Allusion to the native method of drinking water out of the hands by hollowing them into a sort of cup.

[10] [The allusion here is to the common Indian idea of the personal beauty of malignant female ghosts, who live by devouring human beings. See *Folklore of the Headless Horseman: Calcutta Review*, 1884.—ED.]

earned the richest treasure the world can give us by having met you."

His vague fears about the mansion and its inmates suddenly melted away like snow before a powerful sun, when Thâṇuji saw the princesses and stood listening to the speech of the eldest. He also considered that day the most glorious of his life, and took leave of them for a few seconds to secure his horse, which for all the delight that had come to him he did not forget. He then bathed hastily in the hot water the ladies prepared for him, and after praying to the great God, who had been so bountiful to him that day, sat down with three of the ladies to take his dinner. The fourth attended to the leaf-plates, and supplied fresh courses as each dish was consumed. They then related their previous stories to each other, and copiously did the prince shed tears, when he heard how it was that the princesses came to perform penance to secure the favour of Varalakshmî;—and the ladies, too, when they heard how king Îsabhaji had worried their husband to marry his one-eyed cousin, and how he had run away from the hunting party to avoid the marriage which so disgusted him. All were glad at the fortunate turn their lives had taken, and from that evening the prince and the princesses began to live most happily together as husband and wives, entirely forgetting their former homes.

Thus, hidden in an ocean of joy, Thâṇuji lived for two full years in the lacquered palace, in the company of the four princesses to whom fortune had conducted him: while they were one and all grateful to their goddess Varalakshmî for having sent them so noble and beautiful a prince as their partner in life. After two full years had been thus passed, the prince one day thought of his old father, and the usual cheerfulness left his face. His wives noticed the change and desired to be informed of the thoughts which were passing through his mind. He, noble in mind as in body, told them outright that he was thinking of his father, and that the idea of not having seen him for two years made him sad. The eldest princess as usual was the first to speak:—

"My dearest lord, it has been our misfortune to have lost a father, and we do not wish to see him again if we can help it. But we do not see any reason, therefore, why you should lose yours, who is also a father to us. Nor do we see why we should continue to live for ever in this wilderness, while you have a kingdom to govern. My advice is, that you go now to Śivapuri, see your old father, and interest him in our behalf, so that you may be able to take us where we shall have a home, a father-in-law to worship, and such society as becomes our position. You will thus be able to arrange for our living in the world like other people, without wasting our youth in this desert."

The prince thanked his queens for their sound advice, who began to make preparations for sending their husband back to his parents. They supplied him with fine sweetmeats for the way, and, with the good wishes of his wives, Thâṇuji started for Śivapuri.

He reached the town on the second evening after he left the lacquered palace, but the inhabitants were not able to recognize him, as it was already twilight. He arrived at the palace at about the third *ghaṭikâ* of the night, and prostrated himself before his father. The old king had been counting the days and the hours for his son's return, and as the second year rolled away and the prince did not make his appearance, he had been greatly enraged against the sooth-sayer whose prophecy had thus nearly proved untrue. The cunning sooth-sayer had been daily predicting one week more when, fortunately for him,—or the old king's wrath would have known no bounds,—and fortunately for the old king himself, considering his advanced age,—the prince suddenly turned up. Îsabhaji wept in mingled joy and sorrow,—joy at having recovered his son, and sorrow at that son's neglect of his old father for so long. But all is well that ends well, so the old king praised his household gods for having given him back his son, and merely inquired into his history for the past two years.

When Îsabhaji found out that by good fortune his son had won the love of the four princesses of Tañjai, he wished his son every prosperity in the world, and gave him permission to make every arrangement to bring them to the palace at Śivapuri, and to marry them regularly. But Thâṇuji wished to wait a while, and his father allowed him his way.

Now the news that Thâṇuji had won the love of the four fair princesses of Tañjai reached his aunt, the sister of Îsabhaji and his cousin, the

one-eyed Kuruḍi. His aunt's dearest ambition had always been to unite her daughter to the prince, but she now thought that she must banish all hopes of its fulfilment, as long as the four fair princesses lived. Her daughter, however, was a scheming sort of girl, and determined somehow to get one of the four princesses of Tañjai into her own quarters, and there to murder her.

"Then the other three ladies will spurn the prince," thought Kuruḍi, "and he will have no other course open to him but to marry me."

For this task she engaged a doubled-up old woman, instructed her as to the position of the lacquered palace, and told her that she was to try her best to get into the good graces of the princesses. She was to serve them for a time as a faithful servant, and wait her opportunity to bring one of them away. Should she succeed in this, Kuruḍi promised her ample rewards.

The doubled-up old witch started with provisions for a month, and erected for herself a temporary hut in the forest at the gate of the lacquered mansion. Her nights she spent on a platform on a tree for fear of beasts of prey, and her days in her hut. After cooking and eating a little rice in the morning she would take her stand near the gate of the mansion and bawl out.—

"My children! Have you all forgotten me, your poor old foster-mother? Oh, how tenderly I brought you all up in your earliest days! And remembering you, I have deserted all my relations, children and friends at Tañjai, and have traced you to this wood. If you will take me into your service, I shall still continue to render you what help I can, in washing your clothes, in preparing your meals, in combing your hair, and other domestic duties, which it was once my delight to perform while I had the charge of you all till your seventh year. What a foolish old king he was to think of marrying you to himself, and thus to have lost you!"

These and a thousand mournful tales of the past, which she had carefully learnt from the one-eyed Kuruḍi and her mother, she would bawl out. But the ladies would never do anything without the consent of their husband, and their doors, too, would never open to any one except their lord.

After living with his father for a month, Thâṇujî returned to the lacquered mansion. He noticed the hut in front of the palace gates, but did not care to enquire who lived in it, and went on and touched the gate, which opened to him. He entered in and gave his wives all their father-in-law's presents, for the old king had sent them through his son several costly ornaments and cloths. The ladies put him a thousand questions as to how he spent the month, and were eager to see Śivapurî, and to live there as Thâṇujî's queens, under the kind protection of their good father-in-law. But the prince told them to wait for a few more months till his aunt could dispose of Kuruḍi in marriage to some one, for he hated the idea of taking them to the palace while his cousin and enemy dwelt in it,—that cousin whose hand he had repeatedly refused, and whom he could never hereafter marry as long as he lived.

The prince's wives then told him about the old woman, and Thâṇujî had great doubts as to the wisdom of admitting her into the mansion. Having studied tricks at courts and elsewhere, he suspected that the old woman came from his one-eyed enemy; but she left nothing unaccomplished on her part. Her repeated cries, with which the serene palace of the wilderness began to echo, at last aroused some pity for her in the heart of the prince.

"Never mind," said he at last, "let us admit her and watch her character. If it is suspicious, we will punish her; if on the contrary it is good, we shall be glad of having secured her services."

Thus with his permission the old hag was entertained, and from that moment, it was as if a serpent had been entertained to sting its own master, who fed it with milk and fruits. Deep, tricky, and a trained witch, the old hag pretended to do all sorts of kindnesses to the Tañjai princesses and their affectionate husband.

There was nothing which she would not do with her own hands. Early she rose, bathed and cooked, and attended to the wants of the ladies who after pleasant nights of singing and dancing slept very late in the mornings. The princesses found her invaluable, and this necessity for her services, in addition to the assumed kindness of the hag, increased their liking for her. The ladies loved her, and their lord Thâṇujî saw no reason, for the five months he remained for the second time in the

forest, to observe anything bad in the character of the old woman. Again, he remembered his old father, and so, recommending his queens to the kind care of the old dame, he again went to Śivapurî for a month, taking with him his wives' gifts to his father.

The old woman was only waiting for the return of the prince Thâṇujî to Śivapurî. The second day after he had left the palace, she induced the princesses to take an oil-bath, and in the oil she mixed a herb which was able to produce insensibility lasting for three days in the strongest constitution. While the oil was being applied to the heads of the princesses, they felt giddy, and before the bath was over one and all of them were in a dead swoon. The wicked old woman now took the eldest on her back, and leaving the others to themselves to live or perish, flew away to Śivapurî with the nimbleness of a vixen.

She placed her burden before Kuruḍi, who amply rewarded her and sent her away. This one-eyed devil in woman's form now proceeded to take full vengeance on one whom she regarded as the chief of her enemies. She sent for a barber and had the hair of Gaṅgâbâî's head cut off, the insensibility that still overcame the poor girl making her unconscious of the loss of woman's most precious jewel. Kuruḍi, next proceeding to torture her enemy, sent for needles and thrust one into each pore of her skin. The pain caused by the needles made Gaṅgâbâî open her eyes, and being very intelligent, she at once guessed the calamity that had come upon her. Not caring for herself, she asked her enemy, the one-eyed Kuruḍi, whether her sisters were all safe.

"Yes they are, and *you* shall pay for all the mischief they have done and for your own to boot!" roared Kuruḍi gnashing her teeth.

Gaṅgâbâî then closed her eyes, never to open them again her enemy thought; for the effects of the drug, and pain caused by the needles, made her almost a corpse. Kuruḍi next tore out her eyes, and told two of her maid-servants to throw the now mutilated body into a ruined well at a short distance from the palace. They did so accordingly, and then went about their duties.

The whole of one day and one night Gaṅgâbâî floated on the water in that ruined well, without recovering from her swoon, and not until the morning of the fourth day after the oil had been applied to her head, did she fully come to her senses. At first she felt herself to be floating on the surface of the water, but as soon as she began to recover her faculties her body began to sink. She caught hold of a step in the well, guided to it by instinct, for her eyes were gone, and she remained immersed in the water with only her face above the surface. The needle operation, her questions to a one-eyed lady about the safety of her own sisters, and that lady's affirmative reply—all came back to her recollection as if it were a dream. She now came to understand her misfortune.

"Ah! that I should have had confidence in that old woman," she cried, "she must have given me some drug, made me insensible, and given me over to my enemy of the one-eye, of whom Thâṇujî used so often to speak. Alas! Thâṇujî, you are passing your days merrily with your father, not knowing the fate that has come over your wives, fully believing that the old woman, whom you recommended to them, is properly discharging her duties! I do not know what has become of my sisters! I do not know where I am! My eyes are gone!"

The needles imbedded in her body gave her the most excruciating pain, and she was unable even to weep. At last she began to pant as if suffocated.

The well in which she was struggling for life belonged to a neatherd, and round it he kept a garden, in which there were half a dozen beds containing tender cabbages. He came to water his vegetables, and on approaching the well with his pitcher he heard a voice as if in great pain, slowly issuing from it, but the water was too deep for him to see what was in the well. Now neatherds have queer notions as to devils and witchcraft, and he imagined that the sounds in the well emanated from a devil that must have taken up a temporary abode therein. So, he shouted out, looking down the mouth of the well,—

"O you devil! If you do not tell me who you are, and why you have thus invaded my possessions, I will throw rubbish into this already half-ruined well, and cover you up!"

Gaṅgâbâî, who was only waiting to hear some person's voice, spoke slowly, in pain

though she was, as she was afraid that silence would mean burial in the well,—

"Kind and noble gentleman! I am too weak to tell you the whole story. I am a lady born of noble parents and have come to this wretched condition through my sins in a former life. If you will kindly take me up, regard me as one of your daughters, and restore me to health, I shall reward you amply."

The neatherd, whose name was Gôvinda, was a man of very kind disposition, and his heart melted at the idea of calamity befallen one of the fair sex born of noble parents. So he got down into the well, took Gaṅgâbâî up, and shed tears to see so noble a form cruelly deprived of eyes and hair, and suffering from cruel tortures from needles.

"Cover my body with your cloth," said the princess, "and take me to your home at once. I greatly fear my enemy may watch me and try to kill me again."

So the neatherd, trembling at her words, took her home in haste. As soon as the princess felt herself safe in the house of the kind neatherd, she spoke to him thus:—

"My respected protector, my father,—for so do I regard you for taking me out of the well,—I am a princess and a virtuous lady. This is enough for you to know for the present. More I shall relate to you after I recover from my pain. If you begin to pull out the needles as I am, I should die, I think, before half a dozen were removed. You will do better by cooking rice in a large vessel, emptying it on the ground, and holding me over the steam while you pull them out. Keep on doing this till the last needle is removed, and I shall get well."

The princess then closed her lips, and her body was like that of one in deep slumber. The neatherd, who already respected the princess for the majesty of her form, now began the treatment according as she had said. That so noble a creature should have come to such calamity, aroused in his heart greater and greater pity. The treatment went on for a week, during which, now and then, Gaṅgâbâî would relate to the old neatherd, who never left her bed-side, parts of her story. Thus by degrees Gôvinda came to know the whole of it. The princess, too, recovered, except that her eyes were gone, and her head still shaven. These defects had to be remedied before her health could be said to be really restored. For this she propitiated the boon-conferring goddess Varalakshmî, and then she sneezed, when lo! there dropped from her nostrils seven precious gems! She called to Gôvinda and addressed him thus:—

"My respected Gôvinda, my kind protector, I have to trouble you still more. These seven gems has Varalakshmî just given me. Take six for yourself, convert the seventh one into money, and buy some cows. Milk all the cows morning and evening, boil down the whole of the milk into only two measures, and give them to me."

The neatherd took the gems, locked six of them in his box and went with the seventh to the *bâzâr*. When he showed it to the gem-assayers they estimated its value at seven *lâkhs* of *môhars*, for which enormous sum he disposed of it to a rich merchant. He could have purchased all the cows in Śivapurî for that amount, but instead of doing so, he bought only a hundred fine milch cows, and brought home the other portion of the money. Gôvinda truthfully told what he had done to Gaṅgâbâî, and she was delighted at his uprightness. The neatherd, for his part, now began to regard her as a goddess. The milk of the one hundred cows he boiled down into two measures as directed, and placed them before her morning and evening. She used this milk in her food and daily improved in health.

We must here leave Gaṅgâbâî under the kind protection of our neatherd, and turn to inquire about her other sisters. It has been already said that all the four sisters fell into a swoon, when the old woman applied the oil to their heads. Gaṅgâbâî only was removed to Kuruḍi's palace, while the other three continued insensible for three days, coming to their senses on the fourth morning. What was their astonishment when they missed their eldest sister and the old woman! They began to suspect their husband.

"Has our lord played this trick upon us to take our eldest sister to his palace at Śivapurî and to leave us all here, in everlasting banishment? Shan't we be angry with him when he comes? For our sister will never forget us, and will soon bring him back."

Thus resolved they in their minds, and, being very innocent and timid, passed their days

patiently waiting till their husband and their sister should return. They would soon return together they thought, but they were doomed to be disappointed.

After staying with his father for a month, the prince returned to the forest with great eagerness to meet his dear wives, for he knew nothing of the calamity that had befallen them. When he entered he found no joy in the palace, but the three sisters lying down each by herself with no mirth or welcome in their countenances. He was greatly vexed, and missed his eldest queen, whom he loved best, and as to whom the other queens suspected him.

"Where is my Gaṅgâbâî, my dears? And why have you all got such dismal faces?" asked Thâṇujî.

Till then they had thought that their sister was safe with their husband at Śivapurî, but when the prince enquired after her, they fell off their couches, and, weeping and wailing, inquired what had happened to their sister! It was now plain that some trick had been played upon them all by the old woman. The prince asked them to relate what had taken place in the palace since he had left it, and they told him everything. It then become as clear as the day to Thâṇujî, that the old woman, who pretended such affection for them, was a rogue, and that she had taken his love Gaṅgâbâî to Kuruḍi for some foul purpose. He consoled his three other wives, cursed the day on which he took in the old woman, and started at once in search of his lost love. Her sisters were equally anxious about her, and promised to be careful during his absence.

"The door shall open to none except to yourself, my Lord, and that, too, only when you bring us back our sister," said the youngest of the sisters. And our hero, buried in the ocean of sorrow, and not knowing how to find his lost love, returned to Śivapurî.

He informed his old father Isabhajî of what had happened, and they both sent courtiers to different parts of the kingdom to make a careful search for Gaṅgâbâî. The prince also secretly made all the requisite enquiries in the palace where Kuruḍi and her mother were living. For six months the search went on, and yet no trace was found of the lost princess. Meanwhile Isabhajî was drawing day by day nearer to his grave, and again began to trouble his son about marrying the one-eyed Kuruḍi But the prince would never agree to it.

While a whole army of courtiers were thus searching for Gaṅgâbâî in the various parts of the kingdom, she was living comfortably in Gôvinda's house, and her diet consisted daily of the two measures of milk, morning and evening. Now Gôvinda had a daughter named Gôpî, and she and Gaṅgâbâî became very good friends. Gaṅgâbâî related to her her whole history one morning, and was anxious to do something in revenge to Kuruḍi before joining her sisters in their palace. With a scheme for this in her head she addressed Gôpî thus:—

"My dear Gôpî, my story is as you have heard, and my heart burns within me when I think of my treatment at the hands of that one-eyed witch. I ask you now to help me to repeat Kuruḍi's acts on herself. Convert the milk which your father brings to me at night into curds. Take the curds with you and cry out in the streets—'Good curds to sell! Never have neatherds sold such curds! Fine curds, one hundred *môhars* per measure! Good curds! Good curds!' Every one will call you a fool for putting such a price on your curds; but go to the palace and Kuruḍi will send for you and ask you the price of your curds Demand as before one hundred *môhars*. She will give the money and buy your curds, and finding them very sweet will offer to buy some from you every day. Go on giving her the curds, but do not take money for them. Only cultivate her friendship. And then I shall let you know what we must do."

Gôpî obeyed Gaṅgâbâî exactly and in this way secured the friendship of Kuruḍi. Then said Gaṅgâbâî to her:—

"My dear Gôpî, when you go to-morrow to the palace put on a sad countenance, and, when Kuruḍi comes and asks you the reason for it, tell her that you have a sister who has had lately small-pox and lost her eyes. Ask her to give you a pair of human eyes. She has with her my two eyes which she will give you. Bring them to me."

Gôpî did as she was told, and when the eyes came into Gaṅgâbâî's hands she put them into the empty sockets and meditated on the boon-conferring goddess Varalakshmî, when her sight was completely restored. She now for

the first time beheld Gôpî and her father the neatherd. She thanked them again and again a thousand times and asked Gôpî to beg her hair from Kurudi under the same pretence of having a sister who had lost hers. Gôpî, who who had now fully secured the affections of Kurudi, brought back Gaṅgâbâî's hair, and the princess put it on her head, and meditated on Varalakshmî; when lo! every hair returned to its proper place! Thus, through the neatherd and his daughter, and by the divine help of Varalakshmî, Gaṅgâbâî crossed the ocean of misery, and came back to her former self.

The news that Isabhajî was trying to compel his son Thâṇujî to marry Kurudi, was communicated by the one-eyed lady to her friend Gôpî. She also informed the neatherd's daughter that, though the prince was not agreeable to the match, he would be soon compelled to give his consent to it, to oblige his father and his aunt. These bits of information were duly passed on to Gaṅgâbâî, who now thought this a good opportunity to wreak her vengeance on Kurudi. So she asked Gôpî to go to the palace next morning with curds, and to sit down rubbing her hair on the ground.

"My dear Gôpî," said she, "if you will keep on rubbing your beautiful hair on the ground, Kurudi will call you mad, for thus insulting an ornament that nature has granted you. You must then tell her that a doctor has given you a prescription for making the hair grow quickly, that ever since you have applied it your hair has been growing at the rate of a cubit a day and that as you are not able to take care of so great a quantity, you are rubbing it on the ground to check its growth. She will then ask you for some of the prescription, and you must agree to give it, and come to me."

Gôpî agreed to all that Gaṅgâbâî asked her to do, and went to the palace. She pretended to rub her hair on the ground until Kurudi came and asked her the reason, when she replied as she had been instructed. Kurudi was naturally somewhat bald-headed,[11] and as Isâbhâjî had just made his son consent to marry her, her wedding day, for which she had been so long waiting, was at last approaching. To make herself, therefore, as beautiful as possible by adding flowing hair to her charms, was an important point; so she said to Gôpî:—

"My dear Gôpî, I thank the day which first made us friends! My hair is a weak point with me, and if you can make your hair grow at the rate of a cubit a day, I should much like to see your doctor, and show him my head also. Will you kindly bring him to me?"

Gôpî, as instructed, said—"Undoubtedly he shall be here with me to-morrow, my noble lady;" and returned home.

Gaṅgâbâî was anxiously expecting to hear what had taken place in the palace between her friend Gôpî and her bitter enemy Kurudi, and, when the latter came home, she related how she had promised to bring the imaginary doctor next day to the palace. Gaṅgâbâî could have leapt for joy.

"My end is attained," said she in great joy, eagerly waiting for the next day to come.

As already said, the old king had made his son Thâṇujî consent to marry Kurudi, and the wedding day had been fixed for the tenth day of the bright half of that very month. It was just ten days before the happy event was to take place that Kurudi was expecting to see the doctor with the wonderful power of breeding hair. That morning Gaṅgâbâî changed her female attire for the first time in her life for a man's and wore a doctor's robes, and so well did she carry out the disguise that her friend Gôpî was hardly able to distinguish in the young doctor her friend Gaṅgâbâî. Thus metamorphosed and followed by Gôpî, Gaṅgâbâî reached Kurudi's house, where she was welcomed, and given a seat near its mistress.

"Can you indeed make hair grow very quickly?" asked Kurudi.

"Madam," replied the sham doctor, "I have, ever since I began practising the art, been most successful in it. On no occasion has the hair I have manipulated grown less than a cubit a day. I shall try the best of my medicines on your head. Only the old hair must be entirely removed, and the surface of the head

[11] Long and flowing hair is considered one of the best personal adornments of the softer sex among the Hindus.
[It may be noted here that the name of the one-eyed Kurudi is a Kanarese word, meaning 'a blind woman.'—ED.]

must be turned over with a sharp knife for a day, before the medicine can be applied. In the case of tender constitutions there may be slight pain for a day, but on the second day the pain will go away, and shoots begin to appear. After that every day your hair will increase by a cubit, and a time will soon come when you will have to cut off a portion daily."

Kuruḍi listened to the doctor's plan, and thought to herself, that, out of the ten days that remained to her before the marriage,—making allowance for the time required for the shooting of the hair,—she might have eight cubits' length on her head on her wedding day. So she at once sat down for a clean shave.

Gaṅgâbâî now wreaked full vengeance upon her enemy. Kuruḍi's head was shaved clean! The skin was then cut in all directions, and powdered pepper rubbed in—a soothing balm to a scored pate! Said the doctor:—

"Madam, the medicine has now been applied: You may feel a little burning sensation, but it will be all right in a day. To-morrow, or the day after, in the morning, the shoots will begin to sprout."

Kuruḍi, in expectation of the fufilment of her wishes, patiently bore the pain. A full day and night elapsed, but still the burning did not cease. Fearing that if the balm were removed the medicine would lose its effect, she patiently bore the pain for a second day, and on the third day as soon as the morning dawned she put her hand to her head to see if there were any signs of the sprouts. "The shoots have begun really to sprout," thought she, for her fingers felt the worms which had already began to breed in the matter formed on her head! Several of her servants, who had been ordered not to see her till then, were now called in to examine her head. Her mother, too, made her appearance. What they found was this:—Kuruḍi with her head shaved, ploughed up and pasted over with powdered pepper! They washed her head with warm water and began to treat the wounds. But they were past all treatment; for two days' exposure to such treatment had caused corruption to set in! Still the fond heart of Kuruḍi's mother left no stone unturned to restore her daughter. She sent servants to Gôpî to look for the doctor, but neither doctor nor Gôpî were to be found; for the sagacious Gaṅgâbâî had removed her protector Gôvinda and her friend Gôpî to a village outside the town on the night she tried her treatment on her one-eyed enemy.

Neither the old king Isabhajî nor his son Thâṇujî, of course, knew anything of what had passed in the palace where Kuruḍi was living; and, in honour of his marriage, the prince wished to have his rooms adorned with paintings, the better to receive his visitors during the ensuing wedding. He therefore proclaimed that he would greatly reward any good painter that would come forward. Gaṅgâbâî, who was now living outside Śivapurî, came to know of Thâṇujî's proclamation, and dressed herself up as a painter, and appeared before the prince. He was charmed with the fair face of the painter; and Gaṅgâbâî's disguise was so complete that he failed to discover his lost love in the painter. He tested the sham artist's skill, but as Gaṅgâbâî had learnt the five arts in her younger days she easily stood the test. Then the artist put the following condition on his undertaking the task,—that no one, not even the prince, should see him while at work, and that the prince must be the first to examine the pictures when finished. Thâṇujî, who was much taken by the painter, agreed to everything and left him to his work.

Gaṅgâbâî now bolted the door, and mixing her colours proceeded to represent her whole story on the walls, from the time that Thâṇujî went the second time to Śivapurî, to the point of her appearing before her lord as a painter. She drew the old woman flying with her to Kuruḍi; the torture she underwent at Kuruḍi's cruel hands, the scene at the ruined well; the portraits of Gôvinda and Gôpî, her protectors in her calamity; her revenge on Kuruḍi, in the disguise of a doctor: and lastly her appearance in the attire of a painter. She not only painted the scenes, but also added explanatory notes.[12] On the third day she came out of the room, and sent the messengers on watch outside to inform the prince that the painter had finished his work, and wanted to take his

[12] [A very necessary proceeding where native pictures are concerned!—ED.]

THE INCOME TAX.

(Air of the Chorus.)

Ye - na he - la - li jan - ma - da go - la, ye - na

he - la - li jan - ma - da go - la, In - gra - ji u - pa - dar

a - di - ta ba - - la ba - da - va - ra a - la -

- ta - ro ga - la - ga - la ma - da - ta - ra chin - ti.

J. F. FLEET, BO. C. S.

Bodh-Gaya Inscription of Mahanaman.—The Year 269.

SCALE .50

Bodh-Gaya Image Inscription of Mahanaman.

SCALE .50

J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

leave. When the prince came to examine the painter's work, he said :—

"My Lord, I shall come for my reward on Your Highness's wedding day. You had better examine the pictures in my absence at the fifteenth *ghaṭikâ* this afternoon, for that, the soothsayers told me, is the auspicious *ghaṭikâ* (hour). Kindly, therefore, do not examine them before that time, or I fear evil stars will make you judge ill of my powers of execution."

Gaṅgâbâî said this to gain time in order to reach her home before her lord should come to recognize her in the painter. The prince accepted these new conditions, for the painter's face exercised a wonderful influence over him. His misfortune in not recovering his lost love, his approaching wedding with one whom he hated from the very bottom of his heart, his unfaithfulness to his former wives in agreeing to marry Kuruḍi,—all these were passing and repassing through his mind every moment, as he waited impatiently for the time when he could examine this work.

At last the hour arrived. Thâṇuji entered his apartment to look over the paintings, and exclaimed :—

"My dear wives are painted here! Did the painter ever see them? Ah! my dearest Gaṅgâbâî is dying here! Most horrible! Oh wicked enchantress Kuruḍi! Oh kindly neatherd Gôvinda! I shall well repay for your assistance."

Then like a mad man Thâṇujî wept and laughed, and laughed and wept, till he came to the end.

"After all my love is living!" exclaimed he, as he staggered about the floor, and fell heavily. His servants, who had been listening to all his ravings, at last dared to approach their lord, and flew to his assistance. They took him up and brought him round. "My carriage," was all he said to them ; and they at once got it ready. He then drove outside the town to where the painter had told him he was living ; and there Gaṅgâbâî, who had rightly expected her husband to come to her directly he saw the pictures, was waiting to receive him. They flew into each other's arms.

"I have at last found my lost gem, and never again while I live shall I lose it in the forest!" said the prince ; "God has given me back my lost gem!"

The princess only replied by her tears, for she could not open her lips. Presently, after the first excitement was over, they questioned each other as to their history during this calamitous period, and again wept over their misfortunes.

With Gaṅgâbâî by his side, Thâṇujî now drove to the lacquered mansion, sending word to his old father that he had discovered his lost love, and was going to the forest to bring all his dear wives to Śivapurî, and that, on the day originally fixed for the wedding, he would be married to them and never to Kuruḍi!

Alas for Kuruḍi! No medicines had any effect on her. She died on the day before that appointed for her wedding, unable to bear up against her pains, external and internal. For remorse, at the torture she had inflicted on her enemy, overcame her mind before she breathed her last!

To return to the lacquered mansion. The prince met his other wives and gave them their lost sister, and returned to Śivapurî, relating stories all the way home, some of the calamities that had befallen him and Gaṅgâbâî, owing to their having entertained the old woman in their palace. When they reached Śivapurî, all excepting Kuruḍi's mother, were happy on the marriage day, on which Thâṇujî, with the consent of his father, properly married all his four wives.

After the princesses had thus lived for a short period with their husband, they heard that their father was dangerously ill. So. accompanied by Thâṇujî, they went and visited him before his death. The father had only time to beg their pardon before he breathed his last, leaving his large kingdom to his daughters. The princesses, remembering the minister's kindness to them, gave him their kingdom, and returning home to their husband's country, lived with him for many years in peace and prosperity, during which they did not forget the kindnesses that Gôvinda and Gopî had done to Gaṅgâbâî.

MISCELLANEA.

THE VERSES OF LAKHIMA THAKURANI.

At p. 318 above, there is given a verse based on the signs of the Zodiac; and, as Mr. Grierson suspects, the text is certainly corrupt. The same verse is repeated in the South of India also; though no one knows here that Lakhimâ Ṭhakurâṇî is the author of it. The correct form of the verse, as current in Southern India, is—

संतप्ता दशमध्वजस्य गतिना संमूर्च्छिता निर्जले
तुर्यद्वादशवद्द्वितीयमतिमन्नेकादशाभस्तनी ।
सा षष्ठी कटिपंचमी च नवमभ्रूः सप्तमीवर्जिता
प्राप्नोत्यष्टमवेदनां त्वमधुना तूर्णं तृतीयो भव ॥

The latter portion of the last line, *tvam=adhunâ tûrnaṁ tritîyô bhava*, gives a very good ending to to the verse;—"You had better quickly give her the result of married life." In this correct form of the verse, the heroine is called *kaṭipañchamî*, which means *siṁha-kaṭî*, as the 5th (*pañchamî*) sign of the Zodiac is *siṁha*. In the verse as given by Mr. Grierson, this portion is *nṛipa-paṁchamasya;* which does not give a good meaning, though Mr. Grierson has done the best with it. On the other hand, *kaṭi-pañchamî* (or *siṁha-kaṭî*) is very commonly applied to beautiful damsels in Sanskṛit literature: *e g.*—

उडुराजमुखी मृगराजकटी
गजराजविराजितमंदगतिः ।
वनिता यदि सा हृदये वसति
क्व जपः क्व तपः क्व समाधिविधिः ॥

"If a lady, whose face resembles the moon, whose loins resemble the lion's, and whose slow gait is illustrated by that of a kingly elephant,—if such a lady lives in one's heart why should a man perform prayers and penances, and why the still more painful task of rigid contemplations?"

On the same page there is given another verse commencing तन्वी बाला. The South-Indian version of this is—

तन्वी बाला मृदुतनुरिति त्यज्यतामत्र शंका
लोके मत्तभ्रमरपतनान्मंजरी किन्नु भग्ना ।
तस्मादेषा रहसि भवता निर्दयं मर्दनीया
मन्दाक्रान्ता विसृजति रसं नेक्षुयष्टिः समग्रं ॥

The meaning of the last line is—"If crushed gently, the sugarcane does *not* yield the whole of its juice." Evidently the same meaning can be made out of मन्ताक्रान्तं(न्तो ?) बहुतररसं नो ददातीक्षुदण्डः, if Mr. Grierson had given to नो the meaning of 'not' instead of 'us.' In Sanskṛit, नो as well as न means 'not'; and a sugarcane when pressed gently, gives *not* much sweetness

S. M. NATESA SASTRI.

INDEX.

ERRATA IN VOL. XV.

p. 25b, ll. 37-38. for *vaḷai, tâdi* read *vaḷai-tâḍi.*
p. 73*a*, l. 17. *for* नता *read* नृता
,, l. 27. *for* वेल्स्यां *read* वत्स्यां
p. 74*a*. l. 18, *for* वास्तव *read* वास्तवं
p. 108*a*, l. 30, *omit the comma after* 'Tikree.'
p. 113, note 55, *for* one *pâda read* two *pâdas.*
p. 140, note 1, for *tayâh* read *tayâḥ.*
p. 141, note 23, *for* one *pâda read* two *pâdas.*
p. 155*b*, line 19, *dele the word* two *before* columns
p. 189*a*, l. 39, *for* the year 1088 of the era of Śrî-Harsha, *read* the year 1488 of the era of Śrî-Harsha.
p. 194*a*, l. 9, *dele the words* Sûryavaṁśi or
p. 201*a*, l. 16, *dele the word* lunar.
p. 227*b*, l. 12, for *Rājasthâinîva* read *Râjasthânîya*
p. 273, Table, *for* Dêrabhata *read* Dêrabhaṭa.
p. 284*b*, l. 34, *for* Chandellas *read* Bundelas.
p. 300*a*, l. 4, *add* " *before* Parameśwar
300*a*, l. 34, *dele the comma after* piercing *and place it after* shriek.
p. 302*a*, last line (note) *put a space after* utterance; *and attach a query to* changing in the fate *at end of same note.*
p. 303, query 146 instead of "46," as first figure in note.
p. 306, Text, line 38, *for* स्ते- *read* स्वयं·
p. 307, *alter numbers of notes to the end*; 18 *to be* 19; *&c. Alter numbers of references similarly.*
p. 314, first line of notes, *change the bracket to before* of.
p. 316*a*, l. 33, *for* or *read* of.
p. 339, note to Text, l. 23, *for* प्रथमपुरुष° *read* पुरुषप्रथम°.
p. 357, Text, l. 6, *for* prôtsriyya *read* prêtsrijya